

Number I.

A B R I D G M E N T

O F T H E

MINUTES OF THE EVIDENCE,

TAKEN BEFORE A

COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE HOUSE,

TO WHOM IT WAS REFERRED TO CONSIDER OF THE

S L A V E - T R A D E,

1789.

Number 1.

ABRIDGMENT

OF THE

MINUTES OF THE EVANGELICAL

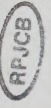
ASSOCIATION

COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE HOUSE

TO WHICH IT WAS REFERRED TO CONSIDER OF THE

SLAVE-TRADE.

1789



ABRIDGMENT

OF THE

MINUTES OF THE EVIDENCE,

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COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE HOUSE,

TO WHOM IT WAS REFERRED TO CONSIDER OF THE

SLAVE-TRADE, 1789.

Witness Examined—JOHN BARNES, Esq.

Governor of Senegal from 1763 to 1766. Thirteen ^{1789.} years in Africa, (p. 21). Negro government with which he was acquainted, in general, a kind of mixed P. 5. monarchy.

There have been slaves in all Africa, as far back P. 6. as he has heard of; they become so by capture in war (not a great proportion, p. 8.), by conviction for theft, murder, adultery, witchcraft; also for debt. Has been told of many by gambling. Polygamy universally allowed. Witchcraft frequently charged; the trial always full and fair, before the elders of the town. Understood principals were put to death, rest of the family made slaves. Does not believe it possible, that crimes should have been imputed, from the fairness and openness of the trial. Persons convicted generally sold for the benefit of the party injured.

A

Never

1789. Never heard of princes going to war, or breaking up villages, to make slaves. Make war there as in other countries. If prisoners cannot ransom themselves, must be sold.

P. 8.

Never knew of kidnapping by blacks; is confident it would not pass unpunished.

People in the country possess slaves; some an incredible number. Believes they have not any power over their lives, except prisoners of war in the act of capture.

P. 9. Great numbers brought by slave-merchants from interior parts. Much trade in slaves to North Barbary and Egypt. Neighbourhood of coasts and rivers extremely populous. War is very little destructive (as he always understood from the natives, p. 18.)

Senegal furnishes from 1000 to 1400 slaves.

Believes, but for slavery, the laws would be more sanguinary.

Senegal, besides slaves, produces gum; Gambia a little bees-wax. Windward coast a few dying woods; all over the coast a little ivory. Trade in these articles could not be increased; nothing else worth mentioning. The country capable of producing all West Indian products; but the inhabitants too indolent to cultivate them. Does not believe it practicable to obtain those products from thence.

P. 10. Not worth while to bring down ivory, but when carried by slaves. Very fine cotton grown for home use; could never obtain any great quantity.

P. 11. Knows the coast to the river Sherbro; no landing heavy goods, except within the rivers; believes no safe landing between Sherbro and Benin; all open coast for 300 or 400 leagues. Between Benin and Bonny, 40 or 50 leagues; some small rivers in which a landing may be made.

P. 12. The prince who can sell the slave, can certainly require labour of him.

Increasing the number of cultivators of cotton, would proportionably increase the produce.

If

If European goods could not be had for slaves, 1789. the princes would be induced to require labour of their people; but is confident could not so obtain goods; because cotton only would bear the carriage; and vegetation liable to be destroyed by locusts. All P. 13. property insecure, from the imperfection of government. Chiefs averse to attempt industry: does not P. 14. believe the prince could secure the produce of the lands distant from the towns.

The people have each their little districts for the year only; the property as secure as it can be in a very loose and imperfect government.

Theft punished generally by fine, as far as the value of the person of the thief, (sometimes 10 or 20 slaves; p. 17, or 30, p. 20.)

The mines, he has heard, are considered as deposit P. 15. of sacred treasure, to be had recourse to only on particular occasions: speaks particularly of Galam, and believes the same of Bambarena.

Between Senegal and Gambia, the women (even of the highest situations, p.) amuse themselves with spinning cotton of their own growth. Professed weavers (sometimes their own slaves, p.) weave the cloth for hire. No other mechanicks but smiths, P. 16. who make coarse hammers, adzes, and gold ear-rings for the ladies. Houses of reeds, or mud thatched. Nobility and free people ranked between the prince and the labourer. No improvement in civilization during his 13 years residence. Obstructions to it the same as among the American savages. When in Africa, during the war of 1756, fewer ships arrived, slaves were consequently cheaper. Understood that those which remained on hand were sent to North Barbary and Egypt; no attempt was made to set P. 17. them at work. The slave-trade always carried on openly between ships and the natives.

In 1758 and 1761 (p. 27) very terrible mortality occurred in two King's ships (the London, buss; the Union, hoy; and Goree, sloop, p. 27) at Senegal, while he was there; insomuch that they were

1789. forced to man them with hired negroes, of which there are great numbers at Senegal. (p. 20.)

In merchant-men mortality greatest when up rivers; on open coast as healthy as other ships between the Tropics.

P. 18. Slaves in Africa pretty well treated; allowed to marry, but with their master's consent; punished for slight offences with stripes at discretion; children well treated. For greater crimes generally sold as slaves, with consent of their fellow-servants; speaks of the practice, not the right of the master; believes it a practice of prudence; for were he to treat his slaves arbitrarily or cruelly, he would lose them by desertion.

Wars very irregular. Bush-fighting. About 150 leagues inland they use fire-arms, furnished by the Europeans and Moors; beyond that, bows; and every where the javelin.

P. 19. The people of North Barbary come and buy slaves, and carry them back a distance of 10 degrees; a great part of that district an uninhabited desert, taking provisions with them, even water. House-slaves never sold but for crimes. Slaves near the coast, who see Europeans, do not conceive the transfer from African to European slavery to be a hardship; they know where they are going, and for what purpose; the only hardship is the being separated from their family. But slaves from interior parts are terrified at being put into the hands of people of different colour, not knowing for what purpose.—Asked, if the being sold to the Europeans, be not considered as a hardship; has the dread of it any effect in preventing crimes?—Replied, only where they have a family; and the shame of transportation, though they do not dread it, is still a punishment. (p. 30.) Does not think domestic attachments are so strong, as where polygamy is not allowed.

Were the slave-trade abolished by the British, the African princes might no doubt be supplied with European

European goods by other Europeans carrying on 1789.
the trade.

Believes, that while it is possible for those princes to get European goods for slaves, through any channel, they would not be induced to acquire them by the improved industry of their subjects.

His evidence, when he mentions Senegal, relates to that only. In his general evidence, his meaning goes as far as he has been, on the Windward coast, as far as Sherbro.

About half the slaves exported from Senegal, P. 21. natives of the coast; and half from the interior country.

The making slaves in the lower country, fell more within his knowledge. He had the mode of making slaves in the interior country from hear-say, from the most respectable travellers through those countries (generally priests, p. 23.) who gave him no information about their government, materially P. 22. different from that of the sea coast, with which he was acquainted.

Has understood, criminals, in interior countries, are tried by the elders openly. Does not undertake to say, there are no unjust convictions; but believes justice is generally fairly administered. The judge has no advantage in the issue of trials.

Conceives the interior countries, of which he speaks, to be the same with those which furnish slaves to the rest of the coast, as far as Benin, namely, Bam-P. 23. barena, &c.

Has understood, that many slaves from those countries, are prisoners of war; they never told him of persons being kidnapped.

The causes he has mentioned, as preventing the exportation of provisions, apply to the countries between, and bordering on, Senegal and Gambia. A little rice is raised by the natives in those countries, but more toward Sherbro. Has always known rice purchased by the ships; though sometimes they find it difficult to get enough.

The

1789. The little gold which is bought by the Europeans, is got in the mines; and, upon the Gold Coast, he
 P. 24. understood it was collected by washing the sands in rivulet. The mines belongs to the districts, and are under the controul of the prince and the priest. The gold is bought with European goods, but always expended again on the coast.

P. 25. During the war, the number of ships to Africa was lessened; but the demand for African produce, gold, wax, ivory, and cam-wood, was always very great; in the poorest state of the trade, infinitely greater than the supply.

The slaves are employed in inland commerce and agriculture.

P. 26. Is confident prisoners of war, and convicts, would not be put to raise cotton, if they were not sold to the Europeans. Does not believe the abolition of the slave trade would make any difference in the people's industry.

There are no public roads; many horses between Senegal and Gambia, but they are never used for draft or burden. Land-carriage is totally impracticable.

Never heard of any rice southward of the Windward Coast.

In Senegal and Gambia, the slaves of black masters are very well fed (except in famines) with corn, flesh and fish. They are not worked for any regular time, nor constantly, and never under the whip.

P. 27. There is no landing-place between Sherbro and the Bite of Benin, fit for landing and shipping goods, without great danger. A great deal of slave trade in that distance. At the several factories there are landing-places, but very unsafe ones. He has heard the anchorage is safe on all that coast. Has never heard of ships being lost by stress of weather on the Gold Coast; because the wind is always along, or off shore. For the same reason ships can put to sea at pleasure.

Senegal

Senegal is now in the hands of the French, and 1789.
we have no access to it.

All he says of the Gold Coast, is from informa- P. 28.
tion.

He has not seen an instance of the Tetanus.

For the reasons why fewer females than males are
sent out of Africa, he refers to his evidence before
the Privy Council.

The punishment for adultery attaches both on the P. 29.
man and the woman.

Men have wives in proportion to their quality and P. 30.
opulence. The first wife bearing a child, is consider-
ed as the chief one. Believes the marriage ceremony
takes place with every wife.

Knows the Moors on the northern shore of the
Senegal do not cross the river to catch the negroes.
Asserts this, from his intimate knowledge of the
country, and correspondence with the chiefs, page 32.

The African owner holds one description of slaves
as merchandize; another, the domestic, he cannot
sell but for crimes.

The Africans are fond of European goods, only P. 31.
as far as their necessities require.

In the earlier period of the African trade, beads,
&c. were much used, but it is now generally reduced
to a demand for necessaries. He is most confident,
the natives would rather go without those goods,
than raise produce to procure them.

Trials for witchcraft generally secret. He does
not know of any fair trial for it.

Does not believe it is the practice to ask those who P. 32.
offer slaves for sale, how they procured them.

Between Senegal and Gambia, the inhabitants
wear clothing, chiefly of their own manufacture, and
of cotton of their own growth. He never knew them
have more cotton than they want. With great pains
he never could get more than a few pounds. He
might have obtained a few cloths at a very high
price. Has known two cloths, 3 yards long, $1\frac{1}{2}$
yard wide, valued at two slaves. They are very sel- P. 33.
dom

1789. dom an article of sale, hence their dearness. The natives manufacture them for themselves. Believes their high price arises chiefly from the indolence of the people. The poorest female slave may have two coarse cloths, which may serve her for a year. They never wear more than two at a time; one over the shoulders, and one round the waist. The opulent will have changes; but does not think the consumption exceeds two for each yearly. Women of the highest condition spin, also their slaves. Professed weavers, sometimes their own slaves, weave it. Does not believe the slaves who, by their master's command, manufacture the cloths; would, if ordered, raise cotton. It is the labour of women and children, except the weaving.

P. 34. Has never known women do field-work; speaks this of the country between Senegal and Gambia.

Very little wood got from that country. He once imported some very bad ebony, and lost by it; also some coarse mahogany, dearer than it would have been here. Knows much ebony could not be got. Believes more mahogany might; but not at a saleable price. He has not known wood imported from that part before he did it. Thinks he has heard, that the African company made an unsuccessful attempt of this kind. The wood he imported was chiefly cut down by the seamen, and some of it by the slaves of a white trader. Does not believe those slaves would have obeyed their master, had he ordered them to cultivate cotton; because the one is only a service of short duration, to which they would have submitted, to gratify him. Were the cutting of wood constant, they would not do that neither.

- P. 35. The native smiths, free or slaves, make a clumsy hoe, axe and knife. There are iron ores in Galam; the high lands of S. Leone, seemed entirely iron ore; but the natives know not its use.

Is not clear, but believes that the natives, both free and slaves, raise rice. The same countries produce rice and cotton. The slaves obey their masters in raising both, as far as is necessary to the family. Rice (which grows by the water edge, p. 36.) is brought to the ships in canoes. 1789.

Witness examined,—RICHARD MILES, Esq.

Was eighteen years and a half in the company's service on the Gold Coast, from 1765 to 1784. For the first ten years commanded at most of the subordinate posts. For the last seven lived at Cape Coast Castle, and commanded the whole; was absent about twenty-six months of that time. P. 37.

Gold Coast extends from Cape La Hou, to the River Volta, about 400 miles.

Has been at Senegal, Goree, Gambia, and Sierra Leone.

Understood the Gold Coast language perfectly. P. 38.

His evidence confined to the water-side; knows nothing of the interior country; except once, when he was twenty miles inland; does not believe he was ever five miles from the coast.

The Gold Coast generally petty states; knows but of one despotic monarchy there at Apellonia, which may be eight or ten miles of coast, (p. 47.)

Believes slavery has been practised in those countries for centuries.

The Fantees on the water-side provide near one-fourth of the slaves purchased by us on the Gold Coast; the other three-fourths from inland (p. 41.) believes the whole from 7 to 8000. P. 39.

B

Slaves

1789. Slaves are sold by black brokers to Europeans.

They are made slaves for theft, debt, adultery, and witchcraft. They have as fair trials, according to the laws, as elsewhere. Trials for witchcraft are generally in the night; but, from generally seeing all satisfied, except the culprits, concludes the trials fair. Cannot say there are no exceptions; believes many; knows some. Principals in witchcraft are sacrificed; the rest generally sold. Commonly the whole family suffer slavery; but here also are some exceptions.

P. 40. The pynims, judges or elders, in the despotic country, are more dependant on the king's will, than on other parts of the coast.

Convicts sold for the benefit of the injured. Has known thousands of debtors sold for the benefit of creditors. Does not think crimes imputed to make slaves; unless witchcraft comes under that description. Judges have a fee at instituting suits; but believes they have no benefit from convictions.

P. 41. Thinks wars unfrequent; but where they happen, prisoners may be sold. But he generally found that on skirmishes (for he admits not wars) between towns, the difference is made up by mediation, and the prisoners exchanged; except that a man or family causing a quarrel, is sold.

Some have gold in considerable quantities; but a man, speaking of his property, speaks of his slaves; every thing else is secondary.

Does not know he ever heard the word kidnapping mentioned out of this country. It cannot be practised to any extent, without certain detection; for the natives have one general language, and the brokers have daily intercourse with the shipping. Hence a kidnapped slave on board would tell his case to the brokers, who, from interest and regard to the laws, would find out the offender.

P. 42. Has no doubt human sacrifices are generally practised; has had ocular proof of it; many thousands
are

are sacrificed at great mens funerals; (to which such 1789. sacrifices are chiefly confined, p. 63.) every one who knows the language, know this to be general.

Knows of no acts of oppression, but by the king of Apollonia; nor of any committed by the Europeans, unless in one or two instances; in which he believes the offenders have been punished in this country.

Skirmishes, so far from increasing the number of slaves, the prisoners are generally exchanged.

Thinks the Gold Coast less favourable to culture P. 43. than any other part; except a small part between Accra and the river Volta.

Very small quantities of gold and ivory, he con-P. 44. ceives, could be procured. A ship of 100 tons would carry twice as much ivory as the Gold Coast affords in a year (p. 60.) A very small boat would carry all the gold that could be got.

When a broker has slaves, he generally endeavours to get ivory for them to bring down.

No navigable river on the Gold Coast, except the small one at Chama, a Dutch settlement; and he is doubtful, if even its mouth will admit vessels. What little he has seen of the country is an impenetrable wood.

Most of the landings at the forts are very dangerous from the surf. He knows of no bay or harbour capable of admitting a ship of burden; ships generally lie two or three miles from shore; conceives this would be a great drawback on the value of produce shipped.

Should be sorry to attempt to colonize that country; the natives, and, still more the climate, would oppose you.

Never knew the Gold Coast produce grain or cotton for exportation, except Indian corn sold to the ships: the quantity depends on that of the provisions they carry from Europe. The corn to the windward is different.

1789. Never knew of dye-wood on the Gold Coast; can't say there is none; but thinks if there had been any some of it would have passed through his hands. Wood grows there much like wainscot.

- While he was there, the Dutch, Danes, and
- P. 45. Portuguese, a few French, and a very considerable number of Americans, traded for slaves. The French had then no settlement there; understands they now have, or are building one; but their trade there is now considerable, not with the natives, but with our ships. The Americans traded very considerably on that coast, on the first going, and till the war. Understands that they have taken it up again; and that several of their ships are now there, chiefly from Boston; but he doubts not they will soon have ships from other ports.

The Slave-Trade might certainly be attempted to be resumed, if it were given up for a few years; but he thinks it would be very impolitick to relinquish it.

The climate is generally very fatal to Europeans; though he enjoyed his health. Believes those on shore are more unhealthy than those on board ship.

Believes land is generally so plenty, that every one takes what he likes, and is not invaded till he reaps his crop.

- P. 47. In most towns, on the Gold Coast, there is a Palaver-house, or Court of Justice, where the judges or elders (few under the age of 60 or 70) hear the parties, openly, for theft and adultery. But he conceives the trial for witchcraft to be a sort of secret religious business, which they conceal. Only a very few are sold for witchcraft.

- P. 48. Not one in 100 of the slaves exported are natives of Apollonia. The late king took more pleasure in killing than selling his slaves; he was a great warrior and monster; he was many years at war with the Dutch, who attempted to take his country, which he ceded to us in 1765; believes many thousands were lost on both sides.

He

He does not believe affection is very predominant 1789. in the breasts of the negroes; but rather otherwise; can give no particular reason. He is sure they do P. 48. not look upon exile as the greatest calamity; is certain that they do not expect to be sacrificed in P. 49. the West-Indies.

Thinks they would have the same right to oppose a settlement on their land, as a West-India planter would on his.

Never knew a single instance of seizing their persons.

All his live and dead stock was bought from the natives.

Rice and millet do not grow on the Gold Coast. Thinks the freemen on the water-side may be to the slaves annually exported from the water-side as 100 to one; (p. 51.) supposes the slaves exported from the water-side are mostly domestics.

Often a convict's family redeem him with a slave; P. 50. if not, he is sold. That slave is from the inland country; of whom most people of consequence have some. A towns-man on the coast, to redeem his son, &c. if he cannot get a slave any other way, will buy one from the Europeans.

The women mostly cultivate the land, and do the house drudgery; the men are chiefly fishermen, some are huntmen; but fish is the great article of trade.

He knows not of any manufacture on the Gold Coast. In most villages there is an awkward sort of a blacksmith, their only tradesman. In the towns the Europeans have shops; the natives none.

Believes a convict's family are not sold, except P. 51. for witchcraft.

He considers domestic slaves as freemen, from having all their advantages; but it is difficult to ascertain who the domestic slaves in a family are.

Guesses there might be more than one, two, or P. 52. three villages, with 3 or 4000 inhabitants, within five miles of his residence.

The

1789. The brokers generally sell the slaves from the inland parts, who make $\frac{1}{4}$ of the whole, as soon as they can, to save expense of feeding and risk of mortality. They do not employ them. The other $\frac{3}{4}$ are generally sold just after they are made slaves, &c. He has known brokers keep slaves on hand, to raise the price. Convicts are generally confined till sold.

He who receives a slave, in exchange for a convict, may use him as he pleases; he may sell him to the Europeans, or incorporate him among his domestics; supposes such are generally sold to the shipping.

- P. 54. For debt and adultery, it is common, and sometimes for theft, to exchange another slave for him condemned. Believes it is stipulated, that an adulterer, with the king's, or a great man's wife, shall not live in the country.

Convicts for witchcraft are generally put to death, as victims, immediately after the sentence. There is very little opportunity of knowing what passes in those cases: but he generally understood, that they put one, or more to death, to appease the injured. The number sold or killed for witchcraft is very trifling. Trials for witchcraft being secret, in the night, their situation can be known only from the sellers, or the convicts, who, not considering it disgraceful, make no secret of what they were sold for.

- P. 55. It is not the practice to ask the seller, or the slave, what was his crime; he should not have asked it, had he known the language. Those of inland slaves are different, and wholly unintelligible to Europeans.

Having often missed a man or woman out of a town, he has been told by the town's people, they had been condemned for witchcraft. Witchcraft attaching to the whole family, none of that family remain to redeem the convict: but believes it is not unusual for some of the younger children to be spared. Persons so condemned, are sold under express agreement, that they shall not be put on shore again. Should the European redeem such, he would suffer very

very materially. Being considered as dangerous, 1789. they are generally hurried out of the country the moment after conviction. He has not a doubt, that, P. 57. in the total absence of shipping, they would all suffer death.

Few of the 2000 slaves furnished by the coast are prisoners of war. The Fantees, on the water-side, were in peace almost all his time. There was a serious war between the Fantees and Ashantees, the two most powerful nations we know of, shortly after his arrival, for a year or more. It was an inland war, caused, he believes, by the Ashantees wishing for part of the coast; thinks he can confidently say, it was not caused or prolonged for making slaves; it seemed to put a stop to the sale of slaves. Believes, in the skirmishes near his residence, the prisoners were redeemed in 19 cases out of 20.

Conceives that many are sold for theft, fewer for adultery, and the fewest for debt.

Three-fourths of the whole are not confined; being from inland, the black broker is not afraid of their deserting. The men of the other one-fourth have their wrists fastened to a log 25 or 30 lb. weight.

The natives like European goods very well; but do not like to pay too dear for them, preferring their own gold.

Has generally found so little industry in them, P. 59. that he thinks, they would not endeavour to raise produce, to procure European goods; but he does not assert this as fact. Though the ships buy all the corn for sale, yet many are obliged to make up what they want, at the neighbouring islands. This demand is pretty certain; the natives know the number of European settlers, and of ships expected. If they were disposed to industry, he knows of no market for the corn, and the few vegetables they raise.

Near the water-side it is very rocky; except some P. 60. spots. Where he was, (once 20 miles inland) the soil is so rocky, that it could not produce much else than

1789. than Indian corn. There is no inland water communication, no beasts of burden, (p. 61.) and the shipping of bulky articles, except at one season of the year, would be very dangerous and expensive.

Supposes the inhabitants would not be fond of employing the native slaves and those for sale in agriculture. It would be as dangerous as so employing convicts in England (p. 61, 65, 68.)

They have all their clothing from Europe; not a yard of cloth is made on the Gold coast. To leeward of the river Volta, he understands, they use indigo; (and bring it to great perfection, p. 70) but not that he remembers on the Gold Coast.

P. 61. Believes he saw 3 or 4 Arabian horses while he was there. He imported horses, but they did not live.

For the last 10 years of his residence, he saw almost every ship sail, (that had finished her business, p. 63.) When a ship happened to sail at night, it was to take the benefit of an early land-wind; but most ships sail from 5 to 11 A. M. (p. 64.)

He is considerably concerned in the Slave-Trade: should have said that at first, had he not been convinced, that it would not influence his evidence.

P. 62. If a cloth 2 yards square is called clothing, they are all clothed.

Families generally plant corn and a few vegetables, which, with fish (a great article of their trade) form the chief of their food.

Most freemen in the towns have 2, 3, or more slaves, who cut fire-wood for the shipping, by their order. If a slave of his disobeyed him, he sold him; and supposes a free native would do the same.

P. 63. The factory slaves and their forefathers have been handed down from time to time; and now are mostly born slaves.

The Gold Coast produces cotton, which might be cultivated; but it would be difficult to get the natives to do it. He planted the only pieces of cotton

ton he ever saw there, which might be the size of the 1789.
 floor of this house. The natives would not gather
 it, though offered ten times its value. Doubtless they
 received for slaves the same articles he offered.

Does not suppose his having redeemed some slaves
 from sacrifice, had much effect on the practice; it
 lessened the number in that instance.

Has generally heard suits for witchcraft have P. 64.
 taken place on the sudden unaccountable death of
 the slave's master or mistress.

Cannot suppose couples are so constant there, as
 where a man has only one wife. If wives have money
 to pay the forfeit, they generally follow their inclina-
 tions. Men and women convicted of adultery, re-
 deem themselves, or forfeit liberty. Says, from much P. 65.
 experience, as many females as males could not be
 had. He has bought some hundreds—some thou-
 sands.

He never buried 10 slaves, young and old.

Cannot say, whether the free natives are subject
 to Tetanus.

They have no punishment that he knows of, but
 death and slavery, (p. 69.)

No doubt the large canoes which carry off slaves,
 might carry off produce.

The land may be cultivated; but this removes
 not the general inconvenience of the rocks. Does P. 66.
 not suppose 1000th part of the land capable of pro-
 ducing corn, yams, &c. is cultivated. Cotton will
 grow there, and does grow wild. Rice has often
 been unsuccessfully tried; it is peculiar to another
 part of Africa.

Believes slaves generally require masters at their
 heels; and so would free men.

Admits his evidence before the Privy Council as
 fact (p. 71.) P. 67.

It often happens that 1 slave in a lot of 8 or 10 is
 refused, for some little defect, though otherwise
 strong. He has generally found such importunate

1789. to be bought, and endeavouring to show himself as capable of labour as the rest. Generally nine-tenths of all he has bought seemed pleased at exchanging Black for White masters. Believes their joy arises from removing from a situation, where they think their lives in danger, from being subservient to their master's will. Masters put slaves to death in their rites; and probably in cases unknown to Europeans. He cannot speak to the cause so well as to the fact.
- P. 68. The Europeans are, at all times, ready to buy slaves offered to them.
- An inland country, between Accra and the river Volta, makes a trifling number of cloths, which being brought to Accra, may have given rise to the idea that they are made there.
- P. 79. Has been told by judges that the wild indigo, between Accra and the river Volta, is very inferior to that of other parts.
- Mr. Baggs's evidence is a mere burlesque of the cultivation of Africa. He admits that from Accra to the river Volta is level and more fertile than the rest of the Gold Coast; the difference between that and other parts of Africa described by him very striking; but thinks Mr. Baggs paints it in too high colours.
- P. 71. May have stated that indigo grew wild about Accra; but remembers not to have said, it was in use; nor has he seen in the book (viz. The Privy Council Report) that part of his evidence. If there stated, as part of his evidence, he does not recollect having seen it. Certainly had an opportunity of revising the minutes.
- P. 72. Does not know that princes keep women to breed slaves for sale.

Witness Examined—

KNOX,

Has been between 7 and 8 years commander of 1789.
an African ship (first as master 1782, p. 77.)—not
now—but likely to be again. About an equal time P. 73.
surgeon of an African ship. Is acquainted with the
Windward Coast, more particularly; the Grain
Coast, and Angola. Five or six voyages on the
Windward Coast, the last for 33 months.

Governments on the Grain Coast are small so-P. 74.
cieties very loosely joined, where a few, for safety,
find it convenient to assemble for business. Each is
the king and priest of his house, and is respected ac-
cording to his wealth. These judge of crimes, and
are entitled to respect when assembled (p. 85.) He
knows of no law binding them to mutual defence.
Hence depredations are general. Such is the loose
government there.

The Grain Coast extends from Sherbro to Cape
Palmas.

As far as he has seen, a very small way inland,
it is very populous indeed.

It is very low, and, in the rains, much of it over-
flowed. Apprehends it is unhealthy.

Slavery is universal (see p. 76.) The slaves very
numerous sometimes. Bought by Europeans from the P. 75.
native brokers between those who bring them from
inland and the ships. He apprehends nine-tenths
of the slaves come from inland, the other one-tenth
from the small district on the beach. That one-
tenth made slaves for adultery, witchcraft, theft, and
sometimes debt, and prisoners of war. Believes do-
mesticks are not sold but for crimes.

Trials are fair and open, except those for witch-
craft, which are secret. Other crimes are generally

C 2 punished

1789. punished by slavery; but the principals, in witchcraft, are generally strangled and then burnt. The rest of the family are made slaves.

The north of the river Sherbro produces camwood; the south, malaguetta pepper; the whole rice, and some little ivory.

P. 76. Has made 3 voyages to Angola, and always lived on shore.

That part of Angola we trade to, governed by a king, under many severe restrictions.

Slaves sent from Angola, like most other places, generally come from inland; the rest from the kingdom on the beach. They become slaves for the same crimes, as in other parts. Trials fair and open before the princes of the blood, sometimes the king. The party aggrieved has the benefit of convicts. It is the same on the Grain Coast.

P. 77. The part of Angola we trade to is very small. In a larger sense, it takes in Loango St. Paul's, and extends about 5 degrees.

It produces red or barwood, and a little ivory: knows of nothing else. A very few ships have been in the barwood trade; believes in nothing else.

In his first voyage as master (of the *Fairy* of Liverpool, p. 103) in 1782, had 45 men, more than one-half landmen: seamen not then to be got. Out between 6 and 7 months. Lost none. Had

P. 78. 450 negroes on board, of whom he lost 17 or 18. Tons 108, perhaps more. Voyage was to Angola and Tortola (where arrived June 1783, p. 103.) Second voyage in same ship to Angola and Dominica. Out about 14 months, more than 7 on the coast, from the number of Frenchmen then there. Crew 33 or or 34: remembers not going to sea, but that more than one-half (always one-half, p. 79.) were landmen. Lost 4 of fevers. Purchased about 320 negroes, and lost near 40; from the length of the purchase, and the want of their natural food, which that country never affords for negroes exported.

P. 79. Third voyage in the same ship, to C. Mount, on the Grain

Grain Coast, and Dominica. Had 34 men. Sent 1789. the ship off, with 25 of the men he took out, after he had been 17 months on the coast. He was in all 33 months: 3 were officers who staid with him, 3 were lost in craft, and 3 died of fevers. Left the coast, as captain of a ship (Lark of Liverpool, p. 104.) Jan. 1788. Had on board 290 negroes, and lost 1. (Arrived in W. Indies, Feb. 1788, p. 104.)

Believes heavy articles cannot be shipped or land-P. 80. ed, on the Windward Coast, from the heavy, constant, and universal surf. Rice is brought generally in very small baskets, in canoes, and is very generally wet. He often could not get enough of rice.

Knows of no dye-woods near C. Mount. River Sherbro produces much camwood, and no where else, that he knows, in the district. Wax here unknown: the whole produces some ivory, malaguetta pepper in one part, and rice over the whole. Thinks our market overstocked with camwood and barwood. Apprehends it impossible to extend the ivory trade in this place.

On the Wood Coast east of Sherbro there is no river where a boat of 4 or 5 feet water could go 12 miles up. P. 81.

Never knew nor heard of kidnapping.

Slaves on board are, most assuredly, treated humanely. Rice is a principal article of their food on the Windward Coast, also cassada, palm-oil, many glutinous herbs, pepper; on the coast often fish. When rice enough cannot be got, ships carry out beans and stock-fish; and from Africa, palm-oil, pepper, sheep, goats, fowls. The beans are generally split, but has seen them otherwise. Never knew slaves on board without plenty of food. It is almost the sole employment of the officers to serve them. The natives of Angola live on cassada, fish, and a little Indian corn. Angola affording no food, ships always carry out beans, and he always called at P. 82.

1789. at the Wood Coast for rice, when to be got (see p. 93.) Never saw the negroes want water on the passage. Ships from the Windward Coast sometimes water at S. Leone; though all ships employ the natives to bring water. They constantly take about one gallon per head per day, for two months, but generally 10 weeks, from the Windward Coast. The passage being more certain from Angola, less water is supposed sufficient.

The men are generally in irons (a right and left leg and arm, p. 85) the women never. (This is the case in most ships, p. 106.) Many take off the irons only when they reach the W. Indies. Others, of

P. 82. whom he was one, when they leave the coast, (see p. 109.)

P. 83. Generally ships can only sail very early in the morning when the land breeze blows. They may sail along the G. Coast; but cannot well get from it any other time. A signal for sailing always flying 3 or 4 weeks before. A few mornings before sailing, a gun is daily fired. The natives know these signals.

In good weather, the slaves are on deck all day, and the grown ones below at night. Many of the younger ones run where they please night and day. Never supposed one died from crowding. Trade-wind, they go from under the gratings to keep from cold.

Every attention is paid to the sick. For his 6 voyages as surgeon he visited them 3 or 4 times in the night. All ships are amply supplied with medicines, fago, wine, &c. Cleanliness, fumigations, &c. and above all, fresh air supplied.

P. 84. Never knew repellents used to make slaves up for sale. (Never used them himself, nor heard of their being used, p. 110.) The whites' health particularly attended to. The greatest mortality falls on landmen from being unseasoned to the country.

Saw no manufactures on Windward Coast, but a few sleeping mats. Some chiefs wear clothes from a country they cannot describe. In Angola they make

make a small grass-cloth, the medium of trade, also 1789. a few caps and pipes curiously formed. A ship load would not fetch 5l. in England. Apprehends few of them could be procured.

Has often heard that a very few slaves from inland are prisoners of war. On the coast war always destroys the slave-trade. Never heard they were made or prolonged for making slaves. P. 85.

The first voyage one man left him in the West Indies. The second voyage also one, and four died.

In most ships you may stand upright under the gratings, in others all over the ship. In very small ships often not above four feet. His ship 5 feet 10 inches, under the gratings 6 feet 10 inches, with platforms all round nearly in the middle between the decks, about 2 feet 11 inches from each, quite full of slaves. P. 86.

Slaves who speak the same language are chained together. Recollects not an instance to the contrary. (see p. 106.)

Never saw it necessary to force the slaves to dance.

Thinks, but for the negroes, no ivory would come down, and that all we receive, and for which we give every encouragement, would not pay carriage, independent of the negroes. P. 87.

The natives, no doubt, wish for our goods. Near the beach, making no cloth, they are always clothed from Europe. Guns, powder, spirits, and tobacco, from habit, may be reckoned necessities.

Ivory is their only article that could be useful to us. Some mats and cloths have been imported, but never fetched a price. Believes more of them might be produced, but not ivory. Apprehends rice could not be greatly cultivated; for the quick vegetation makes the labour of clearing land almost incredible. No doubt some of the soil might be applied to many articles of produce. Much is now uncultivated. P. 88.

Most generally the slaves in his ship had room to lie on their backs — sometimes not. In most of last war, all the French, and many English, quitted the trade.

1789. trade. Those that went found plenty of slaves, and cheap, (believes something under 10l. each, p. 104.) hence some crowded ships. In his last voyage, (in the Tartar, p. 103.) as surgeon, to Angola, in 1781 and early in 1782, the slaves wanted room. Of his 602 negroes, few, except upon deck, had the breadth of their backs, and he lost only nine to Jamaica. Believes the tonnage from 130 to 150 tons, (old register, p. 92.) but not positive.—In his next voyage, as master, they were pretty much in the same situation. The vessel, 106 or 108 tons by register, the slaves 450, the loss 17 or 18.—45 whites, p. 89.
- P. 89. In his last voyage, the ship might be about 120 tons, (old register, p. 92.) Seamen slept upon spars between fore and main-mast, as in all Guinea-men. From 50 to 60 slaves perhaps slept on deck, and 40 to 45 in the cabin, the rest below; but does not precisely remember. The cabin, (which would have held 25 to 30, and with platforms supposes 15 more, at least, p. 91.) taken up by a sick white trader, so that perhaps all the slaves had not the breadth of their backs. (70 boys and 20 men slept on deck. None at all in irons, p. 92.) Had 290 slaves, and lost but one. In six other voyages, as far as he remembers, they might have lain on their backs, had
- P. 89. they chose.—In the ship of 108 tons, with 450 slaves, P. 90. the breadth might be 22 or 23 feet.—Provisions abaft in rooms for the purpose. Water in hold; and for 10 days on deck—carried several puncheons to the West-Indies. Water took up little of the deck, and the negroes, not one of whom was in irons, had room enough for amusement. The two boats slung on the quarters. Two main hatchways, about five feet square, but not positive. A small one forwards into the fuel-room. Two small ones abaft, into the provision-room.
- P. 91.

Guinea seamen subject to fevers, seldom to dysenteries. Recollects no other general disease.

Negroes, in Africa, daily rub themselves with palm-oil,

palm-oil, when to be got. This is also done in the 1789. Middle Passage, from cleanliness.

His greatest mortality was from Angola, where the natives live on cassada soured, which resists the scurvy, of which 9 of 10 that he lost, died.—Of his 600 slaves from Angola, he lost but 9, from quick purchase. From 50 to 200 were then offered for sale in a day. P. 93.

The trade is made on shore, and they are seldom heard of till they come into the factory. He made the trade on shore for two voyages. When they were so plenty, 1782, thinks they cost about one-third of the price he afterwards paid. P. 94.

Guinea ships obliged to take more men than are necessary for navigation. Cannot see that their all remaining on board after arrival in the West Indies would hurt owners. Never knew masters of Guinea-men persuade or oblige seamen to desert in the West Indies. In three voyages he left only three men there. In his passage to Africa, he never restricted the men in provisions. On the coast was obliged to put them to allowance, to prevent embezzlement with the natives—generally 1 lb. beef and 1 lb. bread daily. Never knew them stinted in water. Flour, pease, and oatmeal generally half a pint daily, or more, with some butter. Different masters, he believes, give different articles on different days; with him generally flour twice a week, pease as long as good, oatmeal, if sound, for breakfast, and butter occasionally. He had always water aboard for the seamen. The continuance of this allowance through the Middle Passage, will depend on the length of purchase. Thinks a ship, with two slaves to a ton, and the usual crew, can take enough of provisions to keep up this allowance for the voyage. P. 95.

Thinks no seamen were ever better treated than his. Wishes not to go on hearsay. Never sold spirits to his crew; but has seen it done in one or two ships. His had a dram every morning. They receive half their wages in the West Indies. Knows P. 96.

D

of

1789. of no deductions but one shilling per month for the hospitals, and for a few slops they may have had, (see p. 100.) There is an invoice-price; but the sale-price fixed by the captain, who has no interest in it, (see p. 100.) Half-wages paid in the West Indies, to enable men to lay in things to present their friends with on their return. Has known officers in their agreement prohibited from trading in Africa; but no restriction on the disposal of men's wages in the West Indies. In seamens articles there is one, that if an officer or man enters himself for a situation he cannot fill, the master and two officers, named by him, at sea, shall make a reasonable deduction from his wages, which goes to the owner, one seaman being stipulated to be present.—The captain has a discretionary power to remove any officer of whose conduct he is not satisfied. It is very generally expressed in the articles, that if seamen enter on board a king's ship they shall be paid all their wages in the currency of the country in which they are paid, but
- P. 98. such agreements in the slave-trade between master and seaman having been so often set aside by lawyers and men of war's officers, a man would be a fool to prosecute him who had nothing to lose. Means that the articles would not warrant withholding any of the seaman's pay, however he might have behaved. Considers those articles of very little use indeed, though he never went without them. It is very
- P. 100. generally agreed, that half of their wages shall be paid in currency. On that account we generally give (10s. per month, p. 105.) one-fourth more monthly-money than in any other trade. Thinks this rather given as an equivalent for half-wages currency, than for greater danger of the voyage, (p. 106.) Is very certain they do not consider their 40s. per month as sterling. It is seldom necessary to explain the difference between currency and sterling, for any of the men can do it, as no Liverpool ship carries all new men. Believes Antigua currency 175, at Jamaica and Barbadoes always 140. Thus the wages

wages paid in the West Indies, which is never half, 1789. may fluctuate from 40 to 75. To such as enter in king's ships, they are often obliged to pay the whole P. 102. in sterling, in defiance of the articles, and by the rule of force, by which one delivers his purse to a highwayman, and which has been exerted in unbending the sails and disabling the vessel from sailing. This was done in Kendal's ship, as he often told him, (p. 107.) Wages paid to representatives of dead sea-P. 103. men, in currency and sterling, as if they had lived.

Of his 450 slaves, six only were put in the second P. 104. class, upon sale, and they were sold in an hour—no refuse slaves.

The slaves appeared very indifferent as to their fate.

Never knew an instance of locked jaw on the coast.

Carried nearly two men slaves to one woman, both at the same price. From the number of great men's P. 105. wives, thinks it impossible to procure as many women as men.

Half a pint or more of water served to each slave P. 106. morning and evening; in very hot weather, the same at noon. The slaves mess in classes of 10, so that none can be overlooked. The sick constantly have gruel or rice-water.

The captains, mates, and surgeon's profits, all but a trifle, depend on preserving the slaves health.

A seaman in the navy has less room above his head than an African negro. He makes no account P. 107. of the distance of the hammock from the floor, but only of the space above their heads.

In every cargo there is a few from near the beach who generally speak English. Most of them know the language of their neighbours, and those of others still farther back, and thus surgeons come at the complaints of the negroes, by three or more interpreters.

The leg-iron is nearly a semicircle, each end having an eye to receive a bolt which goes through the eyes of the rings on the negroes' legs. The bolt is

1789. six or eight inches long. The wrist-irons the same, but more slender.

P. 108. All the negroes are upon deck from eight to five daily. It must be very bad weather when they are not brought on deck.

Has no doubt but the negroes lie in the night in tolerable comfort.

By every symptom, he always understood their complaints proceeded from the body. Never heard otherwise from the interpreters.

The captain and officers, as well as the meanest landman, receive half their wages in currency.

P. 109. The slaves, in his ship, had no additional chain or irons, by night or day, from their falling from the coast, in his three voyages as master. The safety of the ship and crew depended on his and his people's good behaviour to the slaves.

Never knew any expedients practised to suppress the appearance of diseases previous to the sale of them.

He never was consulted by the owners as to the number, but often as to the accommodation, of the slaves to be taken on board; that is, whether they had room to lie, whether their food was well dressed, whether their little wants were well supplied, and whether their food was duly served, and in sufficient quantity.

Witness examined—Capt. WILLIAM MACINTOSH,

Commander of a Ship in the East-India Company's Service.

P. 112. Was, from early in 1760, to July 1762, as midshipman and captain's clerk of a king's vessel, at Senegal, to defend the river's mouth. She was stationed there in the sickly season, and in the healthier

P. 113. she was generally 20 miles higher, off the fort. The crew was originally 57 men. Were often supplied, with a few men at a time, by men of war, and buried

ried many more than their original complement. 1789.
 Thinks only two, besides himself, came off the coast.
 The vessel was at last sunk in the river, for want of
 men to bring her off, it not being thought an object
 to send men to do it.

Went again to Senegal in 1774, as master of a
 West-Indiaman. Took no slaves on board, as he
 went merely for information.

Went again in 1775, and again in 1776, in the
 same capacity. Bought above 200 slaves each voy-
 age. Did not stay on the coast above two or three P. 114.
 weeks each time. Sold at Grenada. (the same ves-
 sel each time, about 250 tons, p. 118.) In both voy-
 ages, both on the coast, and on the passage, his
 slaves and crew were in perfect health, till the sale,
 which was soon; lost none.

Went again 1778, with government stores to the
 Gold Coast. Staid on the coast five months. Bought
 70 slaves at Senegal. Stopped at Gambia and
 S. Leone, and finished his purchase on the Gold
 Coast, after landing his stores, cargo when compleat-
 ed under 400 slaves. Crew 48, very healthy. Slaves P. 115.
 generally so; five or six died. Sold at Grenada.
 (Ship the Symond, about 300 tons, p. 118.)

When in the king's sloop, he often went into the
 country several days at a time, and once walked from
 Senegal to Goree, and back, (ferried across to Goree,
 p. 118.) Always heard that on the coast of Senegal
 particularly, slaves were made for crimes; but most
 of them come down the river from inland. Never P. 116.
 heard of villages in that country being pillaged to
 procure slaves. Certainly never heard of their be-
 ing kidnapped by the natives. Has heard of their
 being kidnapped by Europeans; but no man ever
 told him he saw it. Never knew it happen.

In 1778, he was there a single ship, when the war
 had stopped the slave trade, and he wished to reduce
 the price. He reasoned with them about the folly
 of keeping it up, when there was likely to be no
 buyer. Asked a chief what he would do with his
 slaves

1789. slaves then? observing that he must let them go again, (meaning prisoners of war.) The chief replied, "What them go again, to come to kill me again." In short, he gave me to understand, that they would put them to death.

P. 117. Ships, from that coast, always sail in the day, generally in the morning. Signals, perfectly understood by the natives, are made several days before sailing.

In 1778, found at S. Leone, that the Minerva frigate, instead of going to the Gold Coast, had gone to the West-Indies with above 80 sick.

Has not understood there is any particular mortality, in slave ships or others on the coast, but only up rivers. He never was up any but Senegal.

P. 118. Senegal produces cotton and corn chiefly. Believes neither is exported.

Has had no connexion with the African trade these ten years, nor likely ever to have any.

Attributes this healthiness to the shortness of the time on the coast, not to the small number of negroes on board. He did not carry slaves as a common guineaman, had much room; but few in irons, and had plenty of provisions and water. Thinks a gallon of water a day for a white man, and three quarts for a negro, a great allowance. Includes dressing of food. Never stinted them.

Made no agreement with seamen to pay them one-half wages in currency. Paid them the whole in London. Sold the seamen very little spirits or tobacco, spirits particularly. Recollects not the price; but always treated the men very liberally.

P. 120. Numbers of Guinea sailors come home from the West Indies, by the run, for which they get more than double the wages they would have received in the slave ships; this a strong inducement to desert the African ships.

Does not believe the Moors ever cross the Niger to take the women out of the villages, while the men are at work.

Does

Does not think the natural affections of the negroes by any means so strong, as those of the Europeans. 1789. P. 121.

Does not think wars are stirred up to get brandy.

Slaves come from very great distances inland. Many of the 70 slaves he took from Senegal, and who came from Gallam, knew the language of those he got on the Gold Coast. Hence he infers, there is an uninterrupted traffick through all the tract from the Gold Coast to the head of the Senegal.

His ship was not so conveniently fitted up as the Liverpool slave ships then were.

Thinks the slaves in the West-Indies appear contented.

Free Africans seldom come on board slave ships to visit slaves.

Thinks not quite half his 400 slaves were females. P. 122. Thinks the men cost about £16 or £18 the women about £4 less. Did not wish for an equal number of females; because he thought the men would turn to better account. Certainly an equal number of females might have been procured, when he was there.

Able seamen in the West-India trade have from 23s. to 30s. per month, according to the time of the year in which the ships are fitted out. He generally brought home two-thirds of his men at least. There are few voyages (to any place, p. 123.) in which seamen do not run away. Of the seamen taken out in the West-Indiamen, some die, some go to America, and some to the French islands.

Had he taken 500, instead of 200, slaves, he believes they might have been equally healthy, had he staid no longer on the coast. In general, staying long on the coast is more fatal to slaves and crew, than length of passage or crowding. Thinks the mortality proportioned to the time; for ships are twice or thrice as long on the coast, as on the passage. Thinks the open coast, three or four miles from shore, as healthy as the Middle Passage. P. 123.

More

1789. More die after the ship is full slaved, and is gone off the coast, unless she is long on the coast. When
 P. 124. there is a greater proportion of mortality on the passage than the coast, it probably arises from crowding or ill fitted ship, unless disease gets among them, which all great numbers of people confined in a vessel are liable to.

Believes, were the trade abolished, it would be impossible to prevent our planters from supplying themselves from the neutral or French islands. Thinks foreigners would immediately take up the slave trade.

- The slaves are sold in the West-Indies, in lots of eight or ten. The whole cargo is divided into pretty equal lots. When he said slaves cost £16 or £18 on the coast, he meant prime slaves. The average price of men, women and children was then about £12 or
 P. 125. £13. They were then particularly low. The average in the West-Indies was then from £28 to £40.

- Slave ships seldom bring home any West-India produce, because there are always plenty of ships in
 P. 125. that trade. When there are not, they sometimes ship produce on board slave vessels, not else.

Thinks it would answer, as a mercantile concern, to send West-Indiamen to take in slaves on the coast, if ready for them; but it would require only a small proportion of the West-Indiamen, to carry the slaves from Africa; and it would be impossible to get slaves quick enough to dispatch the ships. As far as S. Leone, the delay would not be very great; but if they went below that, it would be a losing concern.

- P. 126. Has heard that a house in this town, have agents on the coast, to dispatch their vessels quicker. Does not believe they have a ship stationed there for the purpose; but they order one to stay there for a time, and, when there is no longer occasion for her, she goes off with slaves.

Thinks his being able to get as many females as males,

males, was owing, his being the only ship then on the coast. 1789.

Never heard of sending boats to seduce boys and other people, in order to make slaves of them.

Witness examined,—JEROME BARNARD WEUVES, Esq.

Was fourteen years in Africa, chiefly as Governor P. 128. of most of the British forts on the Gold Coast. Left it more than five years ago. Understood the language as well as most Europeans.

That country is divided into petty states. At P. 129. Anamaboe there is a King. At other parts, Pynims and Elders, and Cabishers above them.

From Succundee to Accra is the Fantee country.

Slaves are the greatest part of their wealth, (see p. 147.) There are born slaves and purchased slaves. P. 130. A born slave cannot be sold but for a crime. They are tried by judges of their own clan, (i. e. slaves belonging to, and inherited by, one man, p. 140.) the punishment generally slavery. They are made slaves for theft, adultery, and witchcraft, and from gaming themselves away. For these crimes freemen are also made slaves.

Criminals sold for the benefit of the injured. Free-P. 131. men are tried by the Pynims, who wear a peculiar straw hat, and who meet in the market-place, if there is no palaver-house (an open court of justice) and try them openly. Believes the Judges, either of a free or slave criminal, receive no reward.

Gamesters become slaves, by throwing dice. There is no trial. They surrender themselves. But gaming is not frequent on the Gold Coast.

Believes there is a trial for witchcraft; but never saw one (p. 140) He once bought a family of nine (neither of the superior nor inferior class (p. 148) one of whom only had been accused of witchcraft. The whole town came to see them fairly off the P. 132. beach. Hence he infers they had a fair trial. Witch-

E

craft

1789. craft certainly involves the whole family (who are always extirpated without regard to persons p. 149).

Fancies from 6000 to 8000, perhaps more slaves are yearly exported from the Gold Coast. Dares say above two-thirds by the English, the rest by the Dutch and Danes.

There was no war while he was there. Is certain the natives of the Gold Coast sold in that time were not prisoners of war but merely criminals.

Knows nothing of kidnapping, is sure it would be impracticable. Canoe-men being natives it would be impossible to get off kidnapped slaves, without being known. No captain would risk his trade by taking off any person unlawfully.

P. 133. Ships before they can trade must pay customs. The King sends town-elders on board to receive his customs and their own. Then three, five, or seven guns are fired, and the ensign hoisted, to show that the ship may trade. Scarce a day passes afterwards, but black brokers come and sleep on board, at pleasure, to see the trade properly carried on. Hence a person wrongfully seized would certainly be able to convey his complaints on shore. He hardly knows a trade more fairly carried on. The black broker or slave's owner has the choice of the goods. If they suit him he sells the slave, if not he takes him away.

Never heard of breaking up villages to make slaves. Nothing of the kind existed in the fourteen years he was there. Has heard the natives say, there was a want of slaves during inland wars.

P. 134. A great many, perhaps one-half or two-thirds of the slaves sent from the Gold Coast, come from far inland (p. 154). The black brokers told him they go three, four, or five days journey to a market inland, to which slaves are brought, by more inland brokers, and so from many more inland brokers. He judges such slaves to be of various tribes (from their different mode of marking their bodies, some filing their teeth, above all their different languages, p. 135). Has had 20, 30, or 40 who did not know each

each other's language. Thinks they are bred inland 1789.
 for slaves, because some of them do not seem suffi-
 ciently robust and spirited for warriors. Slaves are ^{P. 135.}
 not bred for sale, on the Gold Coast, but sold for
 crimes.

Human sacrifices prevail on the Gold Coast, and
 he believes, have prevailed from time immemorial.
 Slaves, he believes, born so or purchased, are sacri-
 ficed on the death of some great man. They think
 the manes of the dead will be uncomfortable unless
 persons are sent to wait upon him. Believes refused
 slaves are generally sacrificed. But recollects no in- P. 136.
 stance of it.

The Gold Coast people wear no clothes, but a
 yard or two of cloth round the waist.

Thinks our abolition of the trade would not abolish
 it there. It would change its course, and the slaves
 be dispersed from west to east and bought by the
 Moors, Arabs, &c. But this only opinion. The
 other Europeans engaged in the trade would share
 the number we did not take off. There would not
 be one slave the less on the Gold Coast, nor one more
 or less convicted of crimes on the Gold Coast (if the P. 136.
 trade was abolished by all the Europeans, p. 141).

There are no manufactures on the Gold Coast. P. 137.
 They get their clothing from the Europeans, by the
 slave-trade. That coast produces no articles for
 commerce but slaves.

The Gold Coast extends from Cape La Hou to the
 River Volta, about 400 miles.

It produces a little Gold and Ivory. Little Gold
 got on that coast. Believes the little Gold and Ivory
 there is brought from inland. Ivory generally
 brought on slaves shoulders. It helps to pay charges
 of journey. That coast produces Grain and Cotton,
 but not for exportation. Supplies the ships food for P. 138.
 the slaves. Cotton not cultivated. Has heard that
 the Dutch attempted to cultivate it; they took great
 pains, but it came to nothing (p. 151 at Axim).
 The natives would not take to the cultivation. Sup-

1780. poses the Dutch now hardly raise enough for wicks for the lamps of their settlements. (They had many of their own slaves on the cotton plantation. Very little slave trade near it, p. 147).

Never saw any dye-wood there. Knows of no other woods there, except common wood for gun-carriages and other carpenters use. From the little industry of the natives, even for their own maintenance, he apprehends they would not raise produce for exportation. Believes that, though land is very plenty, they would not permit the Europeans to settle there. They are obliged to pay rent for their settlements. Apprehends they would not sell the land.

While he was in Africa, many Americans resorted there, and he believes, they do now. (They traded briskly till the war, p. 139).

P. 139. Could the natives be brought to raise produce, it must be conveyed to the coast on their heads. The best landings there are indifferent (p. 151) but from May to August the surf makes it dangerous for the natives to go to the ships and return. Thinks it impossible to ship a hoghead of sugar, in those months, when the ships lie about four miles off, in fine weather, about three miles.

Recollects not seeing a ship sail in the night. They generally sail, in the morning, with the land-wind. They always make signals, sometimes a month before sailing, which, he understood was done to make the natives settle their accounts. The signal is a gun, loose fore-top-sail and ensign hoisted every

P. 140. morning.

For the smallest Theft the offender is sold for the benefit of the injured. Does not recollect saying, but might have said, before the Privy Council, that convicts for witchcraft were sold for the benefit of a town at large, but chiefly for that of the principal people: if he did say so, he alluded to nine persons, part of the family of a man condemned for witchcraft, and who were sold at the request of the whole town, who received their value, and he supposes, divided it.

Has

Has heard that some refused slaves have been sold 1789.
to be sacrificed. Believes they are religious sacrifices. ~~~~~
Sometimes a great man's favourite girl or boy is sa- P. 141.
crificed to attend him in the next world. They think
this a duty (p. 152). Doubts not, but if refused
slaves were not bought for this use, those of the de-
ceased would supply their place.

Believes the Dutch or Danes often buy slaves of
inferior quality.

As slaves are not bred on the Gold Coast for sale, P. 142.
he thinks the number from inland must far exceed
any thing of the kind on the Gold Coast. As there
were no wars in Africa while he was there, he pre-
sumes the slaves brought down must have been bred
slaves or convicts. Most slaves of the coast are un-
doubtedly criminals.

The natives of the Gold Coast are vindictive and P. 143.
thievish in general.

Convicts are generally allowed to be redeemed,
if they have friends to do it.

Has seen, at a distance, intended victims dressed and P. 144.
dancing cheartfully. Has no doubt but this arose from
thinking they were about to attend their deceased
master.

The Gold Coast not fertile, being very rocky.
Indian corn is the chief produce. Has seen the na-
tives raise a few sugar-canes, by just throwing them
into the earth. Cotton also grows there. Has seen
something called Indigo; but is no judge. Never
saw any dying wood, but what came from other parts
of Africa.

P. 145.

The Gold coast is very populous. There are a
good many considerable towns there, which are sup-
plied with provisions from a good way inland, by
people who bring corn on their heads, or from other
parts of the coast by water. Canoes are sometimes
obliged to go thirty or forty miles along shore, to
fetch corn and yams; for though the land behind
the towns is cultivated he supposes to some distance,
it was not already productive to maintain the peo- P. 146.
ple.

1789. ple. When he has been obliged to buy provisions from them, they brought corn to him, five, six, or seven miles, on their heads.

They have no idea of cultivation. After cutting the brush-wood, they let it dry, burn it, and throw the corn on the ashes, without digging the ground. This is done by the family where there is no slaves. If a man has slaves, they help him. Famines are frequent. He has known corn very scarce indeed.

The natives do not work in the ships, but when sickness renders it necessary. They are often employed in the boats, to save the seamen.

Where the Dutch attempted to raise cotton, there is very little trade in slaves, but chiefly in gold and ivory, which last is brought down on the slaves shoulders, or by the people brought down to carry back the goods bought with the gold.

The natural indolence of the natives is a total bar to all industry whatever.

Has heard the natives say the Gold Mines are a great way inland. Believes the teeth brought from a good way inland.

There are few iron tools but what are imported from Europe. A kind of hoe is made from the bar-iron imported from Europe, and with which they cultivate yams. Does not know if they can make a hatchet there.

He is certain persons convicted of witchcraft and their innocent relations would be sacrificed, were the sale of slaves prevented. An old woman accused of witchcraft, or the wife of an accused man, whom he refused, had her head cut off.

Does not know he ever purchased a prisoner of war.

Is at present concerned in the slave-trade.

P. 150. On the Gold Coast, the considerable men may have from twenty to three dozen of wives. Has not a doubt but these women may entrap the unwary. Dares say it may be as common there as in London; only in Africa is attended with the loss of liberty.

Does

Does not believe it is usual for chiefs to send out 1789.
women for this purpose. }

Has been told wars stop the slave-trade. There was no scarcity of slaves while he was on the coast.

Three, four, or five black brokers, according to the ship's size, attend the ship daily, while on the coast. They are paid for this attendance.

Europeans seldom ask the black brokers how the P. 151.
slaves are procured. Being brought on board in canoes, they know they are fairly got, and take no farther trouble.

The largest canoes he ever saw were two with 21 paddlers each. No doubt a cask of the size of a water-cask might be carried on board full of sugar as well as water.

Believes they were about a month in landing four P. 152.
or six 42 pounders, on a catamaran, at Anamaboe.

The slaves belonging to the Company make hinges, &c. in the blacksmith's shop, in the Castle Yard, at C. Coast.

Believes human sacrifices, on the Gold Coast, are only made on the death of great men. Their num- P. 153.
bers depend on the rank of the deceased.

When there were many ships on the Gold Coast they did not go off so quick with cargoes as when there were fewer. Hence he apprehends, if the demand was increased, there would be still nearly the same number of slaves, unless they came from other parts.

Thinks, if there was no slave-market on the Gold Coast, petty thieves would be sold to inland tribes, who do not now come there for slaves; because they cannot afford the price, nor give the goods the natives want.

As Europeans could not cultivate the soil them- P. 154.
selves, thinks, if they attempt cultivation, they must employ slaves.

Thinks slaves from inland, are both bred slaves, and convicts.

The convict for witchcraft whose relations he bought, had his head cut off. His father, mother,

two

1789. two wives, and three children, were sold to him; on condition they should never return to that country.

Never heard of the locked jaw on the coast.

Thinks as many females as males could not be had on the coast; because considerable men keep as many wives as they please, who do the drudgery, fetch water and provisions; but very seldom work in the fields.

Has known of an insurrection where the slaves overcame the crew, and got back to shore, where he fancies they were all seized by the natives and again sold.

P. 155. Thinks the intercourse which the Africans on the coast have had with the Europeans, has had some little effect upon their external appearance, but with respect to government and morals, believes them still in the same state they were centuries ago.

Has reason to believe, from the tradition of the natives, that the mode of trial before described has existed from time immemorial.

There are no cattle of burthen on the Gold Coast, and very few bulls and cows; might say none, for it is a luxury to possess any.

The Europeans have gardens or plantations on the Gold Coast, to supply themselves with vegetables, these they raise with great trouble, the excessive heat and dryness of the soil requiring much attention to the plants.

Has seen free Africans settled on the Gold Coast, who had formerly been transported to the W. Indies, had been carried from thence to London, from whence they were sent back to Africa. These for the first month seemed very proud to shew themselves to their friends in their European dress, and got drunk with them as often as they could: they soon, however, got tired of this clothing which they found too warm, and betook themselves to the two yards of cloth wrapt round the middle as worn by the rest.

Was

Was never present at the trial of any person convicted of offences which subjected them to be sold for slaves. 1789.

Has before said, that the whole town participated in the profit arising from the sale of convicts for witchcraft, but applied this only to the family sold to him for that crime, not supposing it in general to be so. A number of people in that town having died from unknown causes, these deaths were charged upon the principal of this family.

This was the only instance of a condemnation for witchcraft, of which he had ocular proof.

Has generally observed that the large canoes are more easily overfet by the surf than the small ones. As to the twenty-one-hand canoes, has before observed, that he never saw more than two, and those he never saw overfet.

The surf frequently breaks in upon the large canoes so as to destroy or damage the goods on board. P. 157.

Does not think it possible, by the craft used on that coast, to put on shore, or bring off, with safety, sugar, salt, or any other commodity liable to melt, unless the casks were made so tight, as to be impenetrable to water.

Never saw a canoe upon the Gold Coast capable of taking in a hoghead of sugar.

Corn, the chief article of provisions carried from shore on board, is generally put into tight iron bound puncheons. Sugar in such casks might no doubt be brought on board equally safe.

No expense attends the transporting corn from the shore in this manner, the casks so employed, being the water casks belonging to the ship.

Applies this information respecting the danger from the surfs to the whole Gold Coast, upon which he knows no landing place, where the surf is not more or less hazardous.

Commanded the Fort at Dixcove upwards of two P. 158. years.

F

Saw

1789. Saw once a boat belonging to a king's ship on shore there.

Does not think such a boat could land on Cape Coast.

Sugar, generally loaf sugar, is used on the Coast of Guinea, which is usually landed in tight puncheons.

The coming off shore with a loading is more hazardous, than landing, inasmuch, as for one canoe overfet going ashore, ten are overfet going off, taking the coast all along, good, bad, and indifferent.

King's ships, wood and water off Cape Coast, by canoes from the shore, which are frequently overfet.

P. 159. Can specify no particular instance of a canoe overfet when so employed, because the King's ships while he was in Africa, had generally contrived to come there in the fine season when the sea was very smooth, and there was very little surf, which is not the case at other times, from May to the latter end of August.

Does not believe there is any wood to be got on the Coast of Guinea, fit to be split into staves to make tight casks of.

Has heard, that the Fort of Anamaboe (the best built fort in Africa without exception) was built by an engineer, sent out under the direction of the Board of Ordnance.

Does not know what use the Arabs and Moors make of the slaves they purchase, but believes it is a traffick which they carry on for their own benefit.

Witness examined,—JOHN FOUNTAIN, Esq.

P. 160. Has resided at Cape Coast Castle, Tantum, and Accra, from the year 1778, to January 1789.

On his first arrival, had the command of the Company's troops. After that a factor for the Company: then

then second of Accra: afterwards second of Tantom: and lastly Governor of Tantom. 1789.

Did not go into the country, further than in passing from one fort to another.

Did not speak the language of the country, but understood the greater part of what was spoke by the Fantees.

Is of opinion that the natives become slaves from three causes, principally convicts, others for gaming, witchcraft, also debt.

Did not know any slaves who had been prisoners P. 161. of war. Heard of few wars on the coast during his residence. Has seen a kind of war carried on between the natives of different towns, but not of any duration. Between 3 and 4000 men altogether might meet; no slaves made prisoners.

Convicts are generally tried openly by the pynims or elders of each district.

Does not believe the judges derive any advantage from convictions, but that they are sold for the benefit of the injured.

Does not include witchcraft among the crimes so P. 162. tried; but remembers one similar sort of trial for witchcraft at Tantom lately, the accused being a person of some consideration.

Witchcraft generally involves the whole family.

The people are very superstitious—a belief in witchcraft is general—but thinks that by it is often meant poison.

Is not concerned at present with the African trade. P. 163.

While resident there, acquired some knowledge of their government.

Thinks, if wars had been frequent, he must have P. 164. heard of them. Very few of the slaves sold off that coast, were prisoners of war.

Never knew Europeans foment wars among the Africans. Has known them frequently assist in settling disputes.

Never knew villages pillaged for making slaves; P. 165. which he considers as impracticable by the whites.

1789. Never heard kidnapping by Europeans, nor conceives that such a practice ever existed; if it did, it could not be concealed; and any European experiencing a loss of trade in consequence, would complain to the Governor and Council on the coast, as well as to persons in England.

When a slave is brought down for sale, the owner applies to a broker, who conducts him to a European trader; should they disagree, they are at liberty to carry him away, and offer him to another.

There are always some free natives, usually called gold takers, on board the ship, while the trade is carrying on.

Says, if a slave had been kidnapped, he would have had an opportunity of making his complaint; and being himself a member of the Council, had any such practice prevailed, he must have heard of it.

P. 166. Never heard of kidnapping by the natives, though it possibly may have existed; apprehends it would be punished; is sure it would on the Gold Coast.

The natives possess a great number of slaves, which are considered by them as a common medium of traffick.

Slaves purchased by the natives, may be sold again at their pleasure; but such as have fallen to them by inheritance, cannot be sold, but by the general consent of the other domestics, unless convicted of crimes.

The punishment of a free African, convicted of a crime, depends upon the offence committed.

P. 167. A man's slaves may be seized and sold, to make good the fine he has incurred, or debts he may have contracted; but a long process is necessary before he can be deprived of his hereditary slaves. A creditor often prefers seizing one of the family.

A man condemned to slavery, may in most cases redeem himself by substituting another, but there are exceptions. If a man should think himself bewitched, and can fix upon the guilty person, he will

will then sell him under the restriction, that he shall not be redeemed. 1789.

He knew a late instance, in which (Awishee) a man of considerable note, and one of the best traders at Tantum, was said to be bewitched, and a day or two after died. The person accused (himself a pynim) with his family, had a formal trial; the result was, the old pynim was sold, and the family driven out of the town. Another instance occurred, whilst he commanded at Tantum, the Cabosheer, a king, was taken sick in the morning, reported to be bewitched, but died before six in the evening; the deceased not being a man of any connexions, no inquiry was made; the matter fell to the ground.

Has been informed, that slaves accused of witchcraft, are tried by their own family, in conjunction with the hereditary slaves. Freemen by the pynims, as above described.

In cases where slaves have been often convicted of ill behaviour, the purchaser is often restrained from redeeming and keeping them in the country. P. 169.

A man of consequence, convicted of adultery, not only forfeits his own liberty, but may have many of his slaves also seized. But should the crime be committed by a slave of a great man, with one of his master's wives, he apprehends he would be put to death.

Human sacrifices are practised in that country; had been informed at Appolonia, by the governor, who was a respectable man, that he had seen persons seized by surprize in the market place, by a rope thrown over their heads, and thus dragged some distance, and executed in various ways. That at the death of old *Baw*, and *Ammoneer*, the two Cabbo-sheers, he believed near 300 had been put to death.

Remembers at Cape Coast, upon the death of Quamina, the governor sent to the family, threatening to fire upon the house, should they attempt to sacrifice any person; but notwithstanding their promise to the contrary, a boy and girl were knocked on

1789. on the head; one of which was buried under, the other above his coffin.

The governor alluded to above, was Dickson, now dead, but believes many in Europe and in Africa know the circumstances to be as related.

Believes, that from the representations of the whites, the practice does not now prevail so much upon the coast as formerly; but inland it is reported still to exist in a great degree. Concludes, that slaves not saleable, are put to death, from an instance of an old woman at Cape Coast Castle, who, on being refused to be bought, to save her maintenance, was murdered.

P. 171. Is of opinion that the purchase of slaves by Europeans, preserves their lives, and adds to their ease and comfort. Has for two or three months together, had 60 or 70 in the fort at once, who have appeared infinitely happier and healthier than when first purchased; nor did he ever lose one by mortality.

The Dutch, Danes, Portuguese, French, and Americans, traded on the coast while he was there.

The trade of the last has much increased of late. That from America is chiefly carried on from Boston and Salem.

The French have lately taken possession of a spot adjacent to Anamaboe; and though from the unhealthy situation they have lost many people, they still persevere; send many more ships than they did.

P. 172. Trade for slaves is carried on to the eastward of the Gold Coast. From Whydah, all along to Old and New Calabar.

Does not know that the English ships have been in the practice of leaving the coast secretly in the night. The general custom is, to loose the fore topfail, hoist the ensign, and fire a gun, often for three, four, or five weeks, as a signal for sailing, that such of them as have accounts to settle with the captain, may come on board; the usual time for getting under way, is with the land wind, from two in the morning.

The

The ships which lie off the coast are much more 1789.
healthy than those which go up the rivers, and lie nearer land; the latter being more exposed to fogs.

There are no navigable rivers on the Gold Coast; two rivers, Elmina and Shemar, belonging to the Dutch, might admit boats under 20 tons, but even these would soon be aground.

There is neither water nor land carriage for bulky goods from within-land to the coast, inasmuch, that P. 173.
a tooth of about 170 pounds weight, was cut into three pieces to be made portable.

There are no good landing places on the coast; the best season for landing or shipping goods, is about Christmas, January, or February; but has known it bad in those months.

The coast he alludes to, as having no navigable rivers, nor any good landing places, extends from Cape la Hou to the Volta, about 420 miles; a heavy surf.

It is safer landing than shipping goods, though P. 174.
even in landing fishery canoes (which are much the safest) has seen ten in a day overfet.

Believes he might instance certain ships deal for ivory and gold, but these also trade for slaves.

Gold is not an article of export, because it bears a greater price there than here. Ivory is likewise an uncertain commodity. While second at Tatum, he bought a great deal in a month, whereas, while last there, he had not been able to buy five teeth in two years. Thinks it could not be an object of commerce, independent of the slave trade; nay, that it could not be had at all in that event, because the black trader who brings it from inland, loads the negroes with it, whom he is conducting to the coast for sale; and so small is their profit, it would not alone pay them for their trouble.

The Gold Coast produces no articles of commerce P. 175.
besides gold and ivory; some few pieces of cloth, matts, &c. are occasionally bought, as matters of curiosity, at so high a price as two or three slaves for
a cloth

1789. a cloth of eight yards by six yards; but such are not the kinds of cloth the natives wear.

P. 176. It does not produce corn equal to the consumption, nor more of cotton than what is used for lamp wicks. A sort of attempt was made to extend its cultivation near Cape Coast, but the blacks destroyed by night the work of the day, alledging it was prejudicial to their provision ground.

P. 177. Nor does it produce rice in any quantity; knows of none to leeward of Apollonia.

It produces no dye woods, nor, so far as he knows, any article besides what has been enumerated.

He resided in that country during the late war, which in some degree interrupted the slave trade; fewer slaves were brought down than formerly; the demand not so great; the prices lower. Did not observe that more corn, rice, or cotton, was produced then, than before; but he was rather out of the way, being confined during the war chiefly to Tatum.

P. 178. Does not think that abolishing the slave-trade would materially alter the cultivation of the country, the natives being so indolent, as seldom to cultivate more than is necessary for their family, from year to year.

Believes the blacks would rather starve than cultivate to any extent.

Is certain it would not extend the manufactures of cloths and matts, nor produce new ones.

Knows of no iron in the country; of that supplied them from Europe, they make only a kind of bill or hoe, for cultivating their land; but so coarse and ill tempered that they do not last. Supplied with many articles of iron from Europe.

P. 179. Thinks, if the slave-trade were abolished in Great Britain there would not be a slave the less, as other nations, the French nation in particular would take off, what would otherwise have been brought by the English. The French have lately shewn themselves desirous of extending their trade.

In time of peace, the demand for slaves, has al- 1789.
ways been superiour to the supply.

Thinks, that wars among the natives would be- P. 179.
come rather more frequent, should the slave-trade be
abolished, because convicts being left in the country,
would create or foment dissensions among the na-
tives. So sure the abolition would be productive
of a scene of carnage all along the coast, (see p.
166.)

A colony could not be established there but by
conquest, the natives (except upon the sea coast) be-
ing very hostile.

Never observed any instance of cruelty exercised
by the English upon slaves bought by them; but
much humanity, and particular attention when sick.

Has never seen any particular cruelty to seamen in
this trade; they may possibly experience inconveni-
ences from the climate, to which the crews of vessels
trading there for other purposes would be equally
subjected, and which would also affect colonies
settled there. Remembers at the Danish fort at P. 180.
Accra, that the governor, vice-president, seven or
eight officers, with 100 soldiers, died in a month,
and this on the sea coast.

Has been three voyages from England to Africa,
and two from Africa to England by way of the West
Indies, between 1778 and 1785. Observed no ill
treatment of the crews. Never saw people happier.

His first voyage from Africa to the West Indies
was in the Iris, Mason, tonnage about 220, about
300 slaves on board; exceeding well treated; plenty
of provisions and water. It is the interest of the
owner. If not kept in heart and good spirits, it is
odds but they sicken and die. Passage to Jamaica P. 181.
six weeks and two days. Slaves not confined below
above two days in all. Appeared quite satisfied and
cheerful. Lost but one. Left the ship at Barbadoes,
but informed by the captain that he lost none going
from thence to Jamaica.

G

Before

1789. Before the late regulations, captains were benefited by the numbers they landed. Lost six per cent. on such as died.

Made his second voyage from Africa 30th January last to Barbadoes, on board the Friendship, Lamb, a store ship; carried a few slaves upon freight; though a large ship, worse calculated for their conveyance than the common slave ships in many respects. Slaves exceedingly well treated during the voyage to Barbadoes. No deaths in the ship. Knows not what happened after leaving Barbadoes; were all in perfect health. Had no interest in the slaves on board; nor has he any connection whatsoever with the concern.


P. 183. Resided in Hanover parish, Jamaica, upwards of four years, from beginning of 1770 to 1774. Knows of no practice of captains or surgeons to repel disorders of the slaves. Never knew of any particular mortality take place in a cargo of slaves after their arrival, and before their landing. Has been on board two or three slave ships at the island whose cargoes were healthy. Believes few slaves of these ships were in a very diseased state when sold; one, the Warwick Castle had nearly 500; has forgot the name of the other.

Is convinced that the abolition of the slave-trade would tend to the destruction of many lives on the coast of Africa, and to the ruin of the British colonies in the West Indies.

P. 184. The king of Appolonia is despotick, and by his single authority daily takes away the lives of many. The length of that district is 25 or 30 miles along the coast, but cannot speak as to the breadth.

It is probable that the slaves whom Quamina put to death, had previously the form of a trial.

Being chiefly confined at Tantum during the war, P. 185. cannot say whether more or fewer slaves were taken off the coast than in peace; but he himself shipped more there since, because, the other forts belonging to the English and Dutch being in a state of mutual warfare,

warfare, the traders chose to bring their slaves to 1789.
Tantum, where they would not be molested. 

The natives are induced to make human sacrifices from various motives—That their friends may rest quiet in their graves—That the deceased should be properly attended : hence they generally sacrifice his key-bearer or accraw, and his head wench ; has besides seen tombs, and burial places, paved with skulls of persons thus sacrificed.

Persons of consequence possess a considerable num- P. 186.
ber of slaves, which are retained in a state of absolute idleness, while their women provide them with water and other necessaries. And in such habits of familiarity do masters there live with their slaves, even the king of Cape Coast Castle himself, that unless for a very capital fault they would not be subjected to punishment.

Along the coast, to Accra, the natives owing to their indolence, have little or no supplies of corn ; has offered a great price without success. At Accra, a prodigious large district, they depend upon their neighbours for a supply, from Cape Coast, Anamaboe, Tantum, &c. During his residence at Accra, has seen great want among them.

In exchange for corn, when it is in plenty, they P. 187.
will take, from the whites, cloths, liquors, &c. but when it is scarce, hardly any thing else than gold dust. The blacks, natives of Accra, give in exchange, cloth, gold, and a fish they call Aporge, which is a great article of trade as well as of subsistence among the Accras. What gold they thus barter for corn, they obtain in exchange for slaves and ivory ; chiefly the latter, of which there is more sold in that country than on any other part of the coast.

Supposes a great part of the provisions are from inland.

Has not known any other trials for witchcraft than the two mentioned ; but believes them still very frequent.

1789. From what he has seen, does not apprehend there is any peculiar mode of trial for this crime, though
P. 188. such trials are publick; yet the whites may not have frequent opportunities of seeing them, from its not being customary to introduce themselves into such assemblies; but, in the course of their walks, will often see the Pynims seated in the publick Palaver-place, and may upon inquiry learn the cause. Has heard it said that the trials for witchcraft are conducted in a particular manner, but this must have been from misinformation.

P. 189. The whole family of a person convicted of witchcraft is generally sold; but in the case of Awithee, before noticed, the people of Tantom were contented with selling the old Pynim convicted of having bewitched him, and driving out the rest of the family from among them.

The price obtained for persons so sold, is generally given to the injured family, subject to some deduction for expence of trial. Persons are sold upon conviction of other offences. Knows it to be so in regard to theft of gold, and some other articles. Thefts of liquor and such like things may be compensated for, by paying back something more than the value.

Judges the natives of the country to be a quarrelsome, turbulent, ungrateful people.

P. 190. A captain never asks a broker how a slave was obtained, because the native is aware, that if he is found to have come by a slave illegally, he and his family are liable to be sold for the offence.

Gold-takers, another name for trading men; however, they do take gold, and are employed in the purchase of every slave brought on board, speaking the language in general spoken by the slaves. Would certainly learn from them if they had been captured or kidnapped.

Slaves are frequently redeemed from the ships, and others substituted in their room, by their families, if their offences have not been great. This
most

most common in the case of adultery, if the offence is not committed with the wife of a great man.

It is not customary to sell domestick slaves from one family to another, unless for some heinous offence.

Such not considering themselves altogether as P. 191. slaves, but rather attendants on those they serve; lead a lazy indolent life; employed in making Custom, *i. e.* performing funeral ceremonies for the dead, or in diversion or gaming.

Natives of the Gold Coast, freemen or domesticks, no doubt consider it as a heavy punishment to be sold to the Europeans, especially such as have been resident near the forts, and in the habits of visiting them; but for those brought from the interior parts of the country, is certain from their own assertion, as well as their general appearance, that they rejoice in their change of masters. They are in general poor in flesh; great eruptions over all their skin; very scrophulous, and frequently have bad ulcers; but when sold again to the captains, they are often fat and sleek. Sometimes they are brought to the forts in a healthier state; has seen them low and dejected when brought to the fort, and become very cheerful in half an hour after they were brought; has been entreated by several to buy them.

Freemen sold for crimes, no doubt lament their P. 192. situation; consider it as a heavy punishment, but, conscious that they have deserved it, seldom complained.

That upon the Gold Coast the smallest thefts are punished with slavery, he knows not to be the case.

That a man who should steal an ear of corn would be sold for a slave does happen, but knew an instance of a man guilty of that very act, who being taken, and a slave demanded of his master for him, the affair was compromised for an ounce of gold and some liquors.

Has no doubt that the man condemned to slavery for stealing an ear of corn would be satisfied with the

1789. the justice of his sentence; because he knows that such is the law of the country, if he from whom it was stolen chooses to be severe.

The manner in which slaves are confined to be taken on board ship, depends upon the nation they belong to. Duncoes are never put in irons, they supply a great number of slaves. The Fantees always. The Ashantees and other nations, according P. 193. to circumstances. Slaves generally kept in irons while the ship is on the coast, though he has seen many out of irons. The women and boys never in irons.

The two ships he sailed in from Africa for the W. Indies, and several others he had been aboard of, had no nettings. It is not usual where the rails are high. Believes where it is used, it is to prevent the slaves from falling overboard, or to cut off all communication between them and the Anamaboe traders, who, for the purpose of refelling them, might excite them to cut off the vessel.

The inland slaves are confined in irons to keep them from any connection with the people about the forts who are great rogues, and might excite them to run away; in other respects they are never locked up, but allowed to amuse themselves about the fort, except at night. On board ship, they are kept in irons lest they should be advised by the canoe men, &c. to cut off the ship or jump overboard, which they would never of themselves think of.

The natives from the interior country are paid for the slaves and ivory they bring from thence, in cloth, liquor, guns, powder, gold, brass-pans, and pewter; of pewter and brass they are fond, and will take a great proportion. Has seldom known traders take more than one iron bar; and of late reject it altogether; for these two last years it has been in no great demand from Cape Coast to Tantom; therefore it has been customary to pay iron for provisions when the blacks would take it. The commodities received by

by the natives in exchange for slaves, they carry away 1789.
made up in small bundles, upon their heads.

Small defects do not render slaves unsaleable to P. 196.
Europeans.

Is of opinion, that the slaves in the West Indies
would decrease annually without fresh supplies.

Slaves, in passing from the shore to the ship, have
sometimes an iron on their legs, or a log on their
hands, from which they are released when purchased,
unless Fantees, of infamous characters.

Never heard of such a thing in his life as an African
trading ship carrying off free negroes against their
inclination. Knew, however, that a man, of the name
of Griffiths, did carry off two people intrusted to
his care, from St. Andrews, or some part to wind-
ward, whom he never brought back. He reported, on
his return, that either one or both died of the small
pox, with which the natives not being satisfied, put P. 197.
him to death. The act was severely reprobated by
the Governor and Council, and Residents, who wrote
home about it. This the only instance he ever
heard of.

Has heard that gold is procured in the interior P. 198.
country in two ways, by digging and washing. Be-
lieves it is very scarce, and few allowed to dig for it.

Has known two or three slaves refused in a year P. 199.
for defects.

The people of Accra, when in want of corn, ge- P. 200.
nerally send their canoes for it all down the coast,
though it is sometimes brought to them by the
people who have it to dispose of.

When conveyed by land from one country to ano- P. 201.
ther, it is carried upon the heads of negroes in small
baskets.

There is no doubt that war among the natives is
injurious to trade of every kind; it stops the paths,
and prevents every thing from coming down, ivory
as well as slaves. The residents do therefore all in
their power to make up any breach among them.

Traders

1789. Traders are afraid to pass through villages when there is war.

Never knew a pound weight of either cotton or indigo, exported from the Gold Coast.

Europeans have no influence over the natives, to make them grow any particular articles; nor to change their customs.

Believes there are five males to one female exported from the Gold Coast.

Europeans, if they chose it, could not obtain a greater proportion of females, because the exercise of polygamy must render women scarcer.

P. 202. Does not think their attachment to their families so strong as that of Europeans; nor that they have such fine feelings; a black woman thinking little to pour a spoonful of brandy into a child's mouth, of two or three months old, at the breast. Seem to have little affection for their children—attributes it to polygamy.

Governor Miles expended considerable sums to keep the natives in peace.

P. 203. Thinks, if there were no market on the coast, they would not bring the slaves from the interior country.

Witness Examined,—Capt. WILLIAM LITTLETON.

P. 204. Went to Gambia as mate 1762. Lived there 11 years, as a merchant.

Has been frequently up the Gambia. Went up about 300 leagues.

P. 205. Knew enough of the language to do his business. Governments various on the different parts of the river—none hereditary. Kings for life, in rotation from one tribe to another, sometimes from one town or district to another. Line of succession sometimes broken from caprice.

Slavery general. Some freemen keep many slaves.
Slaves

Slaves sold to Europeans obtained various ways: 1789.
a great proportion from black Mahometan traders, who traverse the interior parts to get slaves. Some prisoners of war, many convicts, and more from famines, caused by droughts and locusts. The crimes numerous for which they are sold. Believes this, from his own knowledge, and from good information. P. 206.

Knew a famine in 1786, in the South-West of the entrance of Gambia, from failure of rain, and locusts. The natives subsisted some months on roots, and whatever had nourishment, till nothing was left. They were then driven to the dreadful necessity of selling each other to procure subsistence. The Mandingoes bought them from the Phroops, between C. St. Mary's and C. Roxo, for corn and European goods, selling them to the white traders on the river, and he obtained a large proportion of them. Has been told by the Mahometans, who traverse the inland parts, that famines often occur in Africa, which drive them sometimes to subsist on each other, sometimes by killing and eating them, often by selling them. Locusts make dreadful havock, on the corn particularly: but it is generally partial, often confined to a spot of 40 or 50 miles.

Slaves made for adultery, theft, witchcraft, and other crimes, for which they are regularly, and, in general, impartially tried, by the leading men, and are seldom without their friends and advocates. An adulterer loses life or liberty. If he escape, some of the family is seized and detained till he is taken. If he cannot redeem himself, he is sold. Sometimes the whites are enjoined by the sellers, who are generally the parties injured, not to let them be redeemed, on any terms. For witchcraft they are tried, and on conviction, sold — after torture, sometimes even to death. For considerable thefts, the punishment is loss of liberty. Sometimes they are fined, and, if unable to pay, sold. P. 207.

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1789. The injured party has the benefit of the conviction.
 ~~~~~ Has learnt from the natives, that, on trials for witchcraft, the principal people assemble under the palaver-tree. Sometimes, before trial, the accused are dragged into the woods, and whipped till they acknowledge themselves guilty of witchcraft, and, they are often condemned from confession under

P. 208. torture, though innocent. Sometimes they endeavour to prove their innocence, by undergoing a kind of ordeal by fire or by water, which is an infusion of a malignant root, drunk on those occasions, and which they seldom long survive.


Very few prisoners of war, taken near the river, are sold to the whites. Believes they seldom take many prisoners: if they do, they generally fall victims to the ferocity of the captors, and a few are sacrificed to the manes of the victor's friends. Believes but few females are taken prisoners in war, (repeated p. 223.) Female prisoners are frequently exchanged. Females, convicted of witchcraft, seldom exchanged. Recollects not an instance of their being redeemed.

P. 209. Owners of domesticks can, but very seldom do, dispose of them, unless for some enormous crime, when they have generally the approbation of the other slaves to sell them. Has been told they are generally tried by those other slaves.

Never heard of wars made to get slaves. Wars always arise from their own dissensions. Wars near the ports always injure trade of every kind. Has been told by black merchants, they have gone 3 or 400 miles to avoid seats of war. In his time, there were wars between the nations near the Gambia.

Never heard of a white kidnapping a slave. It would have ruined that man's trade. Can only speak of the River Gambia. Never heard *that* of the natives where he resided. On making any such attempt, they would be sold themselves.

Never heard of parties going out armed at night to take slaves, except against their enemies, with whom

whom they were at open war—nor of breaking up 1789.  
 and surprising villages, to make slaves, but in cases   
 of open war. Such wars not very frequent near the P. 210.  
 Gambia; but inland wars are perpetually carrying  
 on, in one country or another.

Produce about the Gambia, country-corn, which  
 is a species of millet, Indian corn, and rice, not in  
 sufficient quantities for export. Never heard of  
 sugar-cane growing there. Believes the climate  
 unfit for it, from droughts from October to June.  
 No articles of export, but wax, a little ivory, and  
 a little gold, not worth mentioning. The ivory  
 generally, he believes, about two tons, brought  
 down on the heads of the slaves. Most of the wax  
 comes from the S. side of the Gambia, chiefly about  
 30 or 40 leagues up; but in smaller quantities 2 or  
 300 leagues up, principally from the Phroops.  
 Most of the wax is taken out of hollow trees: be- P. 211.  
 lieves a little is taken in hives, which are close to  
 their houses. Never saw above two or three hives,  
 which were near the coast. Never heard of any  
 inland.

Apprehends it would not be worth the traders  
 while to bring down ivory only from any great  
 distance. Few elephants near the ports.

Apprehends the wax could not be much increased,  
 for lately the whites have given a great price for it,  
 and he has not learnt the quantity has increased  
 from it.

They raise a little cotton and indigo, not sufficient  
 for their own use. They supply the deficiency with  
 our manufactures. They are so indolent, that every  
 attempt of the whites to encourage cotton and in-  
 digo, has proved abortive. What little indigo they  
 raise, they cultivate. They do not reduce it to the state  
 of indigo which comes from other parts. They cut it, P. 212.  
 pound it in a wooden mortar, and hang it up in the form  
 of sugar-loves, in their houses, and then infuse it in  
 water or lye made of ashes, and dye their cloth with it.



1789. Their cloths are about five or six inches broad, and they sew them together. There are very few manufacturers. These cloths could not be made an article of commerce among the whites.

Has been two voyages to Carolina, and three or four to the West-Indies. In the first voyage to Charlestown, from the commencement of the purchase in Africa, till the end of the sale in Charlestown, he lost about 13 out of about 140. Looks upon that as a very great and uncommon mortality. The last voyage he was upon the coast from the beginning of May to the beginning of November, and lost from the beginning of May to the close of the sale at Jamaica, 38 out of 242. His ship has since made a voyage to Jamaica, and lost 3 out of 216. The same ship went all the voyages, registered at

P. 213. 136 tons. Attributes the mortality of 38 to the slaves being of various nations, and some being very meagre when he received them, from the great scarcity in their country, particularly a number of the Phroops, who had a famine. When he lost 13, his ship was single decked, and he had very bad weather.

We carry hence split and kiln-dried horse-beans, and a great quantity of biscuit and flour. In the country, we buy all the corn and rice we can.

The black traders feed the slaves intended for sale on Guinea corn, chiefly, when they can get it, or any thing else they can procure. They never taste rice, but by stealth.

The ships could seldom get enough of Guinea corn for the slaves in the voyage. The beans are husked in England. They are boiled usually with beef or salt-fish. After eating them once or twice, they become fond of them, so as sometimes to ask for them instead of their country food.

P. 214. Slaves on board, accommodated in the best manner they possibly can. When first brought on board by the black merchants, they have a chain round their necks, generally worn from the place they came from,

from. When the purchase of them is completed, 1789. that chain is taken off, and shackles put on their legs, which have a ring, through which a chain passes, which secures them, while on deck. The men between decks lie close together, just allowing room for a person to step between them. The men are generally before the main hatch-way, the boys in the main hatch-way, the women, girls, and children, are at liberty abaft, except at night, when they are locked down below. They are on deck all day, except in bad weather.

Believes there are air-ports and gratings in all Guinea-men, and sometimes so much air, that they beg to have part of the tarpaulins laid over them.

From Gambia, the weather is generally fair and pleasant after they get to windward of the Cape de Verd islands, when they fall in with the trade-winds. After this, the slaves are very seldom prevented by the weather from being on deck daily. They have P. 215. some heavy but short squalls of rain, when they spread the awnings over them. But it is a general rule to keep them on deck as much as they can, with prudence.

Cleanliness is one of their first objects. As soon as the slaves are on deck, the seamen, and generally some boys, scrape and swab the rooms, and generally air them with fire-pans. Twice or thrice a week they are washed with vinegar and fumigated.

Soon after day-light they have some biscuit, and a glass of inferior spirits and water half and half. At their first meal, they have generally more than they can eat. About four or five in the evening they have a second meal, of another kind. They seldom have the same food twice the same day. They have a regular allowance of water, as often as necessary. This depends on the heat of the weather. To supply the slaves with enough of food and water, is a chief part of the employment, both of sailors and officers, at sea, (see p. 216.) The officers are interested in the cargo's health. They have a privilege slave or P. 216. two,



1789. two, according to the agreement. The chief mate and surgeon paid on the gross average at sale.

Slaves oftener complain of cold than heat in Middle Passage. When they think it too cold for them, they put them below; and even then they beg to have part of the tarpaulin laid over them. They often request to go below, when it blows fresh, and they happen to be on the shady side of the deck.

The surgeon every morning visits them, and often gives them medicines below, as well as on deck.

Sale advertised four or five days after arrival in the West-Indies. Never heard of means being used to repel disorders of slaves, before sale. In all his voyages, slaves always treated with humanity and tenderness.

P. 217. In his voyage to Carolina, lost 2 out of 16, or 18, (thinks 18) seamen. In his last voyage, which was to Jamaica, from being detained on the coast, lost 7 seamen in the Gambia, and 2 or three in the Middle Passage. The crew, with himself, originally 21. The surgeon died first. To his death he attributes the increase of his loss both of seamen and slaves. The seamen's health, as much as possible, attended to. It is their interest to take care of the seamen, the success of the voyage depending on it. (The loss of seamen is from England to the West-Indies, p. 220).

The time of day the ships leave the Gambia depends on the time of the tide. On entering the Gambia, they have 2 or 3 black linguists, a black messenger or two, and 6 or 8 people to row the boats, and preserve the seamen's health. They do not suffer a seaman to go into a boat, if they can avoid it. The blacks attend them out of the river, returning in the ship's long-boat, (which is generally left behind) or in a canoe. They usually stop a tide at the last port of the river, to fill water. The time of sailing is always known to the natives, sometimes before the ship comes down.

The

The climate in general noxious to European constitutions. He found no difference in it 2 or 300 leagues up the river, and at the entrance. 1789.

Rains from about the end of May till the end of October. Dry weather the rest of the year. Believes the rains unhealthful—but he has generally been as healthy in rains as in dry weather. He avoided exposing himself, which they cannot prevail on the seamen to do. Rains the most prejudicial to Europeans. They never carried the seamen up above 140 leagues, and there they were as healthy as at the river's mouth. The French and some English ships go no farther up than James Fort and Albadar. They have as much or more mortality than the ships 150 leagues up the river. P. 218.

One voyage returned to Liverpool, once to Bristol, the other times to London.

Believes there are people in London who make it their business to go on board ships to obtain litigious cases. (Has seen this in London, p. 220). The seamen who have complaints, bring actions against the master or mate, as the case may be. He never had an action commenced against him. P. 219.

In the single deck ship there was a platform, in the other none. In the ship where he said there was room to step between the slaves, there was no platform.

Computes a gallon of water per day sufficient for each man, white and black, including what provisions are boiled in. They have a short passage from Gambia, and allow them plenty of water, generally three or four times a day.

The slaves have water in the night, if they call for it. They have generally something below to hold water, and it is poured through the gratings, through a funnel.

Possibly the extreme heat below, and their being naked, make them so susceptible of cold, when they come on deck. They could not keep them clean and P. 220.

1789. and healthy, if they had clothes. The apartment below is cleared in order to clean it.

More timber than underwood on the coast. Mahogany has been brought thence for trial, but has not answered.

Corn, rice, and other provisions might be cultivated where the soil is fit for corn. About 30 or 40 leagues up the Gambia, the soil is not adapted for corn, and produces but little. The natives cultivate as much land as they can, about the lower parts of the river, but do not raise enough of corn for their own use; hence they send canoes for it up

P. 221. the river. Thinks the land would not be productive without manure. Soil loose and sandy at the river's mouth; up the river more loamy. Believes it would receive the plough, if cleared from roots which the natives do not take up. Apprehends the soil and climate unadapted for European corn. The natives sow their corn early in June, after the first rains. They cut their early corn, which is Indian, in September. Their greatest crop is about the end of October. They generally cut and eat the Indian

P. 222. corn before it is ripe, in the early season. They depend on the October corn. They have little or no manure, and scarce any horses. They tie their cows on the corn ground, in the dry season. The Phoolas have a good many cows.

Seldom above one-third females purchased. They buy all that are fit for the market who offer. The number of females varies every year. The trade to Gambia very much reduced. Has heard the slaves bought by the Europeans, some years ago, on that coast, estimated at 3000 annually: believes it does not now average 1000. Females are always scarce, when slaves in general are plenty. Perhaps 1-4th of the 3000 might have been females.

P. 223. A considerable part of the women are sold as convicts for witchcraft—there are besides some brought from the interior parts of the country—of these it is not always known for what crime they were sold.

The



The gratings over the hatch-way are always kept open—when it rains, a tarpaulin is spread over the booms, 7 or eight feet from the deck, in form of an awning—has known the slaves desire it to be laid close over the gratings to keep them warm.—Never heard them complain of foul air, —if they think themselves at any time too warm, a number of them are immediately brought upon deck. P. 224.

Never heard surgeons, officers, or sailors, when visiting the slaves apartments in the morning, complain particularly of the noisomeness and foulness of the air,—they have observed at times it was very warm,—or that there was a particular smell—but nothing is suffered to remain long below to occasion any offensive smell. A thorough draught of air is kept up between decks, when the weather permits the air-ports to be kept open. A partial air is admitted through the gratings when the ports are shut.

Cannot say the exact height between decks of the slave ships spoke of above—suppose the lowest about 4 feet. Had no platform in his ship. Does not recollect having been on board more than two ships who had. The height between decks in them, he thinks, was 7 feet. P. 225.

Slaves, on board the ships he has been in, might lie on their backs, though perhaps it might be difficult all at the same time.

They are subject to be sea-sick for two or three days. Seldom excoriated by their chains, care being taken upon the first appearance of injury to wrap something round the limb to guard it. P. 226.

It was his endeavour to render the situation of the slaves on board as comfortable as possible, by giving them plenty of food and drink, and the best lodging he could.

The persons charged with exercising witchcraft are supposed to distribute drugs; in particular such as occasion abortion.

Is of opinion the abolition of the slave-trade, by this country, would encourage the evils which it is

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meant

1789. meant to relieve—such as human sacrifices, and murder of captives and convicts, it being a maxim among the blacks never to give a man an opportunity of revenging an injury.

Does not think the natives could be induced, from any consideration, to raise produce worth the attention of this country. Nor that Europeans could stand the climate, in clearing woods, and cultivating the lands.

P. 228. Cotton, of very excellent quality, is produced there, with very little labour.

Has generally found, that seamen on board slave-ships, were as healthy as those belonging to other ships, trading on the same coast. Did not lose a seaman in his last voyage. Returned in November.

Attributes the unhealthiness of seamen in a great measure to their exposing themselves to the night dews, more prejudicial than rains, and not to their food. They will not sleep under cover, but bring their beds upon deck, that they may be cool.

In the voyage, when he lost 7 out of 21 seamen, the rest were in a relaxed state. Did not take on board any fresh men, to re-place the 7. Had on board 236 or 238 slaves at leaving the coast, which

P. 230. were permitted to come upon deck as often, and as many at a time, without additional irons, as if the crew had been full and healthy: some of the irons were even taken off after getting to sea.

Cannot say he has been acquainted with any instances of notorious cruelty in the captains of slave-ships. Some are more severe than others. Can only speak to the ships that have frequented the Gambia.

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Witness examined, — THOMAS KING, Esq. a Merchant of London.

P. 232. Went first to Africa in 1766, second mate of the Royal Charlotte, of about 300 tons; not a regular slave

slave ship; carried out the African company's stores 1789.  
to Cape Coast; took in 120 slaves on the Gold Coast. Generally healthy on the voyage. Lost only two or three, till landed in Jamaica. About fourteen days intervened between arrival and landing of the last man. In this interval no means used to repel disorders of the slaves. The sailors, seventeen in all, healthy the whole voyage. Lost not one from P. 232.  
leaving London, to return there.

Sailed next to Africa in 1767-8, in same capacity, same ship. Took in 455 slaves from Gold Coast, for Grenada. In general very healthy. Thinks he lost ten in the voyage. Believes he lost none on board at Grenada, which was for about a week. P. 234.

Thinks the crew were eighteen, very healthy, lost none in the voyage, nor at Grenada, where he left the ship.

Sailed a third time to Africa from Grenada, as Captain of the Molly, about 110 tons. Touched at America, there took in the cargo with which slaves were to be purchased. Proceeded to the Gold Coast, where he thinks took on board 105 slaves. Had twelve or thirteen sailors. Was about twelve months on the Gold Coast, and near it. The voyage was unfortunate to sailors and slaves. Of the first, six or seven died. Of the latter, about one half. He attributes this to the following circumstances. Though near twelve months on the coast, he lost few slaves or seamen; but his ship failed very badly, and lost some of her masts, by which he was driven into the Bite of Bonny, a very unhealthy part of the coast, and was seven months from the Gold Coast to Grenada. During which he was several times obliged to put into different places for provisions, and could get but scanty supplies. Hence P. 235.  
both whites and negroes were two or three times, during the passage, reduced to a very short allowance.

Sailed, latter end of 1770, a fourth time to Africa, in the brig Ferrer, about 70 tons, twelve or thirteen  
1 2 men,



1789. men, from London to the River Cameroon. Bought 105 slaves, which he carried to Grenada. About eight months on the coast, and about two months from thence to the West-Indies. Crew and slaves in general pretty healthy; lost two or three of the first, four or five of the latter.

Sailed a fifth time to the coast of Africa, in December 1771, from London, in the Surrey, of 180 tons, 25 sailors, to the River Cameroon. Staid there six months. Took in 255 slaves. Had a passage of eight weeks to Grenada. Crew and slaves in general healthy. Lost ten slaves.

P. 236. In the River Cameroon (more unhealthy to Europeans than the open coast) himself, officers, and most of his crew were sick. Lost there the surgeon and three seamen.

His sixth voyage to Africa, early in 1773, in the Three Friends, 70 tons, himself and crew twelve. Remained on the Gold Coast three months. Took in 144 slaves for St. Vincent's. Lost two sailors on the coast, and eight slaves in all.

Sailed a seventh time to Africa, in 1775, from London, in the Venus of 150 tons. Crew in all 21 or 22. Staid on the Gold Coast four months. Took in 321 slaves for Jamaica. Lost in all one or two seamen and ten slaves.

His eighth voyage was in 1776, from London, in the Harriet, of 135 tons, eighteen men. Staid on the Gold Coast between three and four months. Took in 277 slaves, for Jamaica. Lost seven slaves in all; none of the crew.

Has all along, in speaking to the mortality of slaves, reckoned from the first man brought on board, to the last man landed in the West-Indies.

Sailed for the ninth and last time, in November 1780, from London, in the Cambden, of 335 tons, whole crew 65. Bought on the Gold Coast 580 slaves. Stay six months. Sailed for Jamaica. Lost four sailors, two of them by accident. Lost 50 or 51 slaves

slaves in all, by a diarrhea on the coast. Some it <sup>1789.</sup> was apprehended had brought the disease on board.

Has ever since been settled in London as a merchant. <sup>P. 238.</sup>

All the vessels in which he sailed for Africa (except the two first) were regular slave ships.

In all the ships he commanded, or was concerned in, is sure they never buried one per cent. of the negroes after their arrival in the West Indies, and before sale.

Never knew any means used by surgeons or others, to repel the disorders of slaves before their landing.

Had frequent opportunities of being on shore in Africa, and by the natives accounts, slaves become so chiefly for crimes, witchcraft included; and some few prisoners of war.

Never heard of wars for the purpose of getting slaves, nor, that Europeans ever stirred up such. Nor ever heard of towns or villages pillaged or destroyed for this purpose.

P. 239.

Never heard of the natives being stolen, except from slaves from the inland country. These have mentioned a few being stolen or taken away; but thinks they preferred telling this story, to giving the real fact. Water-side people, had any of them been kidnapped, or improperly detained, would have had opportunities of making complaints, and getting redress.

Free natives are daily on board the ships, with whom the slaves have constant opportunities of conversing.

It is usual for all ships, where he has been, to give a week, more commonly a month's notice, of sailing. Ships generally sail with the land breeze, which is from early in the morning, until nine or ten o'clock.

In the ships in which he sailed, or has been generally concerned, one half the crew consisted of captain, officers and seamen; the other half of landmen, <sup>P. 240.</sup> and of men, who may have been one or two voyages, and boys.

As

1789. As far as he knows, thinks this the usual proportion in slave ships.

A certain proportion of slaves provisions is always carried from England; because the Gold Coast does not furnish enough; sometimes, though not frequently, none at all is to be got there. Besides, the slaves prefer a change of food; which consists chiefly of split beans, a little rice; has known wheat, but that is now laid aside. Beans are very wholesome, and preferred by the Gold Coast negroes to Indian corn, their native food. When he went first to Africa, instead of beans, at least two-thirds white pease were carried; the surgeons afterwards advised an equal quantity of both. But neither did this agree with the negroes so well as beans given alone, therefore mer-


P. 241. chants now send out only tick beans (a species of Windsor beans as he is told) kiln dried, split and shelled. Never carried or sent, nor ever saw or heard of, horse beans being sent to Africa for the negroes. The beans sent are frequently eaten by the whites.

In a well regulated ship, every possible attention is paid to the slaves on the passage, as also to the dressing and quantity of their diet, which he thinks was more comfortable than in their own country; better seasoned, better dressed, and served in cleaner vessels. Great attention is paid to the health of the slaves on board. Early every morning, inquiry is made, if they have any complaints; and again after breakfast, it is the duty of the surgeon to examine carefully every slave on board. It certainly is the interest, and duty of the captain and surgeon, to take care of the negroes.

P. 242. Has not observed in the parts of Africa where he has generally been, any produce, except provisions, and of these, not so great a surplus as the ships wish to have. Could ships depend on getting a supply there, they would not carry so much out with them.

There are no other articles of produce worth notice. There is some gold dust, ivory, bees-wax, gum-copal,



gum-copal, bar-wood and cam-wood, but not in 1789. quantities, to become a considerable object of trade. 

The genius of the people on the Gold Coast, he thinks, equal to extending commerce in any thing practicable, but from their indolence, thinks that commerce could not be extended among them.

Does not think a colony could be settled on the Gold Coast, but by force.

Besides, the coast is unfavourable to an extensive commerce, in respect of rivers, harbours, or landing places. The rivers have all bars. There are no harbours, bays, or creeks, where even one of our P. 243. boats can land with safety on, except two, on that part of the Gold Coast frequented by English ships; and even those two, are very unsafe, except in fine weather. Believes, that under the Dutch settlements, there are one or two places of the same description, where a boat may land.

Whilst he frequented the coast, the Dutch, French Portuguese, and by chance a Danish ship traded there.

The French have exceedingly increased their trade to Africa the last four years; this he has learnt from Frenchmen, both here and in France, and from his correspondence with French houses.

Before the late war, the Americans carried on a considerable trade, chiefly from Rhode-Island and New-Providence, to Africa, which was totally given up in the war, but is revived since the peace, and he believes carried to rather a greater extent than before.

Thinks, if the slave trade should be abolished in P. 244. Great Britain, the same number of slaves would be bought among the other nations.

Is of opinion, that the treatment of slaves on board English ships, is preferable to that of any other nation.

Has touched at different parts of the Windward Coast, in his way to the Gold Coast, and so far as he observed,

1789. observed, slaves are procured in the same way there, and on the River Cameroon, as on the Gold Coast.

The soil on the river can produce whatever the climate will admit; but they only cultivate provisions, and some little fruits and vegetables; no grain.

P. 245. It never was his practice, nor that of any ships in which he was, or is concerned, or has known, to compel the sailors to take their discharge in the West-Indies. It is not their interest so to do. Though they have, when they arrive in the West Indies, some few men more than absolutely necessary to navigate the ships home; yet the additional charge of getting three men in the West Indies, in lieu of nine men discharged, would be nearly, if not quite, equal to the expence of bringing the nine men home, (vide the Minutes for his explanation.)

P. 246. It is customary for sailors to desert from African ships in the West Indies. Attributes it to their receiving half their pay at the selling; their getting on shore, and intoxicated; and often getting higher wages for the run home, in other ships.

Never knew a captain of an African ship, use his men ill to make them run away in the West Indies; it was ever his wish to preserve them as much as he could, knowing the additional expence, and sometimes difficulty, of getting others at any rate. Believes it is not very common for sailors to go several voyages in the same ship, with the same captain, in the slave-trade: at the same time his house have had the same seamen go many voyages in their employ.

His opinion of the probable consequences of abolishing the slave trade from this country only, is, that as many negroes would be exported from Africa as now. Respecting the West India islands, concludes, they would be very materially affected by losing that most valuable branch of the trade, the exportation to foreigners, of a large proportion of the negroes imported in British ships, which are paid for generally in specie, or in West India produce.

Formerly,

Formerly, on the Gold Coast, more than one-third females was procurable. For the last two years, believes every possible encouragement has been given for females, but now they cannot obtain more than one-fourth generally; and by the last accounts, the price given for prime females, exceeded by £5 a head, what is generally given for men. Cannot account sufficiently for this scarcity. Polygamy being tolerated in Africa, believes many prime young females are kept as wives in the countries they pass through.

On the Gold Coast, more has been given by 40s. per head for males than females; but to get more of the latter, they have offered an advanced price.

One house in London has sent goods to the amount of £.100,000 in a year to Africa, including the value of their ships. Has been told of houses in Liverpool that send more.

Believes, that the voyages in which he commanded  
slave ships, in 1770, 1771, 1773, 1775, 1776, 1780,  
were all attended with a certain profit.

Has heard of the locked jaw in Africa, but it is P. 28.  
not common there. Does not recollect ever having  
had a slave ill of that disorder on board.

The natives on the Gold Coast raise a few yams at one or two places; very few sweet potatoes; no rice; no wheat.

The difference in price between pease and such beans as are carried out to feed the slaves, is very little. Thinks that the beans may in common be rather cheaper. Should think the pease as heavy as the beans per bushel.

The customary allowance in quantity to the slaves, was exactly the same of either.

The land towards the sea on the Gold Coast is P. 249.  
generally low and rocky, but rises as you go inland.  
Some of it in the back country, within view, is  
mountainous.

## K... the Impossible?



1789. Impossible to speak generally to the depth of water within 100 yards of the beach. At the landing places, 100 yards from the shore it may be six to eight feet; in other places it is not deeper near a mile off. At a medium the sea breaks 300 yards from the shore: there are seasons, and particular days in those seasons, when the sea is smoother, and may not break 20 yards from the shore. At other seasons the sea breaks in six fathom water; and in general the sea is worse near the full and change of the moon.

No tide can be perceived in ships at anchor. On shore thinks there may be a rise of at most three feet.

Such Guinea seamen as have wives and families, or dependents, the owners pay from 10s. to 15s. per month out of their wages to such relations; and P. 250. continue their allowance to their return, death or desertion of the seaman.

Thinks a seaman causelessly discharged, against his consent in the West Indies, may, on his return, prosecute the master for full wages till the ship arrives in England; and knows that such prosecutions have taken place here; when the seaman recover his wages, but does not recollect that he received any thing for his passage home, though that might have happened and escaped his knowledge.

Has given the tonnage of the six last vessels in which he traded for slaves, according to the old register, as near as he could recollect: that of the last ship was what she afterwards measured.

He laid upon the table a sample of the said beans, with a note from the person who furnished the sample, and who had always supplied him when in the African trade. The note was read, and is as follows:—

P. 251. “ Mr. Stray says, these are the only sort of beans  
“ that are sent to Africa, they are called tick-beans;  
“ they are also sent to the West Indies for provision  
“ for

“ for the pegroes. If eat when green, they are equal 1789.  
 “ to the garden beans produced at this time of the ~~~~~  
 “ year. Horse-beans are a different sort, and not  
 “ used for slaves provisions. Mr. Stray also says,  
 “ he does not know that the tick-beans are used  
 “ for any other purpose than for exportation to  
 “ Africa and the West Indies.”

Knows that the trade of the French to Africa is considerably increased in these two years, and is now increasing. They grant considerable bounties, to the ships fitted from France for that trade; and also so much a head upon negroes imported into their islands. Believes there are only two or three places in St. Domingo where no bounty is given on negroes; in all their other islands a bounty is allowed.

The idea of abolishing the slave-trade in this country has undoubtedly given additional vigour to the French African trade; and many adventurers in the French trade, anxiously watch the business now before this House.

Does not know the prices of horse and tick-beans; nor, that when horse-beans fell from 21s. to 22s. 6d. tick-beans are from 19s. to 21s. Knows that tick-beans, at least the beans laid on the table, have never P. 252.  
 been bought here for less than 34s. per quarter in the last five years; have been at 48s. and bought by his house at 52s. in that time; he would be understood to speak to the price of these beans in the state in which they are put on board. What price they may be sold at before they are kiln-dried, split, and shelled, he does not know.

Imagines, that a West India ship of 200 tons usually employs 14 seamen. The number for a slave ship of the same burthen must depend greatly on the part of Africa she is bound to. To the river Cameroon he thinks 30.

Does not think such a vessel on her return from the West Indies to London could be conveniently navigated by 14, out of such a crew as an African ship carries.



1789. Such a vessel when light, might be safely navigated by eight or ten able seamen, and four or five landmen, or less.

P. 253. Their house had a ship which went from England to lie some time at Anamaboe, to buy slaves; some part of which were disposed of in two or three other vessels. She lay there 15 or 16 months; had, when she went out, a crew of 35 or 36, of which has been told by her commander she lost four only.

Has known crews of slave ships cut off while the vessels lay in rivers by the natives, and at sea by the slaves.

P. 254. Believes in well regulated ships the slaves are generally satisfied; but there are nations whose priests induce them to make those attempts, in expecting to get the ship to some shore, where they may form a community of their own. Other nations have an idea, that the whites buy them to kill and eat them. They are sometimes a good while on board before they are quite reconciled. Slaves sold for crimes from near the shore, are for a time discontented at separation from their friends and families; particularly while they lie near the shore, and sometimes attempt to cut off the ship's crew, and by chance succeed.

Is himself now concerned in the slave-trade.

P. 255. Very few ships have been run away with by the slaves, and those only from Gambia, and its vicinity, they having destroyed the whites except one or two, kept to navigate the ship to the nearest land. Thinks, he recollects one instance of their having got back to their coast; and another, of a ship being met with at sea, and taken possession of.

A part of the men slaves only are fettered on board. Out of 500 from the Gold Coast 120 or 125 may be women and girls; of the males, at least 100 or 125 are from the age of 15 downwards; and are never put in irons; and of the rest, a certain proportion, from the most interior parts of Africa, who are quiet, are never put in irons; so that of 500, he estimates,



estimates, not above 200, 230, or 250, would be in 1789. fetters at once; and in the latter part of the passage, not near so many. They are generally chained two and two together, the right leg of the one to the left leg of the other. Some of the most resolute are chained by the hand also; the bolt of the fetters is about 14 or 15 inches long; the space between the two shackles about six; but they vary in proportion to the strength and size of the men. The weight of the leg fetters shackle and bolt may be from 2 to 3 lb. Are fettered thus night and day.

The largest proportion he ever had on board was P. 256. rather better than two slaves to a ton, who certainly had room to lie on their backs.

On Gold Coast he, and he believes others, laid in from 45 to 50 gallons for every white and black on board. From the river Cameroon rather more, the passage from thence rather the longest and more uncertain. The usual passage is from seven to nine weeks, and the calculation is made for 90 days, at half a gallon per day. Provisions also for 90 days; and for some time after the ship sails, care is taken not far to exceed that allowance; but, when they get into the S. E. trade-winds, when they can calculate pretty nearly the rest of the passage, they have generally as much water and provisions as they choose.

In some slave ships from London, a still-head and worm is fixed to the slave's boiler to procure more water. When he mentions the estimate of half a gallon of water, that used for boiling, &c. was included.

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Witness examined—ALEXANDER ANDERSON, Esq.

Is a merchant in partnership with his brother, four P. 258. or five years proprietors of Bance Island, in S. Leone. They have in that time, shipped several cargoes of slaves

1789. slaves for the West Indies and S. Carolina. The average mortality from sailing to arrival at the port of delivery, has been about  $1\frac{1}{4}$  per cent, and about  $1\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. more, between arrival and sale, a space, at P. 259. an average, about ten days.

They put on board, for the negroes, provisions considered sufficient, with the addition of rice, which the captains might get on the coast. Wine was also supplied for the sick slaves, and plenty of medicine.

They have attempted to buy ivory and camwood, the only produce in that part fit for a European market; and, to encourage their agent to procure these articles, have allowed him a commission about three to one more than for buying slaves; yet not more than 120 tons of camwood in a year, and about three or four tons of ivory has been obtained.

A statement from the books, bills of lading, and letters of the house, of the average mortality of the slaves, was delivered in at the table, and read; and is inserted p. 260 of the Minutes at large. By that statement it appears, that of 1318 slaves shipped, not one three-fourths per cent. died on the passage, and not one 1-fourth per cent. died between arrivals and sales; in all not three per cent. died.

P. 261. The house keeps considerable stores on the island, and factories, with goods on other parts of the coast.

They have an agent and several clerks on the island to buy slaves, camwood, and ivory, loading their ships with those goods; and when their own ships are not on the coast, chartering others. The people on the island are altogether dependant on them.

The house had an intention of settling a cotton plantation in the neighbourhood, but were dissuaded from it by their friends, who knew the impossibility of making the Africans labour, otherwise is certain from the lands and slaves they had, they must have made a good plantation. Has heard, that Mr. R. Oswald, proprietor of the island for 20 or 30 years before they bought it, in 1785, had often regretted that he could not make the people labour; and, in

1783,



1783, he directed one of his captains to offer a premium to the natives for indigo and cotton, and that the slaves residing at Bance Island (Mr. Oswald's order produced, see p. 283) might be employed in raising rice, but without effect. 1789.

A letter produced concerning a settlement at the mouth of the river S. Leone, of free negroes from this country. Their conduct, and a great mortality among them (see p. 271 to 278) Minutes at large.

A second letter produced (see p. 279) Minutes at large.

The three voyages by the ship Mary in 1785, P. 279. 1786, 1787, and the two of the ship Concord in 1787 and 1788, referred to in the statement given in, he considered as profitable.

Has no other account of voyages for slaves, besides those delivered in. P. 281.

The slaves are brought to the factories of the house, and a valuable consideration paid for them by their agent. P. 282.

The slaves on Bance Island, called Grumettas, are generally good servants, though there are sometimes complaints against them.

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Witness examined—Captain JACOB LORAN.

Has been 20 years master in the West India trade. P. 263. Made 50 voyages in that time, reckoning out and home as two.

In St. Kitts, there is an act against leaving sailors on shore. The master, with one security, enters into a bond of £2000 currency, that he will carry off the sailors he brought with him. This law extends to ships coming from other places, as well as Great Britain. Yet he could not prevent his sailors from deserting in the West Indies. Has been often obliged to hire others to bring his ship home. Did not know from what vessels they came. Some from merchantmen, P. 264.



1789. merchantmen, some from Guineamen. Has had four, five, or six from Guineamen at a time. The sailors in the African trade look on the West Indies as a second port of delivery, where many of them insist on their discharge. They go into West India ships which want hands, where they generally get more for the run home, than they would get by their months wages in the ship; African or other, they were in. Greater wages for the run home, is most certainly the reason, why sailors belonging to African ships, wish to go into West India ships.

Has known, in war, from 25 to 30 guineas, and as many gallons of rum, per man, given for the run home. In peace, from 7 to 10 guineas, according to circumstances; and generally they agree for a gallon of rum for every guinea. In 1775, at Dominica, in the ship Amherst, he engaged four by the run, and gave 8 guineas and 8 gallons of rum; but though he still commands a ship, he knows of no such thing in the present peace. That in every trade he has been in, seamen are engaged for the voyage out and home; but, upon getting to the West Indies, they generally go on shore, get drunk, and the first captain who wants men, if he advance them a little money to pay their debt, will get them to go by the run. Those in the West India trade are not paid half wages there, nor are entitled to any, until a month after their return to the Thames. Seamen desert in the West Indies; both from African and West India ships; can make no distinction. Has known the security, in such a bond as he has mentioned, threatened; and has seen a security pay for a master £40 for a man left. Seamen deserting from West India ships, in the West Indies, by the articles they sign, forfeit all their wages

Seamen happened to be scarce when he was at Dominica, and shipped those people, though it was not wholly owing to that, that he paid so much; for when he sees a good hearty fellow that he can trust in a gale of wind, he always gives him a guinea or

or two more, than to a man he could not trust. Be- 1789.  
 lieves one or two of his sailors came out of a Guinea ship.  
 Has employed men out of the King's ships. P. 267.

Never sold spirits, tobacco, or cloths to the seamen  
 in his life.

Sailors often leave their ships in the West Indies.  
 Knew an instance about four months ago, where all  
 the sailors but one deserted; not know the cause.  
 Was never prosecuted on his bond for sailors left  
 behind, but has an account of a negro unintention-  
 ally carried off, whose value, £98 he was afterwards  
 obliged to pay.

He never knew the owner or captain get a farth-P. 268;  
 ing by desertion, though the articles stipulate that  
 the wages shall go to them. When a seaman runs  
 away, he generally applies to a lawyer, and the act is  
 over-ruled generally. What is given to a sailor for  
 the run home, is generally a good deal more than  
 the amount of wages due to him who deserts; hence  
 it is a heavy charge upon the ship to have their men  
 run away. Does not know what becomes of the  
 forfeited wages.

West India ships desire in general to come home P. 269.  
 stronger handed than they go out.

The crew of a West India ship have their river  
 pay, and in general a month's advance, on leaving  
 Gravesend; and notes left with several of their wives,  
 for so much a month till the ship's return. All  
 which, in general, amounts to more than the wages  
 due to the seaman at his desertion; hence it is cer-  
 tainly for the owner's interest, that the same people  
 who go out in his ship, should return.

Ships of equal tonnage, by register, very much  
 differ in real tonnage. Suppose two ships of 300  
 tons each, carpenter's or register tonnage, one nine  
 feet depth of hold, the other twelve, the latter would  
 certainly carry most.

Does not well know the construction of African P. 270.  
 ships. Has sometimes been on board them. Never

L

was

1789. was in the trade. Believes they are in general sharp built, for sailing. The West India ships are built for burthen, full.

Witness examined—Captain JOHN MAN.

P. 284. Captain of the Grenville Bay, West Indiaman. Has been nearly 20 years in the trade. About 16 years to Grenada, and 4 to Jamaica.

Is not, nor ever was, at all concerned in the African trade.

It is the law or practice, in Grenada and Jamaica, to compel the captains of West India ships, to carry back all the sailors they carried out.

It is in general very much an object to the sailors, to get discharged from their ships in the West Indies, that they may get home by the run.

Has always understood, but not from his own knowledge, that the West Indies was considered as

P. 285. the second port of delivery in the African trade.

It is common for sailors to demand their discharge at the second port of delivery.

In war, the pay they get for the run home, is more than their wages would have been, had they continued with the ship they came out in; but in peace it seldom is so much.

Has known them paid for the run home, in war, from 10 to 18 guineas, and sometimes from 25 to 30 guineas; and generally a gallon of rum for every guinea.

Has shipped sailors in the West Indies, which have desired, against the master's wish, to be discharged from African ships.

When the ship is entered at the Custom House, Grenada, the master must enter his muster-roll, and  
P. 286. with a surety, sign a bond, each a £1000 penalty, that a single man shall not be discharged. Yet sailors very often get away in war; the temptation of going by the run in the West Indies, may make them desert; but believes this has little or no effect in peace.

End of Number I.



Number II.

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A B R I D G M E N T

OF THE

MINUTES OF THE EVIDENCE,

TAKEN BEFORE A

COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE HOUSE,

TO WHOM IT WAS REFERRED TO CONSIDER OF THE

S L A V E - T R A D E,

1790.

RPJC

# ABRIDGMENT

OF THE

MINUTES OF THE EVIDENCE,

TAKEN BEFORE A

COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE HOUSE.

TO WHOM IT WAS REFERRED TO CONSIDER OF THE

SLAVE-TRADE, 1790.

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Witness Examined—JAMES FRAZER,

1790.

Has been 20 years in the African slave trade—  
went out first as second mate, afterwards as chief  
mate, till 1772, when he became commander.

Part II.

P. 3.

Has made (from Bristol) 4 voyages to the coast of  
Angola, 1 to New Calabar, 5 to Bonny, 1 to the  
windward and gold coast—a part of a voyage to the  
windward coast, where he was captured—another  
voyage to the windward coast, drove from thence by  
a man of war—went to Angola, where, having pur-  
chased half her cargo, returned and completed it  
upon the windward coast.

P. 4.

In his first and second voyages as master, to An-  
gola, he resided on shore on Melimba hill—3 months  
the first, and in the second voyage 7 months.

The government is monarchical at Melimba, Ca-  
benda, Loango, and at different other places he has  
heard—each of which are governed by distinct mo-  
narchs—whose authority, however, is frequently op-  
posed by the principal officers.

Numb. 2.

A

These



1790. These officers have the power of life and death—  
 Part II. they punish sometimes by mutilation, but commonly adjudge the convict to be sold. (P. 6.)  
 When sentence is passed, the person in whose favour it is given is generally obliged to put it in execution; and when he cannot, he has often no other redress. In some cases the convict is fined—the fine going to the judge.

Vassals flying from one district, to put themselves under the protection of a master in another, often occasion petty wars—private feuds between particular families, continued from father to son, are another source of war. Many other causes provoke war between the principal men of the country, which the king has not power always to controul.

The number of freemen in the country is proportionally small—many find it unsafe to be free—and for protection, become voluntary vassals, or slaves, to a great man.

There are a certain description of slaves, who, by the laws of the country, cannot be sent out of it; but may be transferred from one master to another, within the country.

P. 6. The crimes cognizable by these judges are:—  
 Blood drawn in any quarrel—abuse of men in power, by cursing in a mode peculiarly offensive in that country—adultery—poisoning and witchcraft; in the latter case, after a summary examination—the accused sometimes farther tried by ordeal, taking pills and a drink, administered by the Feticke doctor—The doctor, it is supposed, according as he is paid, so composing those pills, as to have a favourable or unfavourable effect—if the accused is found guilty, the magistrate pronounces sentence—to be sold, or put to death, if the convict is of the lower or middling rank; and a heavy fine upon such as they cannot compel to undergo the trial personally, but who do it by deputy, and who are too powerful to be reduced to slavery. Having acquired their language in a  
 great

great measure, he has sometimes attended one of these trials for 12 hours. 1790. Part II.

The families of the persons sold become the slaves of the accuser. The fines are paid, either in slaves, a common medium of payment in purchases of large value, or in goods, or in the proper money of the country (which is a grass cloth). P. 7.

Has understood, that debts of long standing have, by order of the magistrate, been adjudged to be paid seven fold, agreeable to custom. P. 8.

Debtors unable to pay are liable first to have their slaves seized—then their children—their women next—and lastly themselves, if the debt still remains unsatisfied.

Cannot speak to his own knowledge of any human sacrifices in this part of Africa.

The national productions of Angola are, cassada, calavances, plantanes, bananas, a few yams, a few sweet potatoes, pumpkins, water melons, Indian corn, tobacco, and, though he never saw any, there must be some cotton, as they make a sort of cloths like what are made in the Portuguese islands, but of no value in trade—having been long absent from that country, cannot particularize any other articles.

A little tobacco is produced on the banks of the river Ambris (after being fertilized by the inundation in the rainy seasons) with very little labour.

Has heard of partial famines in that country, and felt the effects of them sometimes—in not being able to purchase sufficient country provisions for the slaves—these may be occasioned by a failure in the rainy seasons, but oftener by the indolence of the natives; and, perhaps, by the impossibility of preventing their crops from being stolen. The people are professed thieves. P. 9.

Every article of cultivation in that country has been by the women.

Europeans, trading on the coast of Angola for slaves, have factories on shore at Melimba, Cabenda, and Loango—to which the people from the interior



1790. parts bring down slaves, a journey of one, two, and  
 Part II. sometimes three months—those they barter for goods,  
 and sometimes return with fresh slaves in a month or  
 six weeks.

Those brought for sale to those factories are commonly of three nations—the Majumbas, supposed to come from a tract of land situated from the equinoxial line, to the latitude of 3 or 4 degrees south—the Congoes, from the kingdom of Congo, supposed to extend from  $5\frac{1}{2}$  to 7 degrees south—the Madungoes, from the interior part of the country, and are a long time in coming down to the coast; they are supposed to be Canibals, and, when the question has been put to them, if they eat one another in their country, they owned it, saying it was the sweetest flesh they knew—Of the the Madungoes, few are brought for sale.

As to the Congoes and Majumbas, he generally understood that the black traders bought them in the country; and sometimes they were brought down for sale by the original proprietors. The number from those two countries are nearly equal, with this difference, that when a war subsists in either country, there are seldom any slaves brought from the country at war. Either from the attention of the natives being by that means diverted from every other object, or that the merchants find it dangerous to travel through the country at the time, war is carried on by ambush and surprise, rather than by pitched battle.

P. 10.

P. 11. in the open field.

The captives thus made, are sold, and he has had their friends come and redeem such as he had bought some weeks after. Numbers of slaves are obtained in this way, though but few sold to him; and the proportion of such sold to Europeans, small upon the whole, compared to what there may be, upon some other parts of the coast.

Thinks the greater part sold at Angola were born slaves, because they appear generally cheerful and contented, and seldom express any resentment against those



hose who sold them. Some Congo princes sold him 1790.  
 some of their own slaves—and one of them in parti- Part II.  
 cular sold him one of his wives (p. 10.)—People of Angola have as many wives as they can afford.—

There may be a greater proportion of convicts among P. 12.  
 the slaves sold there than can possibly be known, as

they all say they were honest, and knew not for what they were sold. Does not know of any slaves obtained by Europeans, by force or fraud. He has been applied to by some principal men of the country to assist in seizing as a slave, a person who, they said, was condemned for crimes, and had armed himself in defence—but he had always refused. Believes (though he has not known any) that cases have happened among the natives of kidnapping each other—the offender, in such case, if discovered, would be severely punished, as well by the friends of the person stolen, as by the sovereign of the country, (p. 9.)

The black traders come to the forts attended by some of the people on the coast as brokers. They examine minutely the goods that are offered them, and if satisfied with the quantity and quality, the bargain is completed. In cases where the assortment of goods has not pleased them, or where the slaves have been refused by the Europeans—has known them sell a few P. 13.  
 to the people on the coast, at very low prices, and carry the rest back—has seen them sometimes beat and threaten the refuse slaves, who appeared always anxious to be sold with the rest. Those of them who were young did not seem to be under the same apprehensions as the old; from whence he concluded the latter to be criminals, under fear of some sort of punishment.

Ships usually give long notice on the coast of their intention to sail—the notice given, is loosing the fore-topsail at sun rising, and firing a gun.—Supposes this notice is understood even by the slaves on board, as well as by the natives—the slaves appear generally impatient to leave the coast.—The hour of sailing, is indifferently in the day or night, as the wind serves.

Thinks

1790. Thinks there is a trade in slaves carried on be-  
Part II. tween Angola and the eastern parts of Africa.

Confiders the practice of taking Pawns as a very  
bad one—it prevails at Angola, the windward coast,  
P. 14. and believes at other places—but seldom at Bonny.

People will pawn their slaves, children, or other rela-  
tions, to procure goods—some of the great men, will,  
perhaps, in a fit of passion, order some of their friends  
to be sold—those who are obliged to put this order in  
execution, will sometimes deliver the person as a  
P. 15. pawn, taking his value in return—putting it thus  
in the power of the master to redeem the pawn.  
Captains of ships are sometimes detained 2 or 3 days  
after they are ready to sail, waiting for the redemp-  
tion of the pawns left with them—which, when the  
friends are unable to do, they will borrow slaves for  
that purpose from another vessel that is to remain a  
longer time upon the coast, and pawn them anew—  
has known epidemical distempers conveyed by this  
means from ship to ship, to the destruction of many  
slaves. Pawns are always considered as slaves until  
redeemed, and when their friends refuse or are unable  
to redeem them, they are carried off and sold—has  
sometimes been desired by pawns to carry them  
away, rather than they should be shifted from ship to  
ship upon the coast.

P. 16. Used to be daily on shore for 2 or 3 months at a  
time, in each of his 5 voyages to Bonny, has ac-  
quired a general knowledge of the government of  
the country—has heard there are 17 towns dependent  
on Bonny, some of which he knows—there are at  
Bonny a certain number of people who are supposed  
to have an equal right to be at the head of the go-  
vernment.—As it derives its consequence from com-  
merce, masters of ships have upon the death of a  
king, a great influence in appointing his successor.

P. 17. There are 9 parliament men, who with the king  
and a number of principal people of the towns make  
laws for the time—but at present the king, influ-  
enced by the priests, directs every thing. The greater  
part



part of the inhabitants of Bonny are slaves—but as 1790.  
 the safety of the town depends upon the exertions of Part II.  
 the whole—many of the slaves scarce know them-  
 selves such, until by committing some offences they  
 subject themselves to punishment—or to be sold.

A certain number of the inhabitants are univer-  
 sally acknowledged to be free—there are also a num-  
 ber of slaves, who themselves possess 40, 50, or  
 more slaves, and are allowed by their masters to  
 carry on trade as freemen. Slaves purchased from  
 the interior part of the country may be sold at the  
 will of their master—but those born in the town can-  
 not be sold out of it, but unless found guilty of cer-  
 tain crimes. It is generally supposed the master,  
 from his own interest, will not falsely accuse his  
 slaves.

Freemen charged with crimes, are brought before P. 18.  
 a tribunal of freemen, parliament men, and priests;  
 if convicted, he undergoes punishment, which is ge-  
 nerally arbitrary; cannot speak particularly to the  
 crimes thus tried; some of them are, poisoning,  
 formerly much practised at Bonny, but rarely now;  
 a freeman convicted of this was to be put to death,  
 and buried under ground—a slave thrown alive to  
 the sharks—adultery and witchcraft are also tried  
 before this tribunal—knows not if theft is—believes  
 it is punished, in a freeman, by fine—in a slave, at  
 the will of his master. For some crimes the convict  
 is adjudged to be sold; but not out of the country,  
 except in particular cases.

Slaves at Bonny generally procured by people that  
 live in the Up Country. If there are wars, they go  
 in their war canoes to the places in the Up Country  
 where the fairs are held. The old or unsaleable  
 are sent back by the Bonny canoes, together with the  
 goods received for such as had been sold.

Has known no instances of white traders possess-  
 ing themselves of Slaves by fraud or force; detection  
 in such an attempt would be attended perhaps with  
 destruction, if not with a heavy fine—the black  
 traders



1790. traders do sometimes arrest men for debts real or pretended, and obtain a judgment allowing them to sell  
 Part II. such persons for slaves.

At Bonny there are generally two prices current for slaves—the ships preparing to sail paying higher than those newly arrived. The price is settled by the king, the factors, and a captain—When the king breaks, or opens trade with the ship, the assortment of the cargo is sufficiently known to all the traders—the captain usually goes on shore to view the slaves in the traders' houses—at night—if any then taken on board are found faulty, they are returned early next morning. The trader comes on board when he thinks proper, for payment—and then, not before, he and his people examine the goods very minutely.

Never knew an instance of ships leaving the river Bonny, without giving previous notice, although not necessary there.

P. 21. There are many circumstances by which all the people in Bonny are sufficiently warned of the ships being ready to depart.

The mode of carrying on trade at Calabar, does not differ essentially from that at Bonny.

P. 22. The government there is similar to that of Bonny—the town has been for several years past governed by a man whose condition is that of a slave—his name Amachree—he was obliged to support his master for several years, though his own wealth gave him power over him, and he often flogged him when displeased.

There is generally a weekly fair at Calabar for slaves—they can sell their canoe boys, which the people of Bonny are not permitted to do, even though they may have been brought from the interior country, as they are deemed useful to the country in general.

Believes there are no natural productions in the countries of Bonny and Calabar, which might become subjects of exportation—there is a little ivory—and a few cotton cloths brought thither from other places; but these are too dear, or of too coarse a quality—the kings at both places are obliged to keep a

certain

certain number of teeth, 2 or 3 for each ship— 1790. Sometimes they make their scarcity a pretence for Part II. non payment—the cloths come from Benin, the Brasp-  
pan country, &c.—a little palm oil is also sometimes bought at Calabar and Bonny—but seldom more than is wanted for the Slaves provisions.

Has been often on the windward coast—not in every P. 23. part.

The country in general produces rice, Guinea corn, cassada, plantains, bananas, limes, pine apples, oranges, and such other fruits as are to be found in the West Indies—has bought ivory at most parts of the coast he frequented, and camwood at one place.

Ships accustomed to slave there send their boats along shore and up rivers; they also establish factories on shore.

Knows most part of the coast of Africa from Cape P. 24. de Verd to Cape Negro. The soundings are for the most part very regular, and the ground favourable for anchorage. Respecting harbours, says there are several places where he conceives ships may lye with safety, viz. Gambia and Sierra Leon, and, perhaps, some other rivers on the windward coast. There are others at Bonny and Calabar, and believes at Old Calabar. The current of the Congo is so rapid that ships cannot at all times get in. At Mount Negro, lat. 10 deg. south, there is a very deep bay, open, he thinks, from south west to north west. The anchorage good—a good rivulet of fresh water—the country, as far as the eye can reach, an arid sand, destitute of all vegetation. There is some risque from the bars and shoals at the entrance of Rivers—but believes that experienced persons may at all times, when the wind permits, go into the river Gambia and Sierra Leon.

On the windward coast, between the shoals of St. Anne and Cape Palmar, and from thence down to the Gold Coast, knows no place where, in the rainy season, ships boats can land with safety. The assistance of canoes is at that time necessary, which are

Numb. 2.

B

also

1790. also often overfet and the goods destroyed—it is much the same at Bonny in the bad feason; with this difference, that the Tornado blows from the shore on the windward coast, but towards the shore at Bonny; there are some places sheltered by rocks, where a landing may be effected, and boats, acquainted with the bars, can go into the rivers, but no vessels that draw much water. The currents are so strong and the sea so rough, that no seamen are equal to the labour of rowing to and from shore. The sea beats more violently on the shores than he ever saw in any other part of the world, at the full and change of the moon.

P. 25. It is seldom that a sufficiency of provisions can be got any where on the coast, either for the middle passage or while the ship is trading; believes most English ships buy what country provisions they can get, though generally furnished from England with a sufficiency for the whole voyage; that intended for the negroes consisting of beans, rice, some stock fish, flour, bread, and beef.

The slaves while in the hands of the black traders for sale, are fed on corn or plantains; failing these, on the root of the cassada.

The slaves who are natives of the sea coast, shew a reluctance at leaving it and their relations, but the number of those is very inconsiderable.

P. 26. With respect to the arrangement on board for the accommodation of the slaves, and their treatment while lying on the coast and on the middle passage—Says, on the coast of Angola, they are so long in purchasing the cargo, that the ship is fit for sea several days before the purchase is completed. The space between decks is usually divided into 3 apartments—the sexes are separated, and the boys have a room by themselves. The Angola slaves being very peaceable, are seldom confined in irons—and they are allowed to keep below or upon deck, as they please—it is desirable to have them all day upon deck, and engaged in some exercise—those who sleep



sleep in the day, disturb others in the night, and if permitted to talk then, it adds considerably to the heat below. Particular attention is paid to keeping the ships clean between decks, and some think, (though he is not of the number) that frequent washing the floors is pernicious, from the difficulty of thoroughly drying them. 1790. Part II.

P. 30.

So soon as the slaves are brought up, a canvas hose, or pipe, is fixed to the head pumps, and conveys the water down between decks, which are scrubbed usually with bricks and sand, then washed clean, and wrabbed as dry as possible. Pans with strong fires, are placed in different parts, which generally dry between decks perfectly in an hour—but the fires are generally kept an hour or two longer—if the weather and time of day permit—tobacco, brimstone, &c. are frequently burnt below to sweeten the rooms. Every ship has gratings, and most have air ports, others have different contrivances to admit air.

P. 31.

In rainy weather, though not cold, it is thought unsafe to admit them upon deck, when they desire it. There are also cold fogs and dews which make it necessary sometimes to keep them below; but they are commonly so sensible of cold, that no restraint is then necessary—they seldom complain of heat while the air is sweet—they complain often of cold between decks—they will often sleep exposed to the heat of the sun—a proof they can bear heat better than Europeans—they are accustomed in Africa to have fire in their huts, at once to keep them warm, and drive away the Muskitoes—they lye close together, the face of one to the back of another—this is also a common custom among the slaves on board—care is likewise taken to keep them clean in their persons, by washing and furnishing them with palm oil, when it is to be had. Particular care is taken as to their provisions, conforming them as near as may be to what they had been used to in Africa. Plantains, bananas, &c., will not keep at sea; but in every voyage he has made to Angola, or to any other country, he had always as much provisions

P. 32.

1790. fions as they could eat, and sufficient wine and spiri-  
 Part II. tuous liquors for the use of the negroes and ship's  
 company — when ailing, the surgeon's orders were, and he had free leave, to give them any thing in the ship. As good a stock of fresh provisions were laid in on the coast as could conveniently be kept on board. It is desirable, and is their own wish, to make their meals upon deck; and, though their food is boiled to a consistency to be eat without, a spoon is given to each, which, however, they will seldom use—they are generally 10 in a mess—when done eating, they are allowed to drink as much usually as they chuse—they have regularly 2 meals a day, and almost always a middle meal, of bread, and beef, pork, or stock-fish, &c.; sometimes calavances, of which they are in general fond. This middle meal not being customary in their own country, they consider as an indulgence. The most humane of the ship's company are generally appointed to attend the slaves and serve their provisions. The chief officers have their respective stations to attend them. Their general cheerful disposition is encouraged—they have frequent amusements peculiar to their country—little games with stones or shells, dancing, jumping, and wrestling—they are nevertheless apt to quarrel; and it is the character of an African to be implacable.

- P. 28. A sum of money is allotted to the surgeon, that he may supply himself with the necessary medicines for the voyage: it is his duty, of which he is often reminded, to inquire every morning into the state of health of the slaves. For the sick slaves some apartment is allotted where they are least likely to be molested. The master and officers are interested in the health and safety of the slaves. Should any die, the surgeon loses his head money, which is a fee of a shilling for each slave sold, paid out of the proceeds of the cargo; and the captain his commission of so much per cent. upon the gross or nett produce of the cargo, according to agreement with his owner.
- P. 29. Should

Should the slaves be brought to market in a sickly 1790.  
state, the officers, 1st and 2d mates and surgeon, will Part II.  
lose upon their privilege slaves, for which they are }  
paid at the average rate of the cargo. The captain  
also had formerly privilege slaves and coast commis- P. 30.  
sions; but the mode of paying him by a commission  
on the proceeds of the cargo in the West Indies is  
now most general, and deemed the most equitable,  
as making the owner's and master's interests reci-  
procal.

The climate of the coast of Angola generally  
considered healthy; but the change of the seasons P. 31.  
have a similar effect upon the constitution as in this  
country, and affects natives as well as strangers—  
frequently had severe illnesses himself, but never P. 32.  
lost any of his crew or slaves there.

The weather to be met with from thence to the  
West Indies depends upon the season at leaving the  
coast, but in general the passages from Angola are  
safe and sure.

In the ships which he has sailed in from Angola  
the mortality has been very moderate, either among  
the slaves or the crew.

Made two voyages as second and chief mate from  
Angola; one in the *Amelia* of Bristol, the other in P. 33.  
the *Polly*, both commanded by Capt. Thomas Dun-  
can. In the *Polly* (cannot speak to her tonnage)  
they purchased nearly 500 slaves; the mortality be-  
lieves was very small; average price very high—this  
voyage concluded in 1772.

Commanded the ship *Catherine* in 1772; made 2  
voyages from Angola to South Carolina; her tonnage  
about 140 by register; purchased upwards of 80  
slaves; lost about 8 on the coast; on the middle pas-  
sage, as far as he recollects, the loss very moderate;  
lost one seaman on the middle passage, and a boy at  
Charlestown.

In second voyage purchased upwards of 300  
slaves; was not permitted to sell them in Carolina;  
obliged to return to the West Indies; ship in a dis-  
tressed



1790. treffed condition, nearly foundered at sea; lost, if  
Part II. he recollects right, 2 or 3 slaves upon the coast;  
mortality at sea very trifling till the ship became  
leaky; cannot speak to the exact number who died;  
lost 3 or 4 seamen on the coast and middle passage.

P. 34. Ships bound for Bonny and Calabar carry generally from England beans, sometimes rice, flour, bread, and beef, but never in so large quantities as to Angola, as the slaves have commonly one or more meals a day of yams; except in this respect they are messed exactly as on the trade from Angola—generally eat the beans and rice with reluctance, always preferring yams, the usual food of their country.

Being more vicious than the Angola slaves, they are kept under stricter confinement; shew also more reluctance at leaving the coast; of opinion that white men intend to eat them; supposed to arise from their being themselves cannibals.

Many of them appear half starved when brought down for sale; likewise complain of want of provisions and other hard treatment in their own country; but as officers are not permitted to go up the rivers, little can be known of the inland country.

P. 35. Ships trading at Bonny generally take in their water there; they can water at 3 or 4 different places besides—at Calabar there are 2 watering places, both frequented.

Some vessels call at St. Thomas's for refreshments; he never did.

Does not recollect the mortality on board the Alexander, which he commanded in a voyage from Calabar in 1776, but it was very moderate.

The mortality next year on board the Valiant, commanded by him, was considerable—of about 500 slaves, lost above 100, occasioned by the measles.

On board the Tartar, which he commanded in a voyage from the windward and gold coast, of from 270 to 280 slaves, the loss did not exceed 3; the crew 60, of which 2 that were foreigners died on the gold

gold coast, and 1 drowned on the windward coast, 1790. the remainder he believes he carried in good health Part II. to Jamaica; thinks the burthen of the Tartar was 140 to 160 tons; in this vessel he was taken, and P. 36. lost all his papers, of course has no documents to refer to respecting this or former voyages.

Commanded the Emilia in a voyage in 1783, begun on the windward coast; drove from thence by a French ship of war; sailed to the river Ambris, purchased there 140 to 150 slaves; returned to the windward coast and completed his cargo; had nearly an equal quantity he thinks of Angola and Windward-coast slaves; mortality on the passage very small; reason why he does speak with certainty, came to town on private business, and not expecting to be called upon to speak in this business, brought no papers with him; was on the coast on this voyage he thinks 8 or 9 months.

He made 4 voyages in the same ship from Bonny: in the first, of 490 slaves, lost 50, sold the remainder at Dominica; the mortality in part occasioned by the ship getting aground on the bar in going out, which obliged the air ports to be shut; this was acknowledged by the underwriters, who, upon application, were willing to pay a part of the loss, but P. 37. there being no precedent to go by, the owners dropt their claim; mortality of the crew on this voyage inconsiderable; they were seldom employed from the ship, and sheltered there from the rains and dews by an awning of mats.

In the 2d voyage purchased 420 slaves; lost on the coast and in the passage to Jamaica upwards of 30—the crew 40 to 44, of which he thinks lost 4 on the coast and passage.

Purchased in the 3d voyage upwards of 400; lost in the passage to Grenada about 40—crew upwards of 40, lost about 4.

In the 4th voyage purchased about 570; sent off 150 of these in a tender to St. Thomas's; of these has been informed 5 died, and one of the crew was lost

1790. lost by accident. He carried the remainder of his  
 Part II. purchase to St. Kitt's; lost upwards of 20 on the  
 coast and in the passage; lost near 20 more while  
 lying in Basseterre road by an epidemical disorder  
 which then prevailed over all the island: of the  
 crew (44 or 45 in number) 3 or 4 died, but cannot  
 speak positively.

P. 38. In his last voyage to Jamaica the mortality on the  
 coast, middle passage, Kingston harbour, and on  
 shore, previous to sale, exceeded 100; the hurri-  
 cane came on before the day of sale, and drove most  
 of the ships on shore; the slaves suffered much du-  
 ring the bad weather; there was a scarcity of water,  
 and a total want of country provisions; the stock of  
 yams brought from Africa was expended; they were  
 indifferently fed, and very badly lodged on shore,  
 the places appropriated for their shelter being de-  
 stroyed by the hurricane; had been advertised for  
 sale at two different times, but no purchasers ap-  
 peared; the disorder which they are usually subject  
 to in their own country, together with the fever that  
 then raged in Kingston, broke out amongst them;  
 mortality, after the ship's arrival, 60 to 70, but can-  
 not speak precisely.

With respect to the additional extraordinary pre-  
 cautions taken with the slaves from Bonny, they (the  
 Brass-pan men excepted) are secured as the wind-  
 ward and gold-coast slaves; the full-grown men are  
 chained two and two with leg-irons and handcuffs;  
 when their number is large, and any of the sailors  
 sick or absent, or the captain on shore, it is neces-  
 sary to confine them below; so soon as the ship was  
 out of sight of land, he usually took off their hand-  
 cuffs, and soon after their leg-irons; never had the  
 slaves, even from the gold and windward coast, in  
 irons during the middle passage, except a few who  
 were mutinous.

On board the ships he commanded there was al-  
 ways plenty of provisions and water, but not always  
 the sort they liked best.

He



He once arrived in the West Indies rather short 1790.  
 of provisions, but neither the slaves nor ship's crew Part II.  
 were put to short allowance.

As to the crews of Guinea ships, there was a greater P. 39.  
 proportion of landmen before the last war than since—  
 never knew any exact proportion observed; but,  
 since the last peace, there are many half seamen  
 that are seldom received into any other trade than that  
 to Guinea. In the *Alexander*, his crew of 39 was  
 thus made up; 10 officers, 6 able seamen, about 15  
 half seamen—the remaining 8 landmen.

One voyage with the *Catharine* he had 14 able  
 seamen, both these in time of peace; aboard the  
*Tartar*, during the war, had 16 or 18 able seamen.

It was his wish and orders, that the seamen should  
 be treated with tenderness; he paid every necessary  
 attention to the health and safety of every individual  
 aboard his ship. The surgeon was constantly pro- P. 40.  
 vided with a medicine chest, and had liberty to give  
 the sick wine, fresh provisions, and every refreshment  
 on board—their respective mess-mates had orders  
 likewise to give every necessary attendance and assis-  
 tance.

Landmen less fit, when grown up, to bear the  
 change of climate than seamen and young lads; can-  
 not say precisely whether young lads or seamen suffer  
 most, as too many of the latter come diseased on  
 board the Guinea ships.

With respect to wages, it has been the custom at P. 39.  
 Bristol, to pay from 1 to 3 mos. advance sterling be-  
 fore sailing; in the W. Indies, the wages for half the  
 time that has elapsed since sailing from Bristol, is  
 paid in currency.

No part of the crew can be discharged in the West  
 Indies, but by the authority of a chief magistrate,  
 who must indemnify the master of the ship, who has  
 previously given bond of 1500*l.* and the factor ano-  
 ther for same sum at the Secretary's office, that none  
 of the crew shall be left to distress the country.

Numb. 2

C

Some

1790. Some of the crew frequently apply to attornies at Part II. law to obtain their discharge; and the Vice-President of the Admiralty, on the request, usually issues an order to the Captain to comply; the men so discharged, are often a burthen to the country, contracting sickness from idleness and intemperance; no seaman or landman can be forced to receive their discharge before the conclusion of the voyage.

P. 41. Thinks it is neither for the interest of the owners, nor the crew, that the Commander should be allowed to discharge a man in the West Indies; because, in discharging one man, he always conceived that every other man in the ship had a right to the same if he desired it; he understood this to be the custom in merchant ships, and that sailors generally avail themselves of it; for which reason if any offender, seaman or landman, wished for his discharge, to remain in the country, he first made him obtain the concurrence of the whole ship's company in writing.

In his last voyage to Jamaica, the sailors became very quarrelsome among themselves, and I discharged from 12 to 14 healthy people, upon condition that in case they were not shipped on board other vessels he would take them again, changing their names, a custom very common among sailors.

P. 41. Has not generally discharged any of his crew in other voyages, unless compelled by the authority of a magistrate, or an officer of the navy.

Some seamen who have made a voyage with him—have waited till he was ready to go on another, refusing the offer of other employment in the interval. Some, both able and ordinary seamen, have gone 3 voyages, and a few 4.

P. 42. Mr. Alexander Falconbridge failed two voyages with him, one to the windward coast and Angola, and another to Bonny, and part of a third to the windward coast, when the ship was taken—Mr. F. had always declared that he understood little of the language of the country. In one of the voyages, in which

which Mr. F. was with him, recollects the circumstance of a man being brought a-long side the ship, and delivered on board, who he believes, did not know that he was going to be sold—but from not understanding the language of the country, cannot say whether the man had been invited off to look at the ship or not. (Says he had no business to question the right of that person who sold him this man, as that might have stopped further trade between them. The fact was known to a number of traders, and the man was put on board publicly in the forenoon; never was applied to to deliver him up again.)

1790.  
Part. II.

P. 43.

In that voyage to Bonny, when Mr. F. was with him, a few of the slaves there purchased, informed him, that they were taken forcibly or by surprise; (he means in the manner in which he has described the Angola wars) many of them owned they were slaves in their own country, but the little knowledge he had of the language did not enable him to distinguish those that were born slaves, or made such; does not believe the practice of kidnapping by small parties from 5 to 10, and bringing slaves to the black people's houses, can exist at Bonny.

Recollects, that while trading at the river Ambris, a signal was made one afternoon from the land, for him to come on shore with his boat, when a person was sold and delivered to him, who, being a fisherman, was accused of having asked a greater price for his fish than he ought; he was himself the only person in the ship that understood a word of the language of the natives; they told him the man was a great rogue; the principal officers, and the King's people were present when the goods were paid for him; these officers, as their titles implied, he considered as the Minister of Finance and of the war department; knows nothing at all of this man's guilt, observed that he behaved very insolently, and heard him accused of asking more for his fish than customary—does not know of any other crime besides ex-



1790. tortion charged against the fisherman—they were not  
 Part II. obliged to tell if there was.

From his own knowledge while in health, and the report of his officers while sick, he judged that twice as many slaves were returned to the country as he bought—for the reasons before given—that if they had been kidnapped, a trader would probably have sold them at any price, rather than carry them back, at the hazard of a discovery.

P. 44. When arrived at the river Ambris in that voyage, Mr. F. was with him—he was told by the natives, that his was the first ship that had been slaving on that coast for several years—of which he acquainted his officers. His ship was several weeks upon the coast at that time, before any slaves were offered for sale—cannot say the exact time—he purchased at different times a few slaves from the towns on the sea coast—the slaves, when no ships lye there, are sent to St. Paul de Loando or Cabenda—Every time he has traded at the river Ambris, if there was no vessel there before him, it was some time before the slaves from the interior part of the country were brought down—does not recollect any instance at this place, of a slave being reclaimed by the government of the country, as having been improperly sold—but has known instances at Melimba—in such cases, he was always offered and accepted a slave in exchange.

Believes the Captains seldom or never enquire concerning the right which those persons who offer negroes for sale have to dispose of them—believes every Captain would be considered as a fool by any trading man; to whom he put such a question.

The slaves in general have not a great aversion to horse-beans—those purchased at Cabenda and Melimba always eat beans when mixed with rice, with much satisfaction The country about the Ambris produces a great deal of calavances.—The slaves he purchased there, were fonder of calavances, Indian corn and cassada, than of any other food—they are not very

very fond of beans, but like them well enough when mixed with rice and stock fish. 1790.  
Part. II.

When negroes have refused their food, he has always used persuasion—force is always ineffectual.

Never did hold hot coals to a negro, threatening to make him swallow them, if he persisted in refusing to eat—and defies any person to prove that he has done so. P. 45.

Being at one time sick in his cabin, the chief mate and surgeon once and again came to inform him, that there was a man upon the main deck, that would neither eat, drink, or speak—he desired them to use every means in their power to persuade him to speak, and assign reasons for his silence—desired that some of the other slaves should be employed to endeavour to make him speak;—when informed, that he still remained obstinate, and not knowing whether it was sulkeness or insanity, he ordered the chief mate, or surgeon, or both, to present him with a piece of fire in one hand, and a piece of yam in the other, and to report what effect that had upon him—he was told that the man took the yam and eat it, and threw the fire overboard—this man was afterwards shewn to him, dressed in a frock and trowsers, which had been given him by the sailors, for washing and mending their clothes—and he sold for upwards of 40l. at Grenada.

He has sometimes threatened them, when they were sulky, and would not eat their provisions, telling them they should have no yams if they did not eat their beans—has sometimes found it necessary to punish, or cause to be punished slightly, some of the slaves for different offences—Mr. F. was frequently employed to do this with his own hands—who never said he thought what was ordered unreasonable, or did it in a manner that shewed he thought the punishment undeserved—the reason for ordering Mr. F. to do this, was, that he judged him a properer person than any other; because in general, he was  
attentive

1790. attentive to the slaves.—Says that himself, Mr. F. Part II. and the chief mate have often been provoked to punish slaves slightly without any great cause—their peevishness, perverseness, and obstinacy, counter-acting most of his endeavours to keep them comfortable, and relieve them in their sea-sickness and other complaints—has with his own hands punished sailors for mal-treating negroes.

P. 46. Recollects, that when lying in the river Ambris, very sick in his cabin, a number of women, by neglect of locking the gun-port gratings, got out and attempted to swim on shore. There were 3 among the number from the King's town at Ambris. Believes they were all taken up again, and brought on board. The ship was then about a mile from shore. One of the black traders, who had come on board on some pretended business, late at night, contrary to the custom of the country, was suspected of having induced these women to leave the ship.

In the river Bonny, and elsewhere, precautions are used to prevent slaves from going overboard;—on the coast of Angola never knew any precautions taken. Women and boys are never confined.

It was his custom, in the river Bonny, to send the ailing slaves on shore, when there were but few; and if their disorder required the aid of a surgeon, he always sent the surgeon to visit them; when recovered, they were brought on board; if they died, they were also brought along side, to be satisfied that they were not stolen away. The female which he supposes alluded to in the question, after suffering much from sea-sickness, and seeming to pine and waste, was sent on shore, and left in charge of one of her own countrywomen; was informed she hanged herself;—all he knows is, that she was brought along-side when dead. She was an Ebo slave from the interior country.

Never understood that it was frequent with the slaves of that country to hang themselves.

Never



Never knew any one claim a right to dispute the right of the great men of the country of Angola to sell their friends, relations, or families. 1790. Part II.

As he always paid the price of a slave for every pawn he received, he must have understood that the person who delivered such pawn, had a right to pawn or to sell him; and such pawn not being redeemed, it was considered as a purchase;—but is not sufficiently acquainted with the laws of the country, to answer precisely to the question, Whether no persons are put on board ships as pawns, but such as are liable to be sold by the custom of the country. The laws being often made for the occasion, it is impossible to tell for what description of crimes persons may be sold to the Europeans. P. 47.

On the windward coast, where he has mentioned canoes being often overset, and goods lost, such accidents happen more frequently in going on shore than in coming off. The slaves in general are brought off in canoes, the people on shore assisting to push them clear beyond the surf, when they are taken into the ships boats.

Never knew an instance of slaves confined in those canoes.

He has sometimes allotted a part of the cabin for the sick; at other times, part of the boys room.

It is often necessary on the middle passage, but never knew an instance of the gratings being covered and the air ports shut at the same time. P. 48.

Does not believe it a general practice for sailors to desert from Guinea ships to ships of war in the West Indies; it happened twice to himself.

It is common for sailors to desert from Guinea ships in the West Indies, when seamen are scarce, and a high price given for the run home;—has heard them often declare, before they left England, that this was one of the reasons for which they endeavoured to have a higher advance of wages before they embarked.

Is

1790. Is at present unemployed in the slave trade, but  
Part II. shall be soon.

{ The fines imposed on convicts, go, first, to the  
P. 49. relations of the persons poisoned. The doctor is paid by both parties, and shares in the fines, and the King and chief officers have also part of them.

Respecting the treatment of slaves in that country—has seen them at meals sitting round their master.

Never saw an instance of a vessel lost on the coast of Africa; has heard of some, but few.

He used to lay in, for a passage from Angola, Bonny, or the windward coast, from 60 to 80 gallons of water per man, and had generally a fourth of his stock left at the end of his voyage.

P. 51. Does not recollect any instance of Captains being convicted of leaving sailors in the West Indies, and paying the penalty;—never had any law dispute himself with any of his people.

Grass cloth passes for money in Africa as brass money or small change does with us;—has seldom seen a sufficient quantity of it to purchase a slave.—Much of it is destroyed in wrapping up the dead;—has also seen it worn by the natives.

P. 52. Believes persons supposed accessory to witchcraft, are liable to be burnt.

Believes a number of the aged slaves are criminals, or considered as such. A circumstance at the river Ambris, related to him on his second voyage with Capt. Duncombe, makes him think that a number of them are put to death. A Cabenda boy, whom he had with him as a linguist, informed him that a slave whom he had refused to purchase, was put to death in the following manner: The owner, (who was from the inland country) calling the traders and fishers together under a tree, accused him of dishonesty; said that he had run off thrice, and thereby cost him more than he was worth, in the customary rewards for apprehending him; that he gained nothing by his labour; and that the white man having  
refused

refused him, he would put him to death, to save 1790.  
 further expence, and as an example to his other Part II.  
 slaves. This he instantly executed, with circum-  
 stances of most horrid cruelty.

From what befel this slave, who he did not suppose P. 53.  
 to be very criminal, they have a right, it would ap-  
 pear, to put their own slaves to death; and of course  
 any useless criminal, or old slave, may be supposed  
 liable to like treatment; in which he is confirmed by  
 another circumstance. Having gone on shore in the  
 evening, for the benefit of the air, accompanied by  
 his linguist, he was led by him to a spot where some  
 of the countrymen were going to kill a sucking  
 child. Upon being asked the reason, they said it  
 was of no value: having requested, in that case, that  
 it might be given to him, he was answered, that if  
 it had any use for the child, it was worth money;  
 he finally bought it for a jug of brandy, and it hap-  
 pened to belong to a young female whom Captain  
 Lawson had bought that very day. Capt. Lawson  
 thanked him, and carried it on board. On its being  
 presented to the mother, she fell on her knees, and  
 kissed his feet.

The last time he was at Melimba, there were some  
 Romish missionaries settled at Chelango, but it pro-  
 duced no effect on the manners of the natives.

Did not mean to say that the domestic slaves, or  
 followers, were well fed; they might be so, if in-  
 dustrious; most parts of the country which he has  
 seen being tolerably fertile—but never saw any man  
 working in the grounds, that being the women's pro-  
 vince. Seldom any of them came to his factory,  
 who were not hungry, and glad of the worst provi-  
 sions he had to spare. No large tracts that might  
 be ploughed or planted, but here and there very fer-  
 tile spots.

Has been witness to a mode of carrying on war  
 at Melimba between the great men of the country, P. 55.  
 but no captives were made in it.



1790. In every voyage he has made, there was always  
 Part II. more than room enough for the slaves, except in the  
 first voyage to Bonny in the Emilia.

The disorders incident to seamen aboard Guinea ships, are scurvy and fevers.

The seamen got at Bristol for the Guinea trade, being inferior to those of other ports, it is seldom necessary to give more wages than in the W. India trade; but in general they have had 5s. per month more.

Was a prisoner of war in Niort of Poitiers, France for 8 months.

Has been since 10 months in France, at Bourdeaux Nantz, St. Maloes, Havre de Grace, Harfleur, and Rouen.—Returned in August;—made every inquiry he could respecting the African trade.

Several French merchants, having all their own vessels and officers employed, proposed to him to fit out from this country, to purchase slaves, under P. 56. French colours, and carry them to St. Domingo.—Good slaves sell in general, at St. Domingo, for 60l. to 70l. sterl.—has seen the account sales of slaves.—Such friends as he formerly knew on the coast of Africa, and are now established at Nantz, St. Maloes, and Rochelle, have offered him employment for himself, and as many of his officers and friends as he would recommend.

Has been credibly informed, that the African slave trade has been considerably extended in France since the idea of abolition was taken up in England has been told in France, and in this country, that the merchants of Bourdeaux and others concerned in that trade, pay from 8 to 10 per cent. for money to carry it on. There were 360 sail of vessels, whose tonnage, on an average, was 352 ts. employed in the African and West-India trade from Bourdeaux;—their cargoes in general are much richer than ours having more cotton, indigo, and coffee.

Thinks it more than probable, if the slave trade were

were abolished here, that the French would carry it on more extensively than now.

Believes, from the number of ships laid up in his country, from the late regulating act, the idea of abolition, and encouragements held out by the French, several persons have been employed in ships sold from hence, and fitted out from France.

Believes it unnecessary for the Portuguese to extend their trade, possessing great part already, and most of that exclusively. The Danes, supported by government, have (to his knowledge) tried to extend their trade from the windward and gold coast; believes they already have the means of carrying it on to more advantage than the British, if their officers and men were equally acquainted with it;—thinks there is no reason to suppose the Dutch will ever forego any commercial advantage which they may lay hold of. The people of Ostend have shewn disposition to carry on every kind of trade that Africa and the East Indies present to them.—The Spanish W. Indies are in part supplied with slaves by American vessels, bought on the gold and windward coast, and perhaps elsewhere.—The Spanish government have opened some of their ports for African ships of all nations, and it is said that the Philippines have attempted, or are trying to commence a trade to Africa, to supply S. America;—has been told, that they wish to get their officers employed in the English or other African ships, to gain experience.

Is certain, the French have deprived the British of the trade on a considerable tract of the African coast, although he cannot prove it formally, from the disguise necessary in conducting such business.

Never made any calculation between the number of slaves he carried and the tonnage; there is no geometrical proportion between the tonnage and the spaces allotted for the slaves to lie in, that depending on the form and construction of the ship, few of them being exactly alike;—believes no such idea

1790. ever entered the head of a seaman, as apportioning Part II. the number of slaves to the tonnage.

Has known (to the best of his recollection) two instances, in which nine-tenths of the slaves made no complaint of sickness; has known slaves recovered by the care of the doctor, and other officers, without medicine;—every experienced surgeon knowing how averse the Africans are to taking medicine, does all he can to recover them, without giving what to them is so disgusting.

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Witness Examined.—MR. FRANCKLYN.

- P. 78. Gilbert Franklyn, Esq. a native of England, went to the W. Indies in 1766, where he principally resided in Antigua till the latter end of 1787. He chiefly superintended a number of negroes let by contract to government by himself, and the late Mr. Ant. Bacon, (his partner) in order to attend the surveyors marking out the lands to be sold in the ceded islands, and the troops, &c. employed in the service of the commissioners, which led him much among the islands, from Barbadoes to St. Kitt's inclusive. He lived from 1766 to the latter end of 1767, and from 1768 to 1770, in Antigua; from 1774 to 1776, and from 1779 to 1789, in Tobago. He was about 7 or 8 months, in 1788, in Jamaica.
- P. 79.

Was particularly attentive to the negroes belonging to himself and his partner, which were about 400. The first negroes he knew were in Antigua. The first of which he became owner, were bought by his agent, and by contract ought to have been either seasoned, or used to the climate. A knowledge of the English language was also required, to enable them to take directions. This obliged them to give high prices for negroes not otherwise qualified, as good-seasoned negroes were seldom found on sale except



except from distress of masters; in consequence of 1790. which, when a few seasoned negroes were obtained Part II. for the most necessary employments, the commissioners and others in the service preferred new and active negroes.

These negroes were found, and, in case of death P. 80. or desertion, replaced at contractors' risk. The islands in which they were being in a very uncultivated state, they were obliged to supply them with the same provisions, as the troops, flour, peas, beef, and pork. The quantity was directed by the king's officers. They had rum also given them when thought conducive to health. There was an agent appointed to take care of them; and the same surgeon who attended the troops, attended them at the expence of the contractors.

Except carrying the chain to the woods, which may be an unwholesome task, he believes this work was neither heavy nor laborious. The most of them were employed in attending the officers and soldiers, drawing this wood and water, and assisting to cook their provisions.

There was rather more mortality among them than on settled plantations. They had sores in their legs and feet, disabling them for service, and frequently incurable. They were particularly well clothed; and in order to save their feet, shoes were provided, till it appeared evidently they would not wear them. Some of them, he fears, were ill used by the soldiers; and as he had occasion to complain, and had the soldiers punished: he knew of none neglected in illness. He does not ascribe their mortality to this ill usage, of P. 81. which not more than ten instances had come to his knowledge.

He bought largely in the ceded islands, particularly in Tobago, where, till lately, he had 2,000 acres. He purposed cultivating, and by the only practicable mode, the labour of the negroes. He believes there is no other mode by which land in the W. Indies is cultivated, to whatever nation it belongs; those

1790. those negroes he expected to receive from the coast  
Part II. of Africa. If he had understood the importation of  
negroes was to be prohibited, he would not have  
bought lands he could make no use of. Believes a  
great part of the lands he purchased is still unculti-  
vated. There is a great deal of land in Grenada un-  
cultivated—he is well convinced in St. Vincent, the  
Grenadines, and Dominica—there are not negroes  
enow to cultivate  $\frac{1}{2}$  the land—but cannot say so of  
P. 82. his own knowledge. Many of his friends bought  
land in Grenada under faith of H. M.'s proclama-  
tion. He believes in Dominica and St. Vincent's,  
much the greatest parts of the land sold by the crown  
under commission is not yet brought into cultivation;  
but he has never been in either of these islands since  
1776. He found the settlement of lands in the ceded  
islands difficult and expensive—he laid out 40,000l.  
in Tobago.

The negroes being much the most valuable part of  
a man's property, whose welfare are intimately con-  
nected with his own interests, it can scarcely be  
doubted that he will pay every attention to them.

Every prudent proprietor endeavours to study the  
temper and disposition of slaves; they are therefore  
treated with kindness and attention. There are some  
negroes that neither chastisement will correct, nor  
good treatment reform; such are sometimes treated  
with severity: but for crimes which most civilized  
nations would punish capitally, the generality of well-  
disposed negroes are seldom or never chastised. A  
prudent master is cautious how he offends a negro  
of good character; for if dissatisfied, they shew their  
resentment either by working unwillingly, or fre-  
quent desertions. When negroes, therefore, are  
P. 83. treated with severity (which certainly is sometimes  
the case) the master suffers, both in reputation and  
fortune. In general, therefore, it may be said, that  
negroes are well treated, well lodged, well clothed,  
and well fed; well attended in sickness, and supplied  
with medicines, and even the incurable with every  
neces-

necessary. This the interest of the owner requires, 1790.  
 even if not possessed of humanity. Neglect of such Part II.  
 negroes would dispirit a gang, and particularly affect  
 any relations and friends they might have on the  
 estate.

In the ceded islands, and where land is plenty, P. 83.  
 they cultivate large tracts for their own benefit, and  
 in such cases neither require nor receive a large al-  
 lowance of what is called pound provisions. To those  
 who will receive it, the proportion is from 6 to 10  
 quarts of Indian corn, flour, and guinea corn, or a  
 very ample allowance of yams, potatoes, and edoes.  
 In Grenada, meal of cassada from 6 to 10 quarts,  
 from 6 to 10 herrings, or from 2 to 3 pounds of salt  
 fish, and in some plantations, of beef or pork, are  
 given for a week's subsistence—A sufficient allowance  
 for a hearty man—Plantanes also make a chief part of  
 their provisions, and (when received) they are al-  
 lowed of these from 50 to 70 per week — they are of P. 84.  
 a less size than the plantanes of Jamaica. The allot-  
 ment of land is such that an industrious negro will be  
 enabled not only to supply himself, but to dispose of  
 such a quantity of poultry, pork, and goats flesh, as  
 to enable him to clothe himself, his wives, and his  
 children, very handsomely. If his master opposed  
 his disposition of that property, it would probably oc-  
 casion an insurrection on the plantation. Thinks he  
 has known where provisions have been scarce, that a  
 master has objected to a negro's carrying his from the  
 estate to sell; but those instances are very rare, and  
 the gang has been shown the impropriety of it. The  
 master does not, in such cases, take the provisions  
 from the negro, or oblige him to sell it against his  
 will; he only forbids his going off the plantation to  
 dispose of it in time of scarcity. If the negro wishes  
 to sell, the master buys from him as any indifferent  
 person; but the negro will seldom sell to his master  
 as he would to a stranger. 3-4ths of all the poultry  
 or pork used by the planter, are bought from his  
 own or other people's slaves.



1790.

Part II.

P. 85.

The crimes, for which punishment of any degree of severity is inflicted, are generally desertion, breaking open stores, and stealing rum, sugar, or salt provisions; breaking open negro houses, or houses of people in the town, robbing negro grounds, &c. The punishments then consist from 20 to 40 lashes on the posteriors, seldom more. He speaks in general. Exceptions to the rule prove the generality of it. There are cruel, severe, and inhuman people, to be met with every where. With regard to the capital punishment of negroes, each colony has its own laws. He has himself scarcely known death awarded, except in the case of premeditated murder. Repeated burglaries have incurred no other punishment than a whipping less severe than a soldier suffers for small offences. A single lash every morning for six weeks, reformed for a time, a negro of his own, who had broke open at least fifty houses. In two years he returned to his practices, and died a natural death on the plantation.

He does not suppose a labouring man in Europe could gain his bread if working no harder than a negro. Conceives the labour of a negro slight compared with any field labour in Europe. They are less affected by the heat of the climate than Europeans; in general they like heat so as to sleep with fire in their houses. Rain injures them most. When rains are heavy in the ceded islands, which is frequently the case, they are sent out of the field into their houses.

P. 86.

In the plantations their punishment is a slight whipping, or confinement in the stocks at noon, or after work: they usually prefer the former. For slight offences, such as not coming in time to their work, they are generally struck over their clothes.

As no man chuses to buy a negro of notoriously bad character, the owners of such usually send them to foreign islands, or to N. America, at the risk of receiving but a very small price for them. The time of harvest is in the West Indies, as in all other countries

tries

tries the time of greatest labour; but it is also that of 1790.  
conviviality and happiness. The negroes are gene- Part II.  
rally more healthy and satisfied at crop than at any  
other time of the year.

However a master may wish to dispose of a slave, P. 87.  
it may not always be in his power; the slave being  
mortgaged or under jointure. Mortgages and mar-  
riage settlements covenant, he believes, in every well-  
drawn deed to keep up the precise No. of negroes so  
mortgaged or settled. To keep up that number  
without importation, is certainly possible, for it has  
been done; but in general otherwise. The punish-  
ments already described are plantation punishments.

It frequently happens in offences of a public na-  
ture, the persons offended remit the negroes to the  
master for that punishment which he would otherwise  
receive from public justice.

One negro, at least, he conceives requisite for  
every cultivated acre in a sugar estate, and the No.  
on cotton plantations must depend on the soil and sea-  
son; in favourable cases one negro is sufficient for 3  
acres—he supposes the gang not to have a great No.  
of old people or children, for otherwise more would  
be required.

He cannot from his experience conclude that a  
sufficient supply of negroes for the cultivation of the  
islands could be had without importation of Afri-  
cans.

As so many reasons why the practice of keeping up P. 88.  
the stock of negroes is not general, while some few  
plantations have maintained theirs, he states the un-  
healthiness of some situations; the disposition of  
males to females; the diseases the sex is particularly  
subject to; for the length of time a breeding woman  
suckles a child, she has seldom two children till an  
interval of two years; the promiscuous amours of  
many; and a custom with the gang women who are  
dissolute, and think themselves handsome, of procur-  
ing abortion.

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Where



1790.  
Part II.

Where the females exceed the males, it seldom happens on a plantation that the negroes do not increase; he gives, in proof, a companion of two estates settled in Antigua, about the same time, one by Mr. Carlisle, the other by Mr. Mackennin: the former purchased chiefly new negro gang women, the latter chiefly young male negroes, with a view to immediate returns from their labour. The result was, that at the end of 50 years, when Mr. Mackennie died, he is said to have purchased the gang twice over, and to have left it in such a state that a large sum of money was then requisite to purchase new negroes; whereas on the Carlisle estate (then Sir Ralph Payne's) there were very few negroes who had not been born upon it; and such was his surplus, that he was able to obtain large sums of money by letting them out to work on other estates. He says, the reason why Mr. Carlisle's example is not followed, is, that the breeding women imported are not on an average 1-4th of the cargo. Instances of plantations that keep up their stock, he believes, are very few.

P. 29. The disorders of children, particularly that called the jaw-fall, which carries them off within nine days, is another impediment to population; they die early in great numbers, but not from want of care. He found their deaths so frequent, and thought breeding so essential to the well-being of a plantation, that he built an hospital close to his house, for more easy inspection; here he observed their customs of refusing their own breast to the child, as not good, for three or four days, and getting a friend to suckle it; of washing the new-born infants in warm water with rum in it; of leaving the children to sleep in wet clothes, and frequently admitting cold air to them in their hot rooms; these he overcame with some difficulty, and from that time to his leaving Tobago, had four or five children born, of which he did not lose one.

The labour of pregnant women is too light in general, from the time they are 5 months gone; they complain



complain of a slight labour, and injure both themselves and their infants by a sedentary life. Those who work hardest and longest, have usually the stoutest children and easiest births; when pregnant women complain they are generally put into the second gang. They are not out so early in the morning. They are employed in weeding, planting provisions, and such light labour. As they encrease they are put to shelling peas, or collecting provisions for the pot-gang. He never knew them treated with any want of tenderness, even by those who thought a child born on an estate cost as much, or more than a new negro. This opinion, he believes, is not entertained by many. It is now the pride of a manager to shew a number of young children in good order.

1790.  
Part II.

P. 90.

A pot-gang consists of negroes, unable, or unwilling, from idleness, to procure and dress provisions for themselves; it is disgraceful, except in sickness, to be fed in this gang, as having plenty is a mark of good negro.

On every plantation of any magnitude there is a sick-house or hospital, with proper attendance for the sick, of whom care is taken; in proof of this, he relates, that previous to the capture of Tobago, part of the soldiers from an unhealthy situation, became sickly, and ulcerated in their legs. That, in consequence, as fresh meat-provisions were difficult to procure, the gentlemen of the island subscribed money to purchase and supply them, and that several took the soldiers into the negro hospitals, where they received the same care and attention as the negroes did, they found the benefit from it they expected.

Midwives attend the lying-in women: medical advice and assistance is given other negroes when sick; persons of medical skill are annually retained to take care of the negroes, if they fail in their attendance several times in a week, or to attend when sent for, they are discharged.

P. 91.

The negroes in general have very comfortable houses.

1790. Managers kind behaviour to his negroes, so as to  
 Part II. gain their affections, while he makes them do their  
 business, is to him, and believes to most people, a  
 higher recommendation than his skill as a planter.  
 One of the first things enquired into is his character  
 in that respect; no person would employ a manager  
 of a cruel character, believing him to be such;  
 such treatment is scarcely possible to be practised in  
 secrecy.

P. 92. He does not believe the poor of any country live  
 happier than the negroes on the plantations in the  
 W. Indies;—in many cases they have an evident  
 superiority, their labour is slight; good care is taken  
 of them in sickness and in health, and they have no  
 occasion to fear the distresses of their children from  
 inability to labour, but then they certainly have not  
 those means of bettering their condition, which  
 many English poor of industry and genius may avail  
 themselves: perhaps, therefore, a proper comparison  
 cannot be drawn. He thinks their lot in general to  
 be envied by the poor of all the countries he has  
 seen.

There are several epidemical diseases which contribute to the depopulation of negroes. These are frequent in all countries between the tropics; the negroes bring some contagious disorders from Africa; the yaws in particular which none know how to cure; it kills many, and makes others miserable objects during life, yet they are still nourished and protected by their masters. Ulcerated legs is another disorder in the new settled islands; the loss by that complaint has been very considerable.

A child till 10 years old has  $\frac{2}{3}$  the allowance of a grown person; after that age full allowance.

P. 93. A negro, properly speaking, considering the distinction of master and slave, cannot be said to have property. Opinion, however, and the conduct of masters secures them whatever they possess in the W. Indies, in a manner more secure than perhaps in any other part of the world. No master dares

slaves violate their personal property, without being 1790.  
 exposed to detestation and contempt. Even when Part II.  
 the master is ruined, and the negroes with his other  
 effects, sold to satisfy his creditors, their property  
 (though very considerable) is inviolably preserved to  
 them; they carry their money and goods to the P. 21.  
 plantation of them who buys him. Their plantation-  
 ground is not exchanged without making them a  
 compensation for the crop on it; when they die they  
 distribute their effects among their relations and  
 friends without control. Negroes generally conceal  
 their money, and do not chuse to be thought rich.  
 He had himself a negro, who bought out the freedom  
 of his wife from a lady at Monferrat, at the price of near  
 80l. and in her name possessed two houses at Tobago;  
 he believes he was worth 6 or 700l. he asked for his  
 freedom, and on his alledging that his property might  
 be lost to him in case of his wife's death, obtained it  
 from the witnesses, who had before endeavoured to dis-  
 suade him from his request. There is reason to believe  
 he has since lost above  $\frac{1}{2}$  of what he was worth. Many  
 of the negroes are possessed of a great deal of pro-  
 perty. He cannot tell the amount, but almost all  
 the small current money of the islands is in the pos-  
 session of the negroes. A slave he had at Tobago P. 94.  
 took with him thence to Grenada about 100l. ster.  
 He gave 20l. of it to a sister at Grenada, to help to  
 purchase her freedom, and sent forty guineas to To-  
 bago, to buy a negro. He believes it is not com-  
 mon for slaves to be themselves masters of slaves,  
 few owners would allow it; he knows only the in-  
 stance he has named.

When he first knew the W. Indies, he bought  
 some negroes at 26l. or 27l. a head: In 1788 he  
 paid 41l. for the same negroes at Grenada, and has  
 since heard of a cargo of 402 sold at Jamaica, on an  
 average of 49l. per head (sterling). He should ima-  
 gine the report of the abolition of the slave trade has  
 increased the price; it had reached the W. Indies  
 before he left it, but few gave credit to it. In Ja-  
 maica



1790. maica he found the alarm great. The idea of emancipation, and the abolition of slavery and the slave trade, and other reports industriously circulated from England, made them apprehend a general insurrection among the negroes might be the consequence.

P. 95. If Great Britain were to try to prohibit the slave trade, 'it would certainly be very difficult to prevent the British plantations from purchasing them. If planters, however, could not procure new supplies, the labour of those they have must be encreased, or the produce of their estates lessened; but the encrease of labour would effect a decrease of the labourers: they would, therefore, run all risks to supply themselves, while credit or fortune would enable them; and it is probable they would be supplied at a cheaper rate than at present, from nations which would then be unrivalled on our leaving the trade. To support this conjecture he states that Mr. Hartman, of Santa Cruz told him lately that the Gold Coast cargo, in that island averaged only 40l.

If the negro trade was so effectually abolished that the British planters could procure no supply of Africans, the consequence to the W. Indies would be a very rapid decline of produce, its extent he cannot conjecture—He believes an annual supply of Africans in to be absolutely necessary to preserve the colonies even their present state, without cultivating a single new acre.

P. 96. He does not know how a proprietor is to supply his male negroes with wives, if no Africans are to be brought.

He conceives it not improbable, that the negroes now in the W. Indies, would be very unhappy if they understood that no more new negroes were to be brought among them. Those under his care, on the arrival of a cargo, always solicited more help; the young men particularly desire to have wives bought for them.

An abolition of the trade on the part of Great Britain would only operate partially, and not prevent other nations from carrying it on. The public proclamations and encouragements of France and Spain to their subjects,

jects, sufficiently prove their desire to extend their 1790.  
 slave trade; it follows also from their opening ports in Part II.  
 the W. Indies and S. America, to slaves imported in  
 foreign vessels, and particularly from the contracts of  
 the French with British merchants, to supply their  
 ships with negroes, on the coast of Africa. P. 128.

The proportion of old, infant, and able negroes  
 in a stock, varies with circumstances. On an old  
 estate, where the breeding women are as many as he  
 thinks they ought to be, the able negroes will be  
 fewer than on a new estate, for which the owner  
 would only purchase such as were fit for immediate  
 labour. He judges, from his experience, that in a  
 gang of two hundred, there cannot be more than 60  
 or 70 able slaves, with about 20 or 30 capable of  
 lighter work: it will be thought a fine gang, and in  
 good condition, that, exclusive of house servants,  
 tradesmen, &c. can turn from 70 to 80 able negroes  
 into the field.

In explanation of his former answer, which declar-  
 ed one negro at the least requisite to every acre of a  
 sugar plantation, he says, that he does not mean that  
 70 negroes, the able part of a gang of 200, are suf-  
 ficient to cultivate 200 acres to be cut for sugar;  
 but to a plantation of 200 acres which are under su-  
 gar and provision, and in which only half part of the  
 sugar land may be annually planted. No portion of  
 the 200 acres are appropriated to provisions, which  
 are occasionally planted in all. In cane land, corn is  
 often planted in the rows, and gathered when the  
 canes are young, and preparatory to canes, yams P. 129.  
 and eddoes are often planted. The planters are sa-  
 tisfied in the ceded islands, if 200 negroes cultivate  
 as much land as yields them from 180 to 200 casks  
 of sugar of about 1200 cwt.

In general, there are not rooms for the accommo-  
 dation of lying-in women in the W. Indies; the  
 women prefer their own houses; when he had once  
 persuaded them to try the provision he made for  
 them of this sort, and experienced the advantage to  
 them-



1790. themselves and children, they afterwards were well  
 Part II. pleased to come to the rooms.

For a considerable time, the negroes born on an estate of Sir William Young's, exceeded those purchased, but then fell off, and he believes they have decreased. An estate of Mr. Blizzard, who followed Mr. Carlisle's plan, increased in Antigua; in following this, the witness failed of success himself.—Several estates on the increase have, from epidemical disorders, been reduced to the want of supplies to keep up this number.

P. 130. Where the number is kept up by births, if five able negroes die, the birth of ten children does not supply their room within ten or eleven years, to which add near 25 per cent. for the diminished labour of pregnant women and mothers, and it will be necessary to replace the five able negroes by purchasing others in their room. (The work of the young is not the same with that of the adult able negroes, though equivalent to it, p. 132.)

In the ceded islands, the negroes were forced to clear the ground for themselves; they prefer new ground, and when some years cultivated, request to have it changed. He helped them usually with the gang in clearing.

Scarcity is much more decidedly known in the colonies than in any kingdom in Europe; the master is the sole judge when to prohibit the exportation of provisions from his estate.

Runaway negroes are in general severely punished.  
 P. 131. On his own estates, and those under his care, he thinks himself particularly successful in preventing the loss of children by the locked jaw. His neighbours are equally successful in other instances, making the happiness and comfort of their negroes their principal care.

The negroes had no prejudices in this respect which could not yield to the reasoning and entreaties of those they have a good opinion of, and think solicitous for their welfare.

Some



Some land rattoons longer than other ; frequent 1790.  
replanting is preferable. Part. II.

The ceded islands will therefore require an additional number of slaves to continue the cultivation of land already cultivated, without cultivating any new lands.

The negroes prefer carrying burdens on their heads ; they would not use wheelbarrows, which were P. 132.  
imported for them ; they even put them on their heads.

Between 1779 and the capture of Tobago, he believes but few slaves were imported into that island, and none thenceforward till after the peace, but cannot speak with precision. During the war, he believes there was a considerable diminution.

The age at which a negro, born on the plantation, should be put to holing, depends on constitution.— Young men, as soon as able, desire to be put into the holing gang ; from 16 to 18 he thinks the time when they are willing and desirous of being employed in the hardest work of the plantation. It will take P. 133.  
16 years to acquire strength to undergo the harder degrees of field labour, as holing, turning dung, &c. which please the able negroes more than lighter works ; they generally perform these singling, peculiar to negroes, and a proof of their not considering even that labour as severe.

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Witness examined — Sir ASHTON WARNER BYAM,  
His Majesty's Attorney General for Grenada and  
its dependencies.

Lived in Antigua from 1765 to 1770, when he P. 97.  
went to St. Vincent, bought an estate, and lived till  
1774, when he went and resided as Solicitor General  
at Grenada till its capture in 1779 ; lived the rest of  
Numb. 2. F the

1790. the war in St. Vincent, Tobago, and Antigua. From Part II. 1783 till June 1789 resided, as Attorney General, at Grenada.

Owns no land now in the W. Indies but an uncleared tract in Dominica; never intends to settle. The land he first bought was French leasehold, the other lands contiguous, from the Crown.

P. 98. He found, to his cost, a continual importation of slaves to keep up the stock, absolutely necessary; and he should conceive it to be so, from 24 years' experience. Every increased quantity of land, new or old, will require an addition of negroes. Could he have foreseen that the slave trade would be abolished, he would not have bought land either in the old or new islands. Much land is uncleared in the ceded islands.

Slaves being property, are settled on marriages, and are the objects of mortgage. In such writings he has known covenants to keep up the precise number of slaves, but they are not uniformly inserted; but in leases such a covenant is almost always inserted. Is satisfied such covenant could not be fulfilled, without buying slaves, beyond what the population would give. This, as far as it goes, would be ruinous to the families concerned.

P. 99. He believes the trials of slaves vary in the islands. In Grenada, a slave is triable before one magistrate for small offences; for capital crimes, before two or more, one being of the quorum. Since he left the island, he understands a law has passed, taken from the Antigua practice, by which 3 or more freeholders are to be called in by the magistrates as jurors or assessors.

Compared with the punishments in England on the same offences, he thinks the criminal slave laws far from severe.

Whipping and confinement are the only punishments, by the master or manager, which are considered as legal. The quantity of punishment will undoubtedly vary with the master's disposition; but any

any abuse of the master's power was always considered punishable by indictment or information, (see Part II. p. 118.) If such abuse was frequent, he never knew it; and, considering the nature of the master's power, and the variety of persons who may acquire it, he has always thought abuses of it not more frequent than similar abuses of power in England. (The slave's comfort, in this respect, depends as much on his owner's temper, as that of the English apprentice does on his master's temper, p. 119.) Thinks the comfort of the apprentice and the slave depends on the temper of their respective masters, not exactly in the same proportion, p. 125.) In the few cases where he has had occasion to prosecute for such abuses in their Court of King's Bench, Court and Juries always appeared desirous of seeing the offenders brought to exemplary punishment.

In general, thinks the W. India laws sufficient to protect slaves in life and limb; though he has no doubt some may escape who have abused their power over their slaves. When he was Solicitor General, in 1775 or 1776, a white man was executed for murdering a slave, either his, or in his service. A motion in arrest of judgment was made, on the ground that the culprit ought not to suffer death for killing a slave; and a contrary practice having subsisted in some of the old islands, the prisoner had counsel, and the point was solemnly argued; after which the Court decided, he thinks, unanimously, that it was no ground for arrest of judgment, and sentence was passed. Lawyers hardly had any doubt about it; and he considered the Court's having it argued as a tenderness to the prisoner, and to remove any such doubt. Believes, since then, no one has doubted that a criminal would suffer for the murder of a slave exactly as for that of a free person.

On his estate, and all others he saw, slaves were at their field-work by daybreak; but nursing women had always an hour or  $1\frac{1}{2}$  hour beyond that time. With  $\frac{1}{2}$  hour for breakfast, and 2 hours rest in their



1790. houses at noon, they wrought till the close of day.  
 Part II. They then threw grass to the stock, and went home  
 for the night. In crop they work later; and, on  
 some estates, the work then goes on all night and all  
 day, by spells, both of white servants and slaves.  
 As far as interruption of rest, and number of work-  
 ing hours, are concerned, the crop is doubtless the  
 season of severest labour. Negro boilers and fire-  
 men bear a heat, without suffering, which to white  
 P. 102. men would be intolerable. It is universally re-  
 marked, that the negroes are most healthy and cheer-  
 ful in crop.

The only mode he knows of preparing cane-land  
 is by holing, which is certainly harder than most  
 other works; but it is only done by the ablest ne-  
 groes, and is but a small part of the yearly labour.  
 To an able negro he thinks it cannot be called severe.  
 He has often seen negro women boast of holing  
 quicker than men. When holing, the men have  
 grog, and the women sugar and water, and work  
 not only without repining, but singing cheerfully.  
 On other estates, holers may have extra food; but  
 does not think his had, or desired it. (Thinks hol-  
 ing and dunging, if constant, would be harder work  
 than he should wish to put negroes to, p. 124.)

Labour is most certainly proportioned to the age  
 and strength of negroes; but he thinks the sex  
 makes no difference in field-work. General practice  
 for invalids, and women some months gone with  
 child, to be put to slight work, as weeding, &c.,  
 as much for their health as for the work.

- P. 103. Conjectures that some works in England must be  
 severer than any done by the slaves.

In the first settlement of St. Vincent the slaves  
 were fed, at a heavy expence, with grain in large  
 quantities; but, after his slaves had completed their  
 provision grounds, they voluntarily offered to give  
 up all their provisions, except salt ones, for Satur-  
 day afternoon, out of crop; afterwards grain was  
 only given to invalids and nursing women. In St.

incent and Grenada the slaves' grounds are such as 1790.  
ot to require much imported food, except in Part II.  
roughts, when they have weekly 8 to 10 measures  
knows not whether pints or quarts) of grain, with  
, 10, or 12 herrings, according to the size, or an  
quivalent in salt meat, and beef, pork, and flour,  
t Christmas. The allowance is ample for any slave  
nat will work even a few hours in his ground. If a  
ave fall off, it is usual to view his grounds. If in-  
olent and incorrigible, he is fed by the master.

He gave children no fixed allowance of grain, but  
irected the mothers, when they asked help, to be  
mply supplied, according to their families. His,  
nd he thinks the general custom, was, to give the  
others  $\frac{1}{2}$  allowance of salt food for children under  
he age of 8 or 10. He had no pot-gang; but has  
eard of them, and that they consisted of negroes  
attentive to the providing and dressing of their  
ood. He usually gave such in charge to some trusty  
egro to see him fed. He thinks this is the uniform  
ractice where there is no pot-gang, unless among  
he French, in our islands, who, he believes, often  
ake improvident slaves into their kitchens, or feed  
hem from their tables. But, without some such re-  
gulations, many slaves would undoubtedly perish.

By the late Grenada act, proprietors are obliged to  
llet land to their slaves, and guardians are appointed  
o inspect each estate's provision grounds.

Saturday afternoon, out of crop, and all Sunday, P. 105.  
he whole year, were very generally allowed for  
working such grounds; and he thinks the said act  
as fixed it from 12 o'clock on Saturday. This time  
s sufficient not only for raising the necessary food,  
out also for the slave's carrying to market his surplus  
provisions and his poultry, &c. Negroes have usu-  
lly surplus produce, except perhaps a very few idle  
ones, probably in all gangs. He recollects no in-  
stance of a master interfering with the property his  
lave has acquired by selling such surplus. Cannot  
remember particular instances and sums; but from  
the

1790. the Sunday cloathing of industrious slaves, and their  
 Part II. comfortable furniture, has no doubt many acquire  
 and spend yearly at least from 10l. to 20l. sterling,  
 P. 106. which they lay out openly on luxuries and comforts.  
 He knows of no restraint, except in rum. (He  
 speaks of field negroes, for he has no doubt that  
 many tradesmen acquire and dispose of double that  
 sum, p. 120.)

He has known many such slaves buy their freedom, and generally for higher prices than he should have valued them at. (Can't certainly say if they were field slaves; but is sure that 1 or 2 who applied to him on the subject had been, or were field negroes, when their masters allowed them to provide for their freedom, p. 120.)

Slaves near the towns sell grafts every evening, and vegetables on Sundays, for their own benefit; but on other days it is purchased of slaves sent in by the proprietors of gardens to be sold for their master's benefit.

Believes King's ships and merchantmen are chiefly supplied with vegetables, poultry, &c., by negroes, on their own account.

Negroes' cloathing varies, in quantity and kind, with the master's disposition; but lately, in Grenada, the minimum has been fixed by law. This, he dares say, is sufficient; but recollects not what it is. But most negroes have much more cloaths than the master allows. (Field negroes' cloathing is generally sent from hence ready made; but their finer cloaths are bought ready made in the island, or made by themselves or persons they employ, p. 127.)

P. 107. Negroes' houses are wattled and daubed, and covered with cane-tops. But tradesmen and other chief negroes usually contrive to get wooden houses. The negro houses are quite wind and water tight; but usually made much hotter than whites could bear. Slaves generally bear a heat that surprises Europeans. Cold affects them severely. Has often known them bask in the sun when hotter than he could



ould bear for a few minutes. It is usual to allow a 1790.  
egro, with 2 or 3 others, time to build his house. Part. II.  
le usually brought home the materials for him.

Every estate has a hospital. A surgeon visits the  
aves twice a week, or oftener if required. One or  
ore nurses attend the sick. The owner provides  
ine and other comforts recommended by the sur-  
eon. It is usual to keep convalescents about the  
ouse or kitchen, to be better fed than usual. Ne-  
roes generally dislike going into the hospital; but  
e practice of allowing the sick to stay in their own  
ouses is attended with some danger. Never allow- P. 108,  
l any to do so but trusty negroes, or lying-in wo-  
en. His surgeon, besides the yearly sum of 10s.  
r each slave, was paid for fractures, &c., and had  
ps. for each inoculation.

He remembers no ill effect from allowing the wo-  
en to lye-in in their houses. He was more fortu-  
ate than most people in rearing negro children.  
ome months before his women expected to lye-in  
ey were put to light work; but this period varies  
ith appearances; so that sometimes a negro woman  
not delivered till 2 or 3 months after she has pre-  
tended to expect it. Instances may have occurred of P. 109.  
regnant women being punished; but he should  
ink very early in their pregnancy, or perhaps be-  
re it was known. Confinement would be substi-  
tuted where she was evidently pregnant.

Thinks there are local laws providing for old, dis-  
abled negroes; but he should think that suffering  
em to beg about would be cognizable, as a misde-  
meanor, independent of any positive law. Thinks  
ey are, in general, properly taken care of.

The women, on all the estates he knew, were al-  
lowed to lye-in in their own houses, and such negro  
omen as they wished were usually allowed to stay  
ith them the first 5 or 6 days. She had candles,  
our, wine, and any other things recommended.  
With him, and many others, they were not expected

1790. to work till a month after delivery. A sufficiency  
 Part II. of old linen is provided for the infants. It is generally remarked that  $\frac{1}{2}$  the children die under 2 years.  
 P. 110. and most of that  $\frac{1}{2}$  the first 9 days, from the jaw-fall. If they survive that, they seem pretty healthy while sucking. Some time after weaning they very often have worms, which he has known very fatal. Children, as well as adults, have also yaws, which immediately, or in their effects, are very fatal. Fluxes, though not very peculiar to negroes, are a great cause of mortality, and baffle the ablest physicians, as they have often told him. Epidemics are frequent in the W. Indies; but he does not know they are peculiar to adults. Venereals are common, and he thinks tend to lessen population. Small-pox, measles, chicken-pox, dysenteries, and lately the liver complaint, affect young and old, and very often are fatal to many, especially the putrid flux, of which he has known several examples.

Few hurricanes happen without the loss of several lives. Their effects are fatal, by destroying the negroes' houses and provision grounds.

The annual loss of negroes varies greatly. Of 100 and odd slaves of his own, he has more than once not lost one adult in a year. In other years he has lost 5, 6, and 7. He should suppose from 3 to 4 per cent. might be about the average loss, even on a settled estate. In the 18 years that he owned slaves, though he had what was thought a very good proportion of births for his number of breeding women, and reared more children than his neighbours, (and mothers and children had every indulgence and attention, p. 112) he was obliged, every 2 or 3 years, to buy new negroes, or seasoned ones, from the other islands.

Ventures to say, that on his estate diseases were lessened, as far as possible, by human skill; he concludes that, from humanity and interest, all other proprietors pursued the same conduct.

He



He always thought promiscuous intercourse, the 1790.  
early prostitution of females, and the abuse of rum, Part II.  
as the chief obstructions to population; he adds the }  
too long suckling of children, which he knows the P. 112.  
negro women are fond of, though against the opi-  
nion of medical men. Hence, they seldom have a  
second child in less than two years.

He never had an idea that the treatment or labour  
of slaves was such as to interfere at all with popu-  
lation.

It is most clearly impossible for Europeans to cul-  
tivate W. India lands; and a free negro never was  
known to hire himself for any kind of field-work.—  
Europeans may do carpenter's or other work, under  
cover.

Thinks cattle are now used as much as they can P. 113.  
be in W. Indian cultivation; and that the present im-  
plements are perfectly fit for the work, and adroitly  
used by the negroes. The plough has been much  
talked of: he knew 2 or 3 very zealous for it, who  
tried it in Antigua and St. Vincent, but were soon  
obliged to abandon it. (Even if the plough could  
be more generally used, as he thinks it could not to  
advantage, so many slaves are requisite in crop, that  
he thinks its use would not make fewer hands neces-  
sary on an estate, p. 127.)

He hardly remembers any importation of negroes  
into St. Vincent, Tobago, Grenada, and Antigua, in  
the war. Hence, in Grenada, instead of 30 or 31,000,  
the number of slaves before the capture, the first re-  
turn, after the restitution, in about 5 years, he thinks  
exceeded not 27 or 28,000; but cannot be accurate.  
He believes, the negroes then decreased in the other  
islands named.

It depends on the soil, whether it is advantageous  
to rattoon, or re-plant, canes. In Grenada, where  
the soil is stronger, there is much more rattooning  
than in St. Vincent; but generally, in both, they P. 114.  
now rattoon to a 2d or 3d year. Formerly, in Gre-  
nada there were rattoon-canec above 20 years old.—

Numb. 2.

G

The



1790. The number of slaves necessary for an estate, varies  
 Part II. with the soil, position, &c. Rattooning lessens the  
 land to be holed, but increases the acres to be cut in  
 crop. Many estates have most of their holing done  
 by task-gangs; so that he thinks rattooning does not  
 unavoidably lessen the number of negroes necessary.

It is certainly the planter's interest to keep up the  
 slaves by breeding, if possible. Has known people  
 think differently on the value of new negroes and  
 creoles. A seasoned slave, though more sensible, is  
 thought more apt to be ill-disposed, and a young,  
 healthy, new negro, near as valuable as a seasoned  
 one not brought up by themselves. But for a slave  
 which, if new, he would give 50l. sterl. he would,  
 if seasoned, and not of bad character, give 70l. sterl.  
 Probably, most of the negro tradesmen are creoles,  
 and are the most valuable. He looks on an African,  
 bought young, and seasoned by 7 or 8 years work in  
 the W. Indies, full as valuable for field-work as a  
 creole; but others think differently. P. 117.

Were it possible to keep up the slaves by breeding,  
 15 or 20 years must elapse before those born could be  
 P. 115. fit for field-work. In that period, the working ne-  
 groes must, in the course of things, be diminished  
 near  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

He heard of a Frenchman who lived long ago in  
 Grenada, pretending that it was his interest to ex-  
 haust his slaves by labour in a few years; but it was  
 always mentioned as a singular absurdity, and he is  
 sure no planter acts on a maxim so horrid.

He always heard severity deemed a reproach to  
 a manager, and as likely to preclude him from em-  
 ployment.

Industrious slaves are happily situated, and they  
 appear perfectly contented.

He was well informed of a slave who accidentally  
 lost  $\frac{1}{2}$  his foot, and was sent by his master to the part  
 of Africa whence he came, and found many rela-  
 tions; but the slave refused to stay, returned to  
 Grenada, and continued, as a slave, with his master.

Can

Can now state all the circumstances with certainty; 1790.  
 thinks it must have been before 1779. Part II.

He scruples not to give his opinion, that slaves, in general, have fewer wants unsatisfied, enjoy more comforts, and are freer from fear of want, than the English labourers, and not having those ideas which would make their state intolerable to Britons, do not feel the pain people are apt to think, from their degradation in society. P. 116.

Besides lessening their comfort, by increasing their labour, he concludes, from observation, that as nothing pleases slaves more than new negroes coming to an estate, so, if the supply was long stopped, they would grow discontented, probably mutinous. The report of the abolition had reached the islands before he left them, and gave great uneasiness to all persons there, and, he supposes, raised the price of slaves. The fear of the effects likely to follow the abolition, was one cause of his selling his slaves when he sold his land.

As many estates are cultivated by money borrowed P. 117.  
 in the credit derived from the slaves, he thinks such credit will be hurt by the abolition, and, of course, the means of cultivating such estates destroyed.

Thinks, while new slaves can be had, at almost any price, they will be smuggled into the islands, in spite of every regulation likely to be adopted.

He knows of no other instance than the one he has mentioned, of a freeman having been executed for slave-murder; nor has he heard, in Grenada, where he has lived almost entirely since it happened, (in 1775 or 6) of any other murder of a slave by a free person. The man so executed was an underling in P. 118.  
 the Marshal's office, an obscure, illiterate man.— Remembers nothing of this character; but that Mr. Porteous, the Marshal, handsomely feed one or more counsel to argue in arrest of the judgement.— Thinks that the slave murdered was a woman hired by the prisoner, who, having disobeyed him, he re-  
 G 2 proved



1790. proved her; that she gave him some abuse; that, in Part II. his passion, he stabbed her, as was stated, he thinks, partly by the deceased and by the prisoner's confession; but he cannot speak with certainty.

P. 119. Slaves are hired by the day, month, year, or years. The price varies accordingly, and as the renter is bound, or not, to make good the slave's value. Thinks about 1s. 9<sup>d</sup>. the prevailing daily hire. He has known slaves hired by year, at 10l. per cent. on their value, (the hirer maintaining them, p. 126) but much more has been given, according to the party's necessities, and the difficulty of getting slaves.

Thinks the maintenance of his slaves in St. Vincent, exclusive of provision-grounds, was 7l. or 8l. sterl. for each man, woman, or child above 12; and perhaps  $\frac{1}{2}$  as much for a child under that age.

P. 120. Certainly, far more domestics are kept in a West Indian than a British family of the same rank; and this prevails much more among the French in our islands than among English planters. He doubts not that an English family is better served by 2 or 3, than they by 8 or 10 servants.

Thinks he had 40 and odd men, 30 and odd women, and 30 and odd children, when he sold his slaves at St. Vincent.

P. 121. The only efforts to instruct the slaves, worth mention, as far as he saw, were those of the Moravians in Antigua, but he did not live there, and only learnt from those who did, that they thought the Moravians had considerably improved the slaves.

A free negro's comfort depends on his ability to provide for himself and family. Many, in Grenada, live well; others, he thinks, have only a bare

P. 122. subsistence; but thinks, in general, their situation may be full as comfortable as that of slaves.

Droughts are more frequent and longer in the old than the ceded islands; hence the planters in the latter can feed their slaves better than those in the former, so far as relates to provision grounds. Were not the trade



trade with N. America restricted, no doubt more 1790.  
 negro provisions would be imported into the islands. Part II.

The number of domestics varies with the planter's family and disposition. Recollects no case where he thought extra domestics were kept as a mark of superior state. But the thing is much lamented by all. Yet, on considering his own case, and some others, he never found he could well spare any one slave he employed. Thinks the true cause of more domestics being kept in the W. Indies is, because it is not easy to get a negro servant so handy as a good English one. Believes no planter would buy, for the field, a negro who had been long a domestic. When a man happens to sell a house negro, it is usual to let him chuse a master who will not put him into the field; and this from humanity, lest he might be put to harder labour than he had been used to. He believes planters would rather buy new negroes, than domestics, for field-work. (House-slaves, though numerous for the use, would be so small an addition to working gangs, and are so unwilling and unfit for field-work, that he should think that resource almost nothing. P. 127.)

The weight of baskets of dung varies probably on P. 124. estates, and must vary with the state of the dung; but it is so easy to the slaves, who carry that and all burdens on the head, that he has pretty generally seen them run or go quickly with it. He does not mean that the slaves would voluntarily and constantly use that pace; but thinks the drivers would not practise it, if found unreasonable. He never heard slaves complain of dunging; though he has no doubt they would prefer any lighter work. (Dung-baskets may be 2 or 2½ feet over the top, shelving to the bottom, and 7 or 8 inches deep, p. 126.)

In the ceded islands, crop lasts from the 1st of Jan. to about the end of May; after which the rains usually fall, that would interfere with sugar-making. In Antigua, crop may last 2 months longer.

1790. In the ceded islands, the land is holed and dunged  
 Part II. from Sept. to Jan. according to the state of other  
 work. In estates that rattoon long, the land to be  
 P. 125. opened is a small proportion of the whole. Knows  
 few estates well enough handed to do all their holing  
 themselves. Thinks, generally speaking, negroes  
 are seldom holing above 5 or 6 weeks, and, per-  
 haps, as long dunging.

Whites, in the W. Indies, work as plumbers,  
 masons, &c. and many negroes work under their di-  
 rection. On the whole, he thinks the labour of such  
 whites not so severe as that of field negroes. The  
 great difference is, that the former are not so con-  
 stantly in the sun as the latter. They do not so con-  
 stantly work, but leave it occasionally to the negroes  
 under them.

Thinks planters would be indifferent whether per-  
 sons hired were slaves or free, if the hire were rea-  
 sonable; but he never knew free negroes so hired.  
 Unless it were to be frequent, he thinks he foresees  
 inconveniences from mixing many free hired persons  
 P. 126. among slaves. Thinks planters would prefer having  
 work done by free negroes, if it could be done, to  
 maintaining many women, children, old men, and  
 invalids; and that it would be much cheaper, unless  
 the price of free negroes' work were very exorbi-  
 tant.

Taxes are raised differently in the islands. He  
 remembers one or more instances of a poll-tax on  
 slaves of all ages, though a contrary practice had pre-  
 vailed during the French Government. A poll-tax  
 still exists in Grenada on negro sailors and others not  
 employed on estates, to make their owners contri-  
 bute, as well as planters, whose produce is taxed.—  
 It has varied from 18s. to 12 or 14s. cur. per head;  
 and, he thinks, last year, slaves, under 10 or 12  
 years old, were excepted.



Witness examined.—ALEXANDER CAMPBELL, Esq. <sup>1790.</sup>  
Part II.

He resided in the W. Indies, from 1754 to 1763. P. 134.  
as since spent about half his time there. Left the  
W. Indies June 1788. In 1763, he, on the faith of P. 135.  
royal Proclamations, bought 2 sugar estates, not  
yet cleared, in Grenada, with above 300 negroes,  
which cost him upwards of £40000 ster. Has since  
bought 14 properties, in the new Islands, with 350  
slaves on them, some settled in part, others uncleared,  
but since partly cleared and settled by him. Can't be  
satisfied, but believes, he has bought, since 1763, above  
1000 new negroes, to put on his properties; and,  
since then, has sold 5 or 6 of his purchases, with  
out 450 slaves. While in the W. Indies, he yearly  
visited the other (many English and some French)  
Islands. From 1766, till now, has had from 500 to  
near 1000 slaves: Has now above 900 (more than  
100 of them children, p. 180) Has cultivated sugar,  
coffee, cocoa and cotton. Journals of deaths, births  
and work have all along been kept on his estates, and  
sent him.

Those who know the W. India climate must think the P. 136.  
Islands can't possibly be cultivated by whites, and that  
the manual labour necessary can only be done by ne-  
groes. It is impossible to keep up the stock of slaves  
by births. Would not have bought lands in the Ceded  
Islands, had he conceived the sla. trade would be  
perpetuated.

Grenada is thought to contain upwards of 80000  
acres, some of which has been in sugar, and aban-  
doned for want of negroes, besides as much granted,  
but never cleared, fit for coffee, &c. (Much land in  
the Ceded Islands is yet uncleared, p. 178.) He knows  
how much land has been sold in St. Vincent;  
believes  $\frac{1}{2}$  of that sold is not cultivated; and that  
if the land sold in Dominique is not cultivated.  
These islands are very mountainous: but, in ge- P. 137.  
neral, all that is sold is fit for some W. India produce.

Has




1790. Has an estate in Grenada, near the sea, of 320 acres, 173 slaves, has long made 250 to 300 hhds. Part II. It is strong land and rattoons; so that only from 24 to 30 acres is to be holed yearly. On the adjoining estate, farther from the sea, of 450 acres and 180 negroes, more canes are cut yearly, yet he makes not above 180 or 200 hhds. On the next adjoining estate, of 460 acres and 206 negroes, he makes not above 180 or 200 hhds. A foot of cane on the lower estate yields as much as  $1\frac{1}{2}$  foot on the upper; and he makes 3 hhds on the former with less work, fewer and carriage, than 2 on the latter. These facts shew the impossibility of accurately stating the proportion of negroes to acres, or hhds.

P. 138. Is certain, not 3 estates in Grenada are fully flaved and that at least 15000 more slaves would be necessary fully to flave the lands cleared, and fit for cultivation. Does not think St. Vincent, to cultivate all the cultivable land, above  $\frac{1}{2}$  flaved, nor Dominique  $\frac{1}{4}$  flaved. Believes Grenada and its islands contain 33000 or 34000 slaves, St. Vincent 12000, and Dominique 17000.

A gang of negroes consists of tradesmen, boilers, field-negroes, &c. The crop is from January or February, to June or July, according as the estate is flaved; if underhanded they begin soon. Then some tradesmen work at their trades, others help to take off the crop. In 180 or 200 negroes, there are commonly 50 cutters and tiers, 20 or 25 carters and mul boys, about the works and mill from 30 to 40; about the works from 15 to 20, watchmen, &c. about 10. These, from 12 to 15 years old, weed cane children from 10 to 12 pick grafts. The rest are superannuated, sick, or infants. When crop is over

P. 139. in Grenada, they have 2 or 3 days to clear and put in order their gardens. After that they all weed rattoons and plants till the middle of August, when many of the strongest (40, more or less) go to holing the rest still weeding. When the land is holed, and the dung carted out by mules they, carry it to the hol

oles, then they plant the land. This, with making 1790.  
ung, repairing roads, and clearing the estates' pro- Part II.  
ision-grounds, employed the field-negroes, out of   
rop.

They are commonly in the field from sun-rise, ne-  
er earlier, till sun-set, which never differs  $\frac{1}{2}$  hour  
om 6 o'clock. In Grenada, and, he believes, the  
ther Ceded Islands, they have from  $\frac{3}{4}$  to 1 hour for  
reakfast, and, from 12 to 2, for dinner.

A field-negro works the same time in, as out of  
rop. But in Grenada, and the other Ceded Islands,  
hey boil sugar all night, and commonly have 3 spells  
f boilers, mill people, &c. which are changed at mid-  
ight; so that only every 3d night, they lose their  
hours rest. On fully flaved estates, there are often  
spells.

The cutting of canes is not very hard, tying them  
asy; the feeding the mills and fires are the most la-  
orious. The rest of the work is very easy. On the P. 140.  
hole, thinks the negroes are most healthy in, and  
ke the crop best. Never knew them complain of  
ork then. The mill-gang commonly sing all night.  
ertainly labour in crop is the hardest, as  $\frac{1}{2}$  their  
me, out of crop, is weeding. Holing is the most  
vere work out of crop.

A basket of dung for the strong, holds about 30lb.  
or the weak about 15lb. These gangs go in a row,  
he drivers with them. Some put more, others less  
to the baskets. It is impossible for any healthy  
rown slave to think this laborious. Dung, in Gre-  
ada and other islands, where carts and mules with P. 141.  
askets can go, is carried out by them, universally,  
nd the negroes seldom have above 200 yards to  
arry it to the holes.

In Grenada, they gave no provision to the healthy  
(except herrings or salt fish) unless their grounds fail  
hem, and if so, they give no more food at one time  
han another. They often give holers weak grog  
vice a-day. Holing does not occasion sickness. Ne-  
groes seem fond of it, and commonly sing at at. He

H

knows



1790. knows several task-gangs who hole, all the year, by  
 Part II. task-work, equally healthy with those employed in  
 other works. Nor does he think holing so hard as  
 mowing, and other works here. The work of field-  
 negroes much easier than the common labour here.

Negroes are fed differently in different Islands.

In Grenada, where estates are large, and have much  
 P. 142. new ground, they have as much land as they can  
 work, to maintain themselves and sell the surplus,  
 as it has been universally considered the greatest be-  
 nefit to a planter, that his slaves should have plenty,  
 and the more money they got, the more attached  
 they were. They have an afternoon weekly, to work  
 their grounds, and the manager or overseer calls  
 over the list, twice a day, to see who were in their  
 grounds, and always on Sunday morning, 9 o'clock,  
 when the negroes were ordered into their grounds,  
 except such as had passports, to go to market, or  
 church, or to see their countrymen, which he never  
 knew refused, when there was occasion. The ma-  
 nager sometimes, and the overseers twice, weekly,  
 viewed the negro-gardens, and always gave an al-  
 lowance, and often further time, to such whose gar-  
 dens were neglected, or when there was not sufficient  
 food in them. If negroes had not sufficient grounds,  
 they would rob their neighbours, and might revolt;  
 and it is of the greatest consequence that all the ne-  
 groes be properly fed. As some were not so atten-  
 tive to their interest as others, the Grenada legisla-  
 ture passed a law for inspecting negro grounds, in  
 1766, and another in 1788, inserted in the P. Coun-  
 cil's Report. Negroes may raise poultry and hogs,  
 and sell them for the best price they can get. (They  
 are forced to labour at their own ground, p. 179).

They raise, for their own use, or for sale, in Gre-  
 nada and the Ceded Islands, plantanes and fig-bana-  
 mas, cassada, yams, &c. &c. also cabbages, shal-  
 lots, &c. likewise pine-apples, water-melons, &c.  
 Every one of these the negroes have in their grounds,  
 at some time or other of the year. Very little la-  
 bour



our in planting them, and they only require 2 or 3 1790.  
 weeding, which can be done by the children. Part II.  
 plantanes are very fruitful, 3 or 4 weeding the only  
 cultivation required. The negroes need not work  
 half their allowed time in their gardens, and that  
 only out of crop, as the rains set not in till May or  
 June, before which they cannot plant.

In Grenada, the negroes commonly have from P. 144.  
 to 12 herrings weekly, or salt fish in proportion;  
 children and infants have half allowance. They have  
 beef and pork at Christmas.

In Grenada and the Ceded Islands it is customary,  
 and, in Grenada, there is a law, that provisions  
 should be raised by the whole gang, for the sick, and  
 for the indolent who neglect their grounds, or who,  
 from casualties, have not food enough in them; (re-  
 peated, p. 179) and parish guardians are appointed  
 to inspect the grounds; and in case of want, the  
 masters commonly buy provisions.

New negroes are clothed, and placed with the P. 145.  
 chief negroes, and regularly feed thrice a day, for a  
 year or more, till they have enough food in their  
 grounds, and can provide for themselves. Their  
 first work is to plant their grounds, and they are al-  
 lowed, at times, days to weed them. They generally  
 are allowed to sell the first provisions they raise, to  
 attach them to the estate and encourage them. Pro-  
 perty they can call their own makes them happy,  
 and gives them a better idea of their state. Masters  
 very often give them poultry and encourage them to  
 rear them.

In general, the negroes sell provisions, poultry  
 and hogs. A slave who makes proper use of his  
 time, may sell produce to the value of from £7 to  
 £15 ster. yearly. Some industrious negroes, who  
 have good land, often sell from £30. to £40 ster.  
 Slaves with children have a greater proportion of  
 land than single slaves; and, he believes, in the Ceded  
 Islands,  $\frac{1}{2}$  the current specie is the property of the  
 negroes.

1790. Negroes are naturally fond of gay drefs, and tho  
 Part II. allowed fufficient working day cloaths, they buy  
 fine cloaths for Sundays. It is very common, in  
 Grenada and the Ceded Iflands, to fee field-negroes  
 in white dimity jackets and breeches, and fine Hol-  
 land fhirts; and the women in mufflins, and 4 or 5  
 India muflin Handkerchiefs on their heads, at 8 or  
 10 fh. each. He has often feen flaves give feafts to  
 P. 146. 100 or 200 other flaves, with every rarity and wines  
 which he could not have given for £ 60 fter. and  
 they very often borrow their mafter's plate and linen  
 to entertain their friends. Thefe feafts are very fre-  
 quent amongft the flaves. When large hogs are  
 killed by the plantation-negroes, they are commonly  
 fold to the reft, in fmall quantities.

Negroes with families, or fingle ones, who wifh for  
 houfes, are affifted by their mafters to build them.  
 They are commonly from 25 to 30 feet long, from  
 12 to 15 feet broad, the fides and tops covered with  
 wild cane, and thatched with cane-tops. They are war-  
 mer, drier, and efteemed healthier, than if boarded.  
 At one end there is a hog-pen outfide, and at the  
 other a hen-rooft.

Knows no where a greater proportion of able, ex-  
 perieneced, medical men, than in the W. Indies. There  
 are about 40 in Grenada, where they are allowed  
 7fh. 6d. cur. for each flave, young and old, and  
 paid befides for fractures and operations, and 20fh.  
 cur. per head for inoculation. Sick flaves are im-  
 mediately fent into the hofpital, where 2 nurfes al-  
 ways attend to nurse and give them phyfick. The  
 Doctor, if not refident, always vifits them thrice  
 week and oftener, if neceffary, and the owner or  
 manager, and chief nurse, examine all the fick every  
 morning. The hofpitals are conveniently divided.  
 P. 147. There is one on every eftate, obliged by law to be  
 properly kept. Wine and every neceffary is gene-  
 rally found for the fick. Believes the plantation ho-  
 pitals, in Grenada, are generally as well attended as  
 thofe in England. If the leaft fore appears on a ne-  
 groe



grove's leg, he is laid up, as it is difficult to cure 1790.  
sores without confinement. Negroes are regularly Part II.  
admitted in the hospital. They often remain a day or  
two in the hospital, with only a dry skin.

An estate of 3 or 400 acres, with sufficient slaves  
and stock, may be worth 30 or £40000 ster. The  
manager ought to have sense, humanity and good  
conduct. He must study the slaves tempers, and  
know the care of stock and land, so that he should  
possess the first abilities. It is the owners interest  
and care to get such a man. Planters, knowing it  
the chief point to have the negroes in good heart,  
look first to his humanity, without which no planter  
would employ his brother. Managers in Grenada,  
and the Ceded Islands, have commonly from £150  
to £300 per Annum, which, with the provisions and  
stock they raise, enables them to live well, and to  
save most of their wages. If humane, they are ge-  
nerally as much respected as owners, and very often  
become owners. Are very often gentlemen's sons  
from Europe, who, having experienced, as over-  
seers, the management of slaves and manufacture of  
produce, become managers.

Negroes are generally subject to thieving and drink- P. 148.  
ing; and a number of ill disposed negroes coming  
from Africa often break open stores and rum cellars,  
steal provisions, quarrel, and run away. These are  
the causes generally for which masters punish them.  
All estates are obliged to guard negro gardens, &c.  
In Grenada, by law, owners or managers cannot or-  
der above 39 lashes, on the breech, for any one  
crime—and overseers cannot themselves punish, or  
order above 12 lashes. Plantation-punishment is not  
so severe as 50 lashes given to a soldier, and is soon  
cured. Great crimes are often forgiven to negroes  
who have not been punished before, because after  
several floggings, they consider it as little punish-  
ment. Good negroes feel the disgrace more than  
the whipping. Whipping are more frequent on some  
estates than others. Owners or managers seldom or  
ever



1790. ever punish for small crimes; but it is sometimes requisite to punish, but not too severely—it is the owners' interest not to punish so severely as to keep negroes from working: nor did he ever see a punishment which he could call very severe, or more than the negro could bear. In the W. Indies, as every where else, some are more indulgent than others; but he never remembers to have seen any cruelties, tho' he has heard of owners severer than others.

P. 149.

In 10 years, ending 1788, he saw no beggars or miserable objects, except at Barbadoes, where he saw many whites of that description, some serving free negroes and slaves, who pay a weekly sum to their masters.

French domesticks are very often made companions by their owners. Many of them are their masters' mulatto children. Their domesticks are generally better treated than the English; but they do not feed and cloath their field-negroes so well as the English: they generally work them more and punish them more severely.

He thinks the French slaves considerably better disposed than the English: they are not such thieves. Being mostly Christians, they have better ideas of right and wrong. Every evening, out of crop (and on Sunday evenings in crop, p. 150.) they meet of their own accord, and pray, and sing hymns, with fervency and devotion. (The Grenada negroes are equally devout, p. 150.)

P. 150.

All the new negroes he bought seemed to be in the savage state. Those of the Gold coast appeared more tractable and industrious. They generally shewed themselves off to be bought and when examined seemed disappointed, if refused. On seeing their countrymen, on the estates, cloathed and comfortable, they seemed very happy. He knows not that he ever saw one otherwise. He has often asked some of his slaves, if they wished to return to Africa, and their universal answer was, "No master, me know better". They wish not to be thought Africans.

Africans, and, with them, "Salt water negro" and "Savage" have the same meaning. 1790.  
Part II.

In Grenada, all the creoles and most new negroes are Christians, being generally christened 2 or 3 years after their arrival. They often read the service over their dead. They often attend the churches, English and Catholick. The clergy, by law, must christen them gratis, and certain times, yearly, visit and instruct them. Believes the negroes in the other Ceded Islands are equally religious; tho' there is no such law P. 151.

He had an estate 2 years, near the Caribs in St. Vincent, and he has an island 5 leagues off, where they fish. They have the richest land in St. Vincent, and have cleared some spots where plantanes, tobacco, and cassada are planted by the women. The men fish, get crabs, eggs and birds, and make baskets, which they sell among the Islands for liquors: are quite idle at other times. They have only a rag round the waist, and live in the savage state they did in Africa. They generally speak French; and there were always French missionaries among them till the Island was ceded to us; but they never could convert them. He has often seen his negroes feed them out of pity. They are free, and their lands have been confirmed to them by treaty with England, when they were supposed to have 800 fighting men. It is thought they have since decreased; but believes their exact numbers have never been known. P. 152.

In 1787, he went from 20 to 30 miles into Trinidad, and saw parties of yellow Caribs. The women and children had only rags about their waists. They seemed perfectly savage. The Governor told him they were numerous, and had many parcels of the richest land in the Island, but not cultivated, except with a few plantane and orange-trees near their houses which were temporary, as they often changed their grounds: also that tho' that Island was one of the first settled by the Spaniards, yet the priests, with P. 153.



1790. with all their zeal, never could convert the yellow  
Part. II. Caribs. They are free.

Most of the free negroes in the Islands, have been freed by gift. He has known many repent of their being freed, finding it difficult to support themselves and get comforts when sick, equal to what they had before. The women commonly huckster, and often receive stolen goods from slaves. Some free tradesmen work till they can buy a negro, and then leave off. Some live idle on wenches' gains. Never knew a free negro work, nor does he think such would work in the field, for any wages. Their general idea of liberty seems to be exemption from work.

P. 154. It is impossible for Europeans to stand W. India field-work of any kind. Soldiers and sailors exposed to the sun, are liable to disease. It is customary to exercise soldiers before sun-rise. Often give overseers umbrellas to keep off the sun and rain. White tradesmen there seldom work, in, or out of doors. They direct negro tradesmen how to lay out the work, and do light, nice jobs. (Repeated p. 173.)

The Ceded Islands, being generally very mountainous and stony, very little land can be ploughed. Not 1000 acres in Grenada. Steep land ploughed would soon be washed away. The flat land is mostly strong clay, and could not be ploughed in wet weather, and, in dry, its hardness would make it difficult. Land ploughed would still want some negro labour. Lands in the Ceded Islands rattoon. The lands can generally be holed by the negroes, after weeding, when they have little else to do, and the same number must be kept to take off the crop. Ploughing would save very little, from the difficulty and expence of getting a proper ploughman, the expence of horses and cattle, and the various structures of ploughs; the charges of ploughing would be double that of holing by task-work. Ploughs have often been tried without success. Believes the planters would eagerly pursue any mode that promised to ease their slaves. (Believes it possible to plant, after

P. 155.



after the plough, (without holing) with a good 1790  
 ploughman, but he believes few could plough a Part II.  
 furrow straight enough. Knows not that it ever was  
 or can be successfully practised in the W. Indies, p.  
 180).

Thinks it impossible to cultivate a W. India es-  
 tate without negroes attached to it, where 2 or 300  
 negroes are requisite for 3 or 400 acres. The ablest P. 156.  
 planter cannot tell when the constant attendance of  
 the negroes is most wanted. Their absence for a  
 fortnight would be very injurious, and might not be  
 recovered in years. It would be impossible, with-  
 out negroes attached, to hire, lodge, or feed the  
 number requisite.

Believes women in the W. Indies breed not so  
 soon, nor so long, as in colder climates, seldom  
 have above 5 or 6 children, have early and more  
 various connexion, which tends to hinder breeding.

From 27 years experience, and the opinions of  
 medical men, has found, that many infants die of  
 locked-jaw, of worms, and of the putrid sore throat.  
 Most children have the yaws, which, at times, have  
 baffled the first physicians in England. All the W.  
 India Islands are, at times, subject to long droughts,  
 heavy rains, calms and cold north winds, causing dis-  
 orders, and often great mortality. It is generally most P. 157.  
 fatal to the healthiest, ablest slaves.

In the W. Indies, hurricanes or excessive rains,  
 destroy the provisions, from July to November when  
 no ships are there; and this country being too dis-  
 tant to supply them, the slaves are forced to eat un-  
 ripe provisions, often causing great mortality from  
 luxes, which he has often known attack  $\frac{1}{2}$  a gang.  
 Thinks this cause destroys as many slaves as the  
 country disorders. Formerly they could soon get  
 dry provisions from America; and this evil may be  
 remedied by a trade, in small vessels, with that  
 country.

Seldom above 3 or 4 years pass in any Island but  
 the whites and blacks are visited by epidemics.

1790. Very often an estate will increase by births for a time, Part II. and, in 1 or 2 months, lose  $\frac{1}{4}$  or  $\frac{1}{2}$  of its slaves.

He has an estate, with about 200 slaves, in the healthiest part of Grenada, where, from 1766 to 1786, his numbers diminished not above 10: In 1786 they were 12 less; in 1787, he lost 25, most of them the stoutest he had, with a liver-complaint. All his neighbours suffered equally, and one particularly lost 47, out of 300, of that disorder. In P. 158. 1788, it was fatal, both to whites and blacks, in other parts of Grenada, where it had never been so fatal before; but it has since been more frequent in all the Islands. In the year ending June 1789, his Grenada slaves have increased 8 by births; but, by letters of October last, he lost, in 6 weeks, 17 by the flux, mostly able slaves. Believes all the Islands have suffered as much. In St. Kitts and the Leeward Islands they lost a great many slaves 2 years ago.

If he could not have bought grown slaves to replace his loss, even 15 or 20 lost in 170, would have lessened his crop by at least 60 or 70 hhd. sugar and 40 punch. rum. Fears, that in spite of humanity, rather than suffer such loss, his other slaves would have been worked more than if the estate had been fully slaved, and it might cause a greater loss of slaves and crop the next year. But, by buying 20 new slaves he should pay this country for manufactures, herrings, &c. duties and freight of 60 or 70 hhd. of sugar, and of  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the rum, above £. 2000; and he should be repaid his loss in one year; and humanity would be protected, by saving his other slaves and bringing 20 slaves from a savage state to be well used and made christians of.

P. 159. A weakly handed estate, must begin crop January 1. and continue till June or July, hence the canes being then watery 2500 or 3000 gall. of liquor will go to 1 hhd. of sugar; but a full handed estate may begin crop in March, April or May, and then 1500 gall. liquor or less would make a hhd, with half the labour of slaves and stock. Newly cleared estates,



in the Ceded Islands, if neglected a year, grow into 1790.  
wood and brush 10 or 12 feet high, and if weak- Part II.  
landed, part must be abandoned.

If the Ceded Islands were now fully cultivated and  
laved, the number of slaves would not be sufficient  
to continue to raise the same produce; for now the  
and there is new and rattoons, and takes less dung.

Thinks, if the sexes were equalized by buying P. 160.  
more women, it would still be impossible for the  
slaves to be kept up by breeding.

His estates, as healthy as any in Grenada, having  
good and abundant provision grounds, attended by  
able medical men, yet, he believes, have lost 3 per  
cent. of slaves, annually, on an average. From  
what he knows and has heard, believes the decrease  
in that and the other Ceded Islands has been fully as  
great, and near as great, in the old Islands, which  
are healthier but worse off for provisions. (Decrease  
3 per cent. yearly, mostly of the able slaves, the loss  
of labour may be 2 per cent. more, and the increase  
of labour also 2 per cent. p. 162, 176). From 1779  
to 1784, the loss in Grenada was estimated at 4 per  
cent. tho' the Island was then uncommonly healthy  
and few whites died. Believes the additional mor-  
tality was owing to the scarcity caused by the war.  
Is interested in 3 estates, in a healthy part of Domi-  
nica, having plenty of ground provisions, and a doc-  
tor constantly resident; but the decrease on them,  
he believes, has been 4 per cent. No negroes have  
been put on them since 1779. 2 of the works have been  
abandoned, from the decrease, have grown into P. 161.  
brush and wood, and make not  $\frac{1}{2}$  the produce they  
did in 1779.

In case of the Abolition, the slaves, sensible part of  
the lands growing into brush and wood would be un-  
healthy, and their labour would be harder, would  
despond. Buying new negroes makes the slaves  
happy, as easing them and affording them wives.  
By late letters from some of the Grenada legislature,  
he learns that the slaves begin to be a little turbu-



1790. lent, saying Parliament would free them, but for Part II. their masters. With these ideas the whites might be destroyed in a day. Believes if they knew Parliament meant to abolish a trade so essential to their ease and comfort, and could come at those who should pass such a law, they would not scruple to destroy them.

The Sl: trade, having been almost intirely stopped in the war, the Islands suffered greatly in numbers and cultivation—Grenada lost near 7000, and he believes the others proportionally; and, since then, all our Islands have been and are in great want of slaves. Foreigners have given  $\frac{1}{2}$  as much more than we have, and their demand being great, we were obliged to take young and old slaves, setting aside the sick, not being able to get women, and a great many imported are past breeding.

P. 162. The planters creditors are alarmed at the discussion of the question of Abolition, and wish for their money. It has totally stopped loans and sales of W. India estates. The planters holding their property by charters and acts of Parliament, and finding they are likely to be deprived of the only means of preserving it, by acts of Parliament, they consider their estates as in a more uncertain state.

Were epidemicks to carry off  $\frac{1}{2}$  the people in this kingdom, the loss could be supplied, from this and the neighbouring kingdoms, and the same may be said of Africa; but, in case of the Abolition, the loss from diseases in one Island, it could not be supplied, from any other, as slaves could not be bought at any price. Hence, in time, the Abolition will ruin the W. Indies and the slaves now there.

His reasons for thinking that, if this country abolish the slave-trade, the other European nations would carry it on and extend it. The French, whose W. India Colonies are not  $\frac{1}{2}$  cultivated, have granted bounties on slaves and the ships carrying them. Spain could buy slaves cheaper, were G. Britain to abolish the trade, and has, by a late edict, opened all

her W. Indian ports, and offered bounties on 1790.  
 ves. By another edict, she has offered freedom Part II  
 slaves deserting from other colonies. It is well  
 known many English Sl: ships, with English masters  
 and French seamen, have, in the last 2 years, sailed  
 from France, as French vessels, to get their bounties.  
 In case of the Abolition, our Merchants will go to  
 France and Ostend, to carry on the trade with the  
 French and other foreign colonies who, in their  
 turn, will carry slaves to our colonies. Most goods  
 sent to Africa are cheaper in France than England. It P. 165.  
 is well known, the value of W. India produce, at  
 under-price, and in a bad year, was £.9000000,  
 exclusive of exports to Ireland and N. America.  
 Above £.3000000 in duties freight, and the other  
 6000000 consumed in manufactures and center  
 re.

The planter, having hitherto considered that he  
 could not be deprived of his property without an  
 equivalent, and seeing his slaves wasting, would P. 166.  
 think it incumbent on him to get slaves in any way,  
 and at any price. He would be obliged to buy them  
 at the free-ports, and to carry them in small incom-  
 modious vessels in which the slaves, in a few days,  
 would suffer more than in a voyage from Africa, and  
 would cost near double the present price. Thinks no  
 it could prevent the planters from getting slaves; nor  
 does he see, if men of war should seize them, how  
 they could sell them. (Repeated, p. 177.)

Thinks it was stipulated, in the Ceded Island  
 grants, that  $\frac{1}{2}$  the land granted should be cultivated,  
 20 years, and that there was a penalty for non-per-  
 formance; but knows of none being enforced.

Most of those who abandoned lands in Grenada P. 167.  
 were new subjects, and carried their slaves to foreign  
 lands to avoid paying their debts to British mer-  
 chants: others from the decrease and non-importa-  
 tion of slaves were obliged to abandon cultivation:  
 others, as no slaves were to be bought, took their  
 slaves off their coffee, &c. estates, and put them on  
 their



1790. their sugar estates to supply their loss: And some  
 Part II. whose slaves had decreased, had not the means to re-  
 place them and abandoned their property.

When Grenada was ceded in 1763, the British laws were considered as in force there. In 1764 or 65 a legislature was formed there, which passed laws for the government and protection of slaves; but no law was passed to prevent owners from punishing as they thought proper, it being considered by the legislature, of which he was a member, that no local law could prevent improper punishment so much as the

P. 168. British laws then in force there. All the inhabitants were interested in protecting the slaves, as insurrection might be occasioned by cruelty. The Islands being small, and estates not above 3 or 400 acres, the conduct of masters is generally known. Several masters have been indicted and fined for cruelty, by the Justices, at the Sessions, and one white man was hanged but whether a master or not, he cannot say.

Some of the many Grenada laws for protecting and managing slaves having been found inadequate in 1788, a Committee (of which he was one) was appointed to revise and reform those laws. He believes they restricted punishment to 39 lashes, to shew G. Britain, who had been petitioned against the slave-trade, that there was such a law. Think,

P. 169. the slave was as well protected before as he is by this law; for it certainly was always understood and practised, that the slave was protected by the common law of G. Britain.

The Quantity of slaves-grounds depends on their quality and situation. Some having more land than others, give the slaves as much as they can work. Never knew less than an acre given to 6 persons of all ages (exclusive of the common provision-ground worked by the whole gang, p. 179.) When an estate is said to consist of so many acres, the slaves grounds are included.

P. 170. In Grenada negroes are not commonly allowed to keep goats. Other things are cheap for that country



y: Pork about 5d. per lb, fixed by law; a fowl 1790.  
 om 18d. to 3s. other poultry in proportion; a roast- Part II  
 g pig 4s. 6d.—all sterling. Knows no whites who  
 life stock, except a little by proprietors, but most  
 it is bought of the slaves.

In the French Islands, he believes, the slaves have  
 uch the same quantity of provision-grounds as those  
 Grenada. Has seen the Code Noir, and knows  
 e French mode of treating slaves. Many regula-  
 ons of that Code were incorporated into the first  
 enada slave-laws.

French use their domestics better than the En-P. 171.  
 ish, but field-negroes of both are on a footing, ex-  
 pt that, till the war, American and European pro-  
 ions were dearer to the French than the English,  
 o could and did feed their slaves best. Cloathing  
 ming cheaper from England, they cloathed them  
 arly, while the French slaves were generally obliged  
 cloath themselves, except the domestics whom their  
 isters cloathed for show. The French Islands have  
 v eminent doctors; nor are their sick slaves gene-  
 ly so well treated as the English. The French,  
 th in their own Islands and in Grenada, work their  
 ves much harder and punish them worse than the  
 English. But the French now enjoying the Ameri-  
 n trade, can feed their slaves better than the  
 English.

Woollen cloaths, thought more proper, from P. 172.  
 mps and bleak winds, he never knew given to  
 ench slaves.

Believes the French Procureurs have not attended P. 173.  
 their duty to the slaves in any one Island. Infur-  
 tions have been more frequent in the French than  
 English Islands, as is now the case at Martinique,  
 which shews that their slaves are worse treated than  
 ers.

He never knew but one man in Grenada, who  
 s said to use his slaves more severe than common,  
 t what his property was ruined. Thinks slaves are  
 treated

1790. treated much better than when he first knew the  
Part II. W. Indies.

In most Islands there were laws obliging proprietors to keep a white man for so many negroes for fear of revolt and invasion, and that proportion of whites being more than what was requisite to direct the estates, white tradesmen were sent from hence to instruct the negroes, which being accomplished very few whites are employed on the estates, as formerly at Antigua, the wages and expences of a white man, being double that of a black, the fines for deficiency of whites nearly pay the whole Island expences. He believes the other Islands follow the same custom.

P. 174. Has often changed his managers, but not for 4 or 5 years; except at Tobago, where his attorney has frequently changed his managers, since he left the country.

Owners or attorneys generally buy slaves, but with the managers' assistance.

Most managers buy slaves with their savings; but such slaves are seldom kept or hired on the estate he directs. They are generally let to others, the first year, for their maintenance; afterwards they hire them at yearly wages, or in gangs for task-work.

Before the capture of Grenada in 1779, the taxes were partly raised by a poll-tax, sometimes on all slaves, sometimes on those of certain ages: but since the restoration in 1784, the taxes were raised on the produce. On town-negroes, there was a poll-tax from 12 to 18s. cur. per head, according to the exigencies of government. In 1784 a perpetual tax, of 18d. cur. per head, was laid on all slaves, in Grenada, to support the clergy.

P. 175. The roots on which negroes are fed are liable to injury by hurricanes.

P. 176. Domestic and field-slaves are equally healthy: any thing, the former die faster than the latter, owing probably to their rambling more at nights, especially the young men.

Does not know that the Regulating Bill has in- 1790.  
creased the price of slaves; but it is apprehensive Part II.  
the fear of the abolition, and most estates being  
under handed, such as had money or credit to buy,  
and the demand of foreign colonies being great,  
prices rose from £ 40 to £ 50 ster. for gold and  
windward coast slaves, and are rising daily.

The British African merchants, having at com-  
mand British and India goods fit for that market  
(which are now sent to France to assort their cargoes  
for Africa, at 25 per cent. advance) having greater P. 177.  
capitals and knowing the trade better, will certainly  
keep and increase the slave-trade, and undersell fo-  
reigners.

In Grenada the negroes go to their grounds at 9  
on Sunday morning, and return about 12. They  
then dress, and dance, or walk till about 7 o'clock,  
when they assemble to prayers, which they never  
neglect. After prayers, they pass the rest of the  
evening in their houses.

Men are usually preferred for the more laborious P. 178.  
plantation-duty.

At the first settling of the Ceded Islands, men sold  
considerably higher than women, who were not fit  
for felling trees; but at present, estates being set-  
tled and nearly fully slaved, women are most  
wanted, and from the age of 15 to 20, fetch full as  
high a price as the men, generally higher; but,  
after 25, they sell considerably under the men.  
Boys and girls, from 12 to 15, sell at equal prices.

He has a manager and 2 overseers, on each estate,  
an eminent mill-wright occasionally, and a doctor  
attends, but does not reside. Scarcely knows a  
sugar estate but has at least as many whites, that  
number being requisite. One white superintends each  
gang, in the field, boiling-house, or mill.

In all the English and French islands, he knows, P. 179.  
free negroes and mulattoes are considered as a nui-  
sance, as they never cultivate land themselves, and  
the women huxter provisions, sell rum, and receive



1790. stolen goods, corrupting the slaves' morals. Their Part II: only use is in case of invasion.

Thinks the labour now required of the slaves is proper, may be done with ease, and without hurting their health. Thinks a workman here does more work in 5 hours than the slave in 9.

Witness examined—JAMES BAILLIE, Esq. W. Indies,

P. 181. Resident in the W. Indies about 16 years at different times.

P. 182. Purchased an estate in Grenada in 1765, and was concerned in the purchase of another in St. Vincent, which latter was a grant from Government, to General Monckton, and cost £33000. The estate in Grenada was in a very imperfect state of cultivation.

Would not have purchased had he conceived that G. Britain would prohibit the importation of African negroes. Was an attorney for other plantations in St. Kitts and Grenada, and knows the mode of cultivation and treatment of negroes.

His land in St. Vincent is covered with wood.

His purchase of General Monckton was 4000 and a few hundred acres—Of this about 3000 acres have been sold to different proprietors, and if they can procure African slaves, it may be brought to a state of perfection; but should the trade be abolished, the lands must return to their natural state.

P. 183. About 1400 acres remain unsold, till the present question is determined. If the abolition takes place, these will be entirely left to the proprietors. The land would never have been sold, if it had been understood at the time that G. Britain would prohibit the importation of African negroes.

Large tracts of land so sold, particularly in Dominique, are yet uncultivated. Estates in the Ceded Islands

Islands are by no means in perfect cultivation, and 1790.  
are capable of great improvement, if the propri- Part II.  
etors have a market for African slaves

Large sums of money have been expended in improvements, and buildings made with accommodations for taking off the crops which the whole of the lands are capable of producing.

Similar improvements have been made on the estates bought from the French in Grenada, which island never was sufficiently stocked with slaves, and the number has been greatly lessened by excess of labour or the French military works during the capture, &c. Thousands have been purchased since the peace, but the estates in general are far from being sufficiently handed. Large tracts in Grenada are uncultivated, which may be improved if proprietors are permitted to purchase slaves. P. 184.

Improvements must cease in all the W. India islands, without a regular supply of African slaves. The present stock is not sufficient to keep the lands in their present state, without occasional supplies from Africa.—Cannot be kept up by breeding—could not do it on his own estate, which is a remarkable healthy situation in Grenada, where only two whites have died in 24 years. From 1765 to 1771, he was in the habit of improving the estate, and increased the stock of slaves from about 140 to 300 by purchase. From 1771, till the capture of Grenada in 1779, there was not a decrease in the estate of above one per cent. per ann. (reckoning the births) though no new negroes were purchased. During the French captivity the negroes decreased for the reasons before-mentioned. In the year 1786, a contagious distemper, in a few months, carried off 47 of the best slaves, which number has been since replaced by purchase, or the cultivation of the estate must have diminished in proportion.—The P. 185,  
disease was a complaint in the liver, and the work of the plantation was in great backwardness the whole year it appeared. It lasted from 4 to 6  
K 2 months,



1790. months. No plantation could be better appointed  
Part II. in provision grounds; there were warm and convenient hospitals for the sick, and though the negroes had always of their own the greatest abundance of provisions, he always supplied the hospital with flour, rice, bread, wine, and other refreshments. There was a general order to supply the sick with mutton, and such other fresh meats as the estate afforded. The sick had such medical aid as was proper. For the first 10 years a surgeon was kept for the sole purpose of attending the negroes, and, during the distemper, a physician went from the town of St. George to attend this estate, and some  
P. 186. others in the neighbourhood.

Many children die of the Tetanus, or Locked Jaw; but this does not arise from want of care, or excess of labour in the mothers; for when women are known to be pregnant, their work is gradually diminished, till within 2 or 3 months of their delivery, when they pick grafts, and do other light work. During confinement they are comfortably lodged at home, and are attended by able midwives and nurses. They have proper refreshments and cordials; (see p. 202) are allowed 4 or 5 weeks to recover; and it is generally 2 or 3 months after their delivery before they return to the harder labour of the plantation. When in the field, some elderly women are generally employed in taking care of the children. Believes these regulations prevail generally.

P. 187. Negroes are well provided with food and cloathing in all the islands he has been in; but there is a greater abundance of provisions in Jamaica and the Ceded Islands, than in the smaller, when they are more circumscribed, and the climate more uncertain. Negroes supply the markets in the Ceded Islands with fresh provisions, roots, and vegetables, the profits of which they apply to their own use. Some of them have property to the amount of 40, 50, 100, or even £200 sterling, which is transmitted



mitted from one generation to another. Labour is 1790.  
 proportion to ability, and cannot be considered Part II.  
 severe, when compared to the labour of the  
 lower order of people in Europe.

Holing of land, which is from August to January, P. 188.  
 has always considered as the hardest labour on a  
 plantation, during which they have generally a cer-  
 tain allowance of bread, and very frequently spirits  
 mixed with water.

Punishments not severe when compared with the  
 discipline of the army or navy.

The mortality in the interval between the arrival P. 189.  
 of the ships and the sales (which is generally about  
 10 days) cannot even be estimated at much more  
 than 1 per cent. on an average; in the Windward  
 Islands—Knows of no instance of medical arts used  
 to conceal the real state of health in the slaves.

Greatest attention is used to prevent the separa-  
 tion of slaves, connected either by relationship or  
 friendship.

Never knew slaves express a desire to return  
 to their native country.

Slaves in Grenada are generally Christians, and in  
 a state of comfort and happiness.

Remembers negro freemen marrying slaves, though P. 190.  
 they know the children of such marriage will be  
 born slaves.

Introduction of new slaves cannot be prevented  
 by any regulation in this country.

France pays a bounty on the importation of slaves  
 to her colonies, amounting nearly to £7 per head.  
 Number of seamen in the French W. I. trade, be-  
 lieves, is upwards of 50,000. Thinks the number  
 imported from Africa to her W. I. islands, by  
 France, must exceed 20,000.

Spain is giving every possible encouragement P. 191.  
 to the pursuit of the trade in her own colonies.

Insurances are now making on Guinea-men from  
 Boston, Virginia, and Charles Town, S. Carolina.

A considerable number of Guinea-men will be  
 fitted

1790. fitted out from Copenhagen the instant the trade  
Part II. abolished in this country.

Is of opinion that the gross value of the W. Ind. and African trade, together, exceeds 7 million sterling per ann.

Is of opinion, that if an abolition of the slave trade was to take place for a few years only, could not be recovered.

P. 192. The abolition of the trade would throw slaves the W. Indies into a state of discontent and despondency. Every fresh importation is highly acceptable to them. Abolition will produce discord amongst the white inhabitants, and alienate the affections.

Thinks his produce was 240 hogsheads of sugar per ann. on an average.

Many negroes have purchased their freedom.

P. 193. Had a greater proportion of females than we upon estates in general, believes they may amount to more than two-fifths, having, when he left the W. I. sent all his female house-slaves to his estate. Field-slaves are as happy as house-slaves.

Had a great proportion of deaths among the children within the 9th day, notwithstanding the situation was healthy, and the slaves well attended to.

P. 194. Slaves are much better used now than formerly: are increased in value from £25 to £33 sterling per head: before the war, to £30 or £40 sterling. Many cargoes in Jamaica, have averaged lately from £42 to £50 sterling.

P. 195. Fifty acres of the best, out of 400 which the estate contained, was allotted for provision ground.

Proprietors of plantations in the French islands are much more commonly resident on their estates than those on the English islands.

French field-negroes not so comfortable as our punishment more severe; consumption of slaves greater.

The number of whites in the French islands, is 1790. Part II.  
 much greater than in the British; number of white  
 wants pretty nearly the same.

The Danish government have given every possi- P. 198.

encouragement to the introducing the Christian  
 gion among their slaves; and if the government  
 Great Britain was to pay more attention to  
 instruction of slaves, their morals might be very  
 much improved, and it might in the end prove a  
 great security to the welfare of the W. India  
 islands than people in general are aware of. The  
 Danish islands, though perfectly cultivated, are  
 under a necessity of purchasing annual supplies.

It has always considered the Regulating Act to be P. 199.  
 an advantage to the trade.

Islands, in the Ceded Islands, were sold confi- P. 200.  
 dently beyond their value, and settled at a great  
 expense.

though cannot be used.

P. 203.

Islands cannot be cultivated by Europeans.  
 Islands more straitened, as to provision-grounds;  
 deficiency made up by importation.

There are considerable mortgages on estates. P. 204.

Accounts of pawns carried off from Cameroons, P. 205.

Captain Bilby, other English vessels stop'd there-  
 in; pawns claimed in the W. Indies, sent back  
 to Africa, but refused. Vide Particulars.

The credit of the islands is materially injured by  
 apprehensions of abolition, in which case the  
 utility will come to nothing.

Prohibition to supply foreigners with slaves, would much  
 injure the trade and manufacture of Great Britain.

And a field-slave, a driver, worth £200.

P. 206.

In Grenada, the slaves found there on its cession to us, were  
 baptized, and continue in the practice of the Roman Ca-  
 tholic religion. And it has an exceeding good effect on their  
 morals. In the old English islands, and in St. Vincent and  
 the Grenadines, negroes shamefully neglected as to religion.

It takes it will require ten years to get any considerable return  
 from a new settled estate.

Never



1790. Never was on the coast of Africa, and therefore  
 Part II. cannot say whether the negroes imported from  
 Africa are taken from a more happy state to be  
 placed in a worse; but believes, from information  
 that they are more comfortable in the W. Indies  
 than in their own country.

Provisions in the islands are of quick growth.

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Witness examined,—MR. JOHN CASTLES.

P. 207. Resided in Grenada from 1766 to 1788 (except  
 one year) as a surgeon till the last 2 years.

Purchased some uncultivated land, and furnished  
 it with negroes from Africa.

Population, he thinks, will diminish every year  
 without recruits from Africa: because negro  
 P. 208. men are not so prolific as women of this country.  
 owing to early, excessive, and promiscuous concu-  
 sage. Children are subject to the tetanus, or lock-  
 jaw, arising from an irritability of constitution  
 induced by the warm climate; the wound on the  
 ceration of the navel-string, retention of the me-  
 nium, bad milk, and sudden exposure to cold.  
 remedy for jaw fall. Fatal epidemical distemp-  
 $\frac{1}{3}$  of the children die within the month. Few

ported women breed.  
 P. 210. Gave all attention to raising children on his estate.  
 It was his interest. Negroes injure their health

P. 211. night visits and dances more than by labour.  
 treatment of negroes not the cause of the want  
 of species by breeding.

P. 212. Would not have bought the estate had he un-  
 derstood the means of supplying African negroes were  
 to be cut off. Has kept up his number, but not  
 strength.

If the Planters cannot recruit his numbers he must  
 be ruined.

Condition of negroes much more comfortable than  
 that of the labouring poor in England.

Brought two negro slaves to England, who, after 1790.  
 staying about 3 months, begged to return. Said they Part II.  
 did not like this country; it was dull. They pined }  
 after their dances and other customs. He sent them P. 213.  
 both home, where they remain contented. P. 214.

They were exceedingly struck with the number  
 of beggars in the streets, and used to say, "Buccra  
 not good".

On their return, one of them (the man) had the P. 215.  
 option of what trade he would be put to. The  
 woman was hired to hawk merchandise about the  
 country.

Two males are imported to one female. Lost by  
 deaths about 6 per cent. per ann.

Planters always go upon the system of breeding P. 216.  
 slaves; it is their interest.

Adults also are subject to tetanus. P. 217.

Has heard they are not fond of felling, in Africa,  
 those women best adapted for breeding.

Fancies negroes in Africa do very little work, must P. 218.

be habituated to labour by degrees; in 2 or 3 years  
 are said to be "seasoned." Not many die within 3  
 years, though more afterwards. Relations always  
 hold together. The loss of field slaves would be P. 220.  
 supplied in a very trifling degree by sending house  
 slaves into the field.

Witness examined,—JOHN GREG, Esq.

Was in the W. Indies for about 20 years, from the P. 221.  
 year 1764. Was in the Ceded Islands 2 or 3 times  
 each year, twice in Jamaica, at Antigua, Hispaniola,  
 Martinique, and St. Lucia, but resided mostly in  
 Dominique. Secretary to the King's Commission,  
 and Auctioneer in disposing of the lands in the Ceded  
 lands. Sold 174000 acres for £.620000, under  
 covenant for the purchaser to cut down, clear and  
 cultivate one acre out of 20, every year, till half

L

the

1790. the uncleared land shall be cleared; under penalty of Part II. paying 5 per ann. for every acre neglected. Vid Grants.

P. 222. The greatest part of St. Vincent and Dominick remains in wood. More than  $\frac{1}{2}$  of each have been disposed of.

P. 223. The lands, in numerous instances, were sold far above their apprehended value.

P. 224. Immense sums have been laid out in buildings and other works, in some instances more than the purchase money. Number of negroes in Dominick and St. Vincent, a year ago, was about 27000. Judges the present number inadequate for the land already cleared, without large annual supplies. Some plantations are falling back to a desert state, from the high price of negroes caused by the rumour of abolishing the trade. 120000 additional negroes would hardly be sufficient to clear and cultivate the uncleared lands.

Had it been apprehended that the slave trade would be abolished no person would have purchased the lands.

P. 225. There will be a great deficiency of labour, from the present full grown negroes growing past the work. Has observed negroes in all the Islands much happier in general than the lower people in England. Recollects no beggars, or deserted slaves.

P. 226. Number could not be kept up by breeding: This not the effect of severe treatment.

Effect of abolition would be general ruin of the whites, and destruction of the blacks.

Besides common causes of mortality, negro-women plunge in rivers immediately on delivery, and under other improper situations, put on wet cloaths, which bring on complaints unfavourable to propagation.

All possible means have been attempted to counteract the several causes of mortality.

P. 227. The negroes apply hot linen to the navel string which produces irritation and brings on the fall of the jaw.



Some estates in Dominique were begun to be 1790.  
 worked with capitals unequal to the enterprise; be- Part II.  
 sides which, usurious loans, an imposition of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per  
 cent. on the produce, and a duty of 30s. on every P. 228.  
 imported negro, served to complete the ruin of the  
 adventurers.

French house negroes better, field much worse P. 229.  
 treated than our own.

The price of negroes in 1765, was £. 26 10s. per P. 230.  
 head. At present they are £. 50. Before the report  
 of an abolition prime negroes sold at £. 35 to £. 38.

The relief held out by Parliament in cases of fa- P. 233.  
 mine, by permitting the Governor of any Island to  
 import provisions from the foreign Islands, is futile;  
 because no stores of provisions are, or can be, kept  
 here. Hurricanes have done great damage.

It is the maxim, and the interest of Planters to  
 use Creoles.

Witness examined, — JOHN ANTHONY RUCKER, Esq.

Is a considerable proprietor of lands in Grenada, P. 235.  
 Maricaou and St. Vincent.

Would not have ventured his property if he  
 had understood that Great Britain would prohibit  
 the importation of negroes; wishes he had not. Has  
 not large sums, which he would not have done,  
 had he apprehended abolition of slave-trade. Has not  
 sufficient numbers to keep up the present cultivation.  
 Cannot positively say, whether the stock may, in fu-  
 ture, be kept up by breeding, having never been in  
 the W. Indies, but is informed by his agents they  
 cannot.

Abolition will have a dreadful effect, as we must  
 have recourse to foreigners to supply us with sugar,  
 which will cause a balance of trade against Great  
 Britain of 1000000 to 1200000. The loss of ship-  
 ping would also be great.

1790. The credit of W. India property was very bad before Part II. the agitation of this question, and it is now grown much worse. The security of the large debt from the  
P. 237. W. Indies to G. Britain would be materially injured.

The purchases he made in the W. Indies were particularly fortunate and advantageous.

The experience of 25 years has taught him the stock of negroes cannot be kept up by breeding.

Witness examined,—JOHN HANKEY, Esq.

Is a very large proprietor of lands in the Ceded Islands, since 1764, has also very large sums outstanding. Would neither have purchased lands nor lent money, had he conceived the importation of negroes would have been prohibited.

His estate can by no means be cultivated without negroes, nor has he, at present, a sufficient stock, nor can he keep up a stock without supplies from Africa.

Believes the defect of population not owing to ill treatment or excessive labour.

Effect of abolition will be the gradual decay and at last, ruin of the Islands.

The agitation of this question has injured the credit on W. India property, and if the supply of negroes be stopped, the security of the large debt of the planters to G. Britain will be very materially injured.

P. 240. Never was in the W. Indies—W. India credit was very good before the war, and since would have revived but for the question of abolition.

Amount of the advances of this house on W. India property, was about £ 250000, at 5 per cent.

Witness examined,—WILLIAM TOD, Esq.

P. 241. Is a merchant of London, and proprietor of land in Grenada and the Grenadines, since 1774 or 1777.

—Is also a creditor on the security of W. India estates. 1790.  
 Estates cannot, in his opinion, be cultivated but Part II.  
 y negroes.

Would not have purchased, or lent, if he had understood that the importation of negroes would be prohibited.

Estates have not a sufficient stock, nor could that be kept up without supplies from Africa.

Defect of population not owing to ill treatment, nor excessive labour.

Effect of stopping the importation from Africa, in his opinion, would be fatal.

Has refused to lend money on W. India security, till he saw the event of the question of abolition of slave trade.

The security of the debt from the W. India planters will not be so good as it was if the trade be stopped.

Never was in the W. Indies.

Witness examined,—MR. ROBERT THOMAS.

Resided about 9 years in St. Kitts and Nevis as a P. 246.  
 surgeon, and attended between 4000 and 5000 negroes annually.

A surgeon's attendance expected once or twice a P. 247.  
 week, or daily, if necessary. On most estates 6s. per head annually allowed, besides extra charges for capital operations, &c. and night visits.

Had every opportunity of observing how negroes were treated, worked, fed, lodged and clothed. They are divided into three classes or gangs, the 1st or great gang able-bodied negroes (exclusive of tradesmen and watchmen) who do the most laborious part of the work. The 2d, or weeding gang, from the age of 12 to 18 or 20, such as are weakly or ailing, and employed in light work. The 3d gang, from the age of 6 to 12, employed in picking grafts for the manager's or proprietors stock.



1790. Negroes in Nevis appear in the field about 6 o'clock  
 Part II. work till about 9, when they breakfast; at  $\frac{1}{4}$  before  
 10 resume their work, which is continued to 12, they  
 P. 248. are then discharged till 2, in this interval, out of  
 crop, the major part of the gang are expected to  
 bring a small bundle of grafs, during crop: the  
 cattle fed with sliced cane-tops. At 2 o'clock they  
 enter the field again, and work till 6, and about 7,  
 if out of crop, a few bundles of grafs are again thrown.  
 Once a week allowance given out to the head of each  
 family, either at 12 at noon, or about 7 at night.

Women with children at the breast have many indulgencies, as coming an hour later into the field, never throwing grafs, retiring to suckle their children; pregnant women, on most of the estates, when 3 or 4 months gone with child, if in the large gang, are usually removed to the small one, and in their 7th month excused from all labour, going where and doing as they please.—A negro midwife attends the lying-in women in natural cases, but in preternatural a surgeon, who has a handsome fee, about £9 sterling. A nurse waits on the woman, when delivered, and her infant, till she can attend to it herself; every comfort afforded which that situation required, and not expected to work till the end of 4 weeks, and not then if the surgeon thought a longer indulgence necessary.

For the cloathing of negroes estates, having a credit in England, usually set a sufficient quantity of  
 P. 249. coarse baize and osnabrigs with worsted caps and proper hats. Each negro man receives a quantity of baize for a blanket, and of osnabrug for a short jacket and trowsers, and each female enough for a short wrapper and petticoat, with a like quantity of the baize. The younger negroes receive a proportionable quantity. Estates having no credit in England, buy these articles of the store-keepers at a high price.

For many of the negroes, who are idly disposed, and not trust-worthy, the proprietors or managers have those articles made into cloaths, and given them.

For

For the negro infants many owners either send 1790.  
 ut annually a couple of suits of baby cloaths or, Part II.  
 resident, have them made up for them by negro  
 empstresses.

The food usually distributed among the negroes  
 consisted of rice, coarse flour, rye-meal, dried peas  
 and beans, American corn, and also of salt provi-  
 sion, viz. herrings, shad and other salt fish; they  
 had also the Island provision, viz. potatoes, yams,  
 Indian corn, bananas, plantanes and cassada; but  
 these three last articles were the produce of their own  
 provision ground, their private property. The quan-  
 tity of provision allowed was mostly from 7 to 9 pints  
 a week for each negro, of any of the above articles,  
 and the same number of herrings or shads, or a pro- P. 250.  
 portional quantity of salt fish; the above quantity  
 was given on many estates to every child as soon as  
 weaned. This food, in his judgment, proper for the  
 negroes, and though a bare sufficiency for their sup-  
 port, the weekly allowance is not wholly depended  
 on, the industrious having many advantages from  
 their provision ground, the produce of which fur-  
 nishes them with considerable sums; as well as raising  
 pigs, goats and various species of poultry. Negroes  
 near towns derive advantage from selling grass and  
 fuel to the inhabitants. Hence they have food amply  
 sufficient for their support, insomuch that many  
 of them purchase fine cloaths, and frequently die  
 possessed of what may be called large sums of money  
 to them.

Seldom any reluctance to give whatever the sur-  
 geon thought proper to negroes in sickness, such as  
 chicken or mutton broth, or even wine, which ar-  
 ticles the manager regularly made a charge of to  
 the owner.

The loss of negro children occasioned by denti-  
 tion, worms, eating dirt; also the putrid sore throat, P. 251.  
 which usually carries off numbers; but the principal  
 cause is, the neglect of the mothers. Has known  
 few instances of the tetanus or locked-jaw in chil-  
 dren,



1790. dren, but adults very liable to it from lacerated  
Part II. wounds or injuries in the tendinous parts.

There was an annual diminution of negroes on an estate, whose owners gave a pecuniary reward and other indulgencies to every mother, who reared her child to the age of 2 years.

Pregnant women during the time of their lying-in and afterwards, certainly not under greater disadvantages than the lower class of white women in this country, being exempted from hard labour during pregnancy, and proper care taken of them after lying-in. See 248.

P. 252. The causes of the decrease of adult negroes on the sugar plantations very numerous. 1st. The free and easy intercourse of females with males. 2d. The frequent abortions which the women designedly bring on themselves. 3d. The chronical diseases to which women in warm climates are more subject than in colder ones. 4th. Putrid fevers, sore throats, and fluxes, the last occasioning vast mortality. 6th. The immoderate use of spirits, and many diseases contracted in their nightly rambles and dances. Lastly, too long suckling, viz. about 2 years, besides many diseases prevalent in cold climates.

Except in cases of atrocious offences, corporal chastisement is now seldom inflicted.

Never called upon, in his medical capacity, to attend negroes after severe punishment.

Resident in St. Kitts, about 12 months commencing in 1776.

P. 253. Resident in Nevis from 1777 to 1785. In 1785 passed 8 months in Nevis and St. Kitts, but not a medical man.

The preceding evidence relates to the treatment of negroes in St. Kitts, as well as Nevis.

Presumes a greater proportion of African negroes may die in the first three years after their importation than afterwards, and that the change of climate produces very great effects on the constitution of the negro.



roes, many dying under the greatest care and attention, though put to no laborious employment. 1790.  
Part II.

Believes labour of slaves by no means tend to shorten their lives, as they always appear chearful during crop time when they work the hardest. P. 254.

The Creole negro generally industrious, the African usually very indolent.

A woman of equal health and strength with a man, is considered far more valuable, because her increase benefits the proprietor; speaks not of field-negroes.

Negroes are not allowed shoes, nor do they wish to wear them. P. 255.

St. Kitts and Nevis are liable to severe droughts, by which almost all vegetation is stopped, and the usual produce of the Islands diminished.

Thinks  $\frac{2}{3}$  at least of the infants born, die under a yelvemonth.

The office of watchman is to keep cattle from intruding on cane-pieces, whilst the plants are young, and when mature, to guard them from depredations of negroes. Watchmen also attend stores, &c. where any valuable effects are deposited.

While resident in Nevis from 1777 to 1785, an epidemical putrid sore throat prevailed once or twice, which carried off many children, and almost every year during the rainy months, fluxes were fatal to a great many full grown negroes, especially such as were weakly. P. 256.

The rains commence about August, and end with November or the beginning of December.

Air impregnated with moist particles, tends to give a certain check to the perspiration, which being brown upon the bowels, is very apt to end in a flux. Fluxes are apt to prevail after heavy rains, from the water that is commonly drank coming down from the mountains impregnated with noxious particles. In 1786 a putrid fever prevailed in both Nevis and St. Kitts, which swept off many black and whites. The slaves in that and the former year were more

M

than

1790. than usually unhealthy, fluxes and fevers of a putrid  
Part II. kind prevailing more than common.

— Thinks the colonial laws restrain the master from  
P. 257. exercising any undue authority over his slaves.

owner ill treating them would certainly be despised  
and not admitted into the society of respectable men.

The planters in Nevis more usually reside on their  
estates than in most other Islands.

The owner of an estate, if resident in England,  
names an attorney, who appoints a manager, whose  
conduct is often enquired into by the attorney,  
when guilty of a breach of trust, or of any severe  
to the negroes, he is discharged.

As to whether it was generally believed in Nevis  
and St. Kitts, that the law of England extended  
protection to slaves in those Islands? He says,  
before the framing of the Colonial laws of the different  
Islands, the master had an absolute authority  
his slave; but as self-interest is a predominant  
passion, and that as it is contrary to every owner's  
interest to be cruel to his negroes, he presumes  
they were used as mildly as they now are.

The allowance given to the slave is just a  
provision for his support, the superfluity arising from  
this and the produce of his provision ground, which  
is not very great, is converted into money for his  
private purposes. The usual quantity of ground  
allotted each slave, besides that about his house,

P. 258. be about  $\frac{1}{4}$  of an acre, and generally some mountain-  
land. The  $\frac{1}{4}$  acre is always planted with potatoes  
or some other vegetables for the slave's use. The  
portion of mountain-land is always increased in  
proportion to the family of the slave, but not the ground  
round the house. Many estates have no mountain-  
ground, the owner then gives a greater allowance  
of food. Where there is no mountain-ground, besides  
the greatest allowance to be 11 pints of any kind of  
grain per week, besides an equal number of herrings  
the allowance out of crop-time being greater  
during the crop-season; the reduction of allowance



be from 9 to 6 or 7 pints; but at this time the 1790.  
negroes have many advantages, such as a supply of Part II.  
syrup, a liberty of eating canes, and are in bet-  
ter condition and health than at any other period of  
year.

The negro-women lie-in in their own houses.  
I never saw much whipping, and on his last visit P. 259.  
the W. Indies found it was almost disused, con-  
finement being attended with better consequences,  
a negro would rather be whipped than confined.  
On this discontinuance of whipping he thinks to the  
benefit of both master and slave.

From the interest of the Planter depending on the  
negro, the tyrannic acts of oppression and tortures said  
to be inflicted on the negroes, are surely such absur-  
dities as are self-apparent.

It is very certain the cultivation of sugar estates can-  
not be carried on by Europeans.

It is perfectly sensible it is the interest and wish of  
Planters in general to rear as many negro-children  
as they can.

It is as positive evidence that the slaves in the W. P. 260.  
the Islands, have a decided superiority, as to every  
sort of life over the common labourers and poor  
people of Ireland and Scotland, by being regularly  
supplied with every necessary of life, cloathing, food,  
comfortable houses, protection in health, the best  
assistance in sickness, and, on their decease, having a  
father and protector for their children.



1790.  
Part II.

Witness examined—JAMES TOBIN, Esq.

Has lived 10 or 12 years in the W. Indies at different times, chiefly in Nevis. Has often been in St. Kitt's, and occasionally in most other English and some French islands. Knows the manner of cultivating W. Indian estates, and has an estate in Nevis. Thinks it impossible to cultivate W. India lands by any other than negro labour. Sees no reason why free negroes should not do as much work as slaves; but never knew a free negro do field labour. In St. Vincent are many free negroes, (improperly called Caribs) and there negro labour is very dear; but were they disposed to work, the planters would give them very great prices; they live, however, like savages. In Jamaica there is a good number of free negroes; but he does not find that any of them work in the field for hire.

P. 261.

Does not conceive it possible to cultivate sugar plantations by whites.

Does not think that the number of negroes sufficient to cultivate sugar estates can be kept up by propagation, for these reasons—more males imported than females, from the Africans being all Polygamists; and of course unwilling to part with their females—the early and promiscuous intercourse of the sexes—the venereals—young females procuring abortion to preserve their persons—the obstructions, &c., the female negroes are subject to from their irregularities—the negro women suckling too long—the premature debility of the men by spirits—the little care too many of the negro women are apt to take of the children—the many disorders to which negro children are peculiarly subject, as fluxes, worms, and the fevers incident thereto, the lock'd jaw, and eating dirt. On his estate has had 2 males to 3 females, whom remarkable care has been taken—a free white man constantly attends the sick and breeding white men; yet, for these 4 or 5 years, he has but just been able to keep up his number.

P. 262.

the early and promiscuous intercourse of the sexes—the venereals—young females procuring abortion to preserve their persons—the obstructions, &c., the female negroes are subject to from their irregularities—the negro women suckling too long—the premature debility of the men by spirits—the little care too many of the negro women are apt to take of the children—the many disorders to which negro children are peculiarly subject, as fluxes, worms, and the fevers incident thereto, the lock'd jaw, and eating dirt. On his estate has had 2 males to 3 females, whom remarkable care has been taken—a free white man constantly attends the sick and breeding white men; yet, for these 4 or 5 years, he has but just been able to keep up his number.

Has never found the lock'd jaw so frequent in 1790.  
Nevis as in St. Kitt's, and several other islands. Part. II.

Negroes, infant and adult, are subject to fluxes, putrid fevers, and sore throats, besides the small-pox, measles, &c.; and has no reason to think the losses from these diseases would be counterbalanced by breeding.

Negroes are usually fed with flour, Indian corn, P. 263.  
rye meal, biscuit, Guinea corn, and other grain; and yams, potatoes, &c., when to be had: they have besides, salt herrings, salt fish, &c. The provisions allowed may be sufficient; but it is always understood that they are to add to their allowance by their own industry, which they can do, having always land to plant, and leave to raise goats, hogs, and poultry, to sell for themselves; also grass and wood, which they sell in the towns. During his residence in the W. Indies, perhaps 2-3ds of the fresh provisions he used were bought of his slaves, or those of others.

The negroes have Osnabrugs, or coarse linen, for a jacket and breeches for the men, and a jacket and petticoat for the women; with some woollen cloth, and generally hats and caps, at least once a year. The children of all ages are allowed cloathing.

Negroes' houses are built by themselves, with the masters' help, with, at least, two rooms, one to sleep in, the other for common use; many of their houses have 3 or 4 rooms, with cook rooms detached.

The houses are generally thatched and wattled, and many plaistered; but many head negroes, particularly in St. Kitt's, have boarded and shingled houses. They sleep on raised benches spread with matts and blankets. P. 264.

On all estates there are regular sick nurses, and generally a surgeon employed by the year. Sick slaves have sago, portable soup, wine, fresh meat, &c. Poultry and mutton are often killed to make them broth. He knew a convalescent slave have 16 lambs, each worth 2 dollars, killed for his use.

A negro woman, 4 or 5 months gone with child,  
works



1790. works not in any of the gangs, but picks grafts, at-  
 Part II. tends the children in the field, or does some light  
 ~~~~~ work, more to keep her in exercise than for profit.  
 In lying-in she has the same attention as the sick.
 A midwife is generally on the estate; but in cases
 of necessity an established practitioner is called at a
 very heavy expence; as midwifery, night visits, or
 capital operations, are paid for extra. They have
 always 4 weeks to lye in, and more, if necessary; and
 after coming out, are allowed to come an hour or two
 later into the field whilst nursing. Never recollects
 seeing a negro woman far gone with child put to any
 hard labour.

Lame, incurably diseased, and aged negroes, have
 the same food, clothing, and accommodation, as if
 P. 265. perfectly serviceable. He is warranted to say, that
 the punishments of slaves are mild, compared to
 those of British soldiers and seamen.

From observation he has no doubt but the situation
 of the W.-India slaves (punishments apart) is pre-
 ferable to that of the labouring poor in Europe, the
 climate giving an obvious advantage to the slave;
 for in a cold climate two of the greatest luxuries are
 warm lodging and warm clothing, both which the
 labouring poor can scarcely procure; but in the W.
 Indies cool lodging and cool clothing are two of the
 greatest indulgencies, both which the negro can ea-
 sily obtain.

The labour expected from the negroes varies with
 their strength, and, in some measure, with the sea-
 sons. They are generally divided into 3 gangs; the
 great gang consists of the ablest men and women;
 the small gang, of the younger and less able; and
 the graft gang, of children under an old woman, to
 keep them out of mischief, and use them to employ-
 ment. The great gang hole the ground; in weed-
 ing and in crop the two gangs are generally united.

The negroes are generally called into the field by
 a bell about 6 o'clock; about 8 they have $\frac{1}{2}$ hour for
 P. 266. breakfast, generally in the field; in about $\frac{1}{4}$ of an
 hour

hour they resume their work, which they continue 1790.
till noon; but in very dry seasons (being out of crop Part II.
expected to bring grafs at noon) they are generally
discharged at about $\frac{1}{2}$ past 11. At 2 o'clock they
return in the field, and continue till about 6, when
they are discharged to bring more grafs; in crop
when the stock is fed on cane-tops, and little or no
grafs required. A few attend the mill and boiling
house some hours after dark; and on some estates
being divided into proper spells, they attend them
most of the night, so that on the whole the crop
may be called the season of hardest labour; and yet
the slaves are always then heartiest. On the whole,
he is convinced that the labour of a negro through
the year is by no means so severe as that of an English
labourer.

Out of crop the negroes can generally go to rest
by 7 o'clock; but this partly depends on themselves,
as they are sometimes backward in bringing their
grafs, and generally come to get their allowance at
that hour. As it is dark between 6 and 7, it could
answer no purpose to keep them out of crop, from
their houses, after that hour.

The cultivation of a sugar estate bears a much
nearer resemblance to that of a garden, than to that
of an English farm. Planters who have kept this
idea in view have generally made the most of their
property. W.-India lands require very nice prepara-
tion. No produce is sown; every thing, even
grain, being planted: the plough and other Euro-
pean implements are therefore excluded: they have,
he believes, been tried on estates level enough to
admit the experiment, but, he is well informed, with-
out any good effects. The young cane sprouts are re-
markably tender, and require repeated hoings, to be
done most carefully of course by hand. Manure in the
W. Indies is not spread as in England, but is car-
ried and carefully placed round each plant sepa-
rately; so that wheelbarrows or carts could not be
used after the canes are come up; but the manure is
gene-

P. 267.

1790. generally carted, and made into heaps at proper distances on the land before holing, to save as much of the work as possible to the negroes. In Nevis and Montserrat it would be impossible, from the rocks (except a very few spots) even to try the plough. The severe droughts, to which the small islands are subject, would also be an invincible impediment to the plough, as lands, if they could be ploughed, would require a long time to mellow. The planters are so sensible of the value of negro labour, that they have left very few experiments untried that were likely to lessen it—it being a maxim among all prudent planters never to employ a negro in doing such work as can be done otherwise.

In St. Kitt's staking cattle, to provide manure and save negro labour, prevails more than in any island he knows. In Nevis they use moving pens, somewhat like sheep folds; by which dung is made where it is used.

There are very few places where small light dung carts, drawn by mules, cannot be used; but in places too steep for such carts, the manure is carried out in horse-hair bags, on mules, to save negro labour.

P. 268. Most planters certainly prefer Creole slaves to Africans, and therefore pay all possible attention to breeding.

Knows in Nevis, that a pecuniary reward is given to the mother on rearing her child to be 2 years old, and that freedom from all labour is granted to every negro woman who is the mother of 6 working children.

From reading, and from conversing with men well acquainted with Africa, and from occasional conversation with Africans themselves, has every reason to think that their situation is better generally in the W. Indies, than it was in their own country; and it is very singular, that there never was an instance of a negro (even an African) who had obtained his freedom, ever returning to Africa, or even expressing a wish

sh to do so. This has been said to arise from the 1790.
 connections they have made in the W. Indies; and Part. II.
 so, it proves that they can form connections there
 usually, if not more, agreeable to them than those
 they quitted. It is a general mistake to suppose that
 negroes in the W. Indies are very anxious to procure
 their freedom; if so, many of them could buy their
 freedom with the money they save. Has known
 freedom offered to slaves on the most moderate terms,
 and refused, because they should lose their friends
 and protectors. Has little doubt but those negroes
 could have bought their freedom at the sum pro-
 posed; is positive in one instance, as he (the slave)
 has bought his son's freedom, and slaves for his son's
 sake, himself (who was a fisherman, 280) still re-
 maining a slave.

It is very common for free negroes to marry (in
 their sense of the word) women slaves, though they
 know that their offspring would be slaves.

Has resided in England as a W.-India merchant
 since 1784.

Has great reason to think that the agitation of the
 question for abolishing the slave trade has had effects
 on W.-India credit, very baneful and very extensive.
 In the house he is concerned in, and, he believes,
 many greater houses, have been deterred by this
 consideration alone from making advances.

Was mostly in the W. Indies from 1758 till 1766. P. 270.
 His father possessed the family estate for that time,
 and for a great part of it rented of another pretty con-
 siderable property; in the management of both which
 was chiefly employed. In 1766 he returned to
 England, remaining there till 1777, when he went
 back to the W. Indies, and staid till 1784. Did not
 particularly attend to his gang till he last left the
 W. Indies, being before that time employed in get-
 ting rid of some of the worst, and in procuring a
 gang, likely to increase. In 1784, had 72 males and
 60 females; in 1785, 72 males and 98 females; in
 1786, 73 males and 98 females, having this year
 Numb. 2. N bought

1790. bought one; in 1787, 77 males and 102 females, Part II. new negroes being bought—the increase this year was 3; in 1788, 77 males and 102 females, having with such a superiority of females barely been able to keep up the number, but cannot state the births and deaths in that period.

P. 271. In St. Kitt's the land is so very valuable that the negro houses stand very close; the negro grounds therefore, are generally at some distance from the houses. In Nevis, where land is not so valuable, the houses stand farther asunder, and there is generally a lot of land to each house; but in both he believes it unusual (in Nevis it is) to allow them one crop from a piece of cane land, besides the land round the houses and the negro provision ground. The distant land is generally either mountain land, or gut-sides.

Had about 260 or 270 acres in cultivation, which in general he planted yearly about 90.

The whites in his service were a manager, an overseer all the year, and a distiller in crop—he hired a free Mulatto woman to attend the sick and the lying-in woman; and the same number were employed in his absence.

Never knew any sensible planter who did not think it for his interest to breed, rather than buy slaves.

Thinks the general treatment of slaves to be better now than it was 30 or 40 years ago; but knows of no particular alterations of late.

The protection enjoyed by the slaves in these two islands was that of the laws of England—he does not recollect any colonial laws in Nevis interfering with these. In St. Kitt's he believes there is a law to punish the maiming of slaves, passed in 1783.

P. 272. Apprehends it to have been the general opinion that the English law extended to slaves in Nevis and St. Kitt's.

Instances proceedings in Nevis in the case of a supposed murder of a negro by 2 white men, carried on, as he apprehends, under the laws of England and another of a white overseer, supposed to have

wanton.

antonly murdered a negro of the estate he lived on, 1790. who was capitally indicted and tried; but the proofs ^{Part II.} not appearing satisfactory, found guilty of manslaughter—sentenced to a year's imprisonment.—Vide particulars.

Can't say it was commonly understood that the ^{P. 273.} slave was secured by the laws of England from immoderate punishment by his master; but knows it to be a general-received opinion, that all the laws of England are in force in the W. Indies, where they are not counteracted by particular colonial laws.

Rooms were not generally appropriated for lying-in women, as many planters, in the old islands, hold open hospitals to be more detrimental than useful, by creating epidemics; and where the negroes are mostly Creoles, the sick and lying-in women find themselves more at ease in their houses.

There is a poll tax in Nevis and St. Kitt's, which, he believes, commences from the birth.

Few of the slaves pretend to much religion—their morals, probably, as good as those of the very lower order in England.

The regulating act, he has been informed, has ^{P. 274.} raised the price of slaves; and to it he chiefly attributes the late advance.

Has reason to think, that the situation of field negroes in the French islands is by no means better than in the English, especially as to punishment—the house negroes seem to be treated with more familiarity than in the English islands, but doubts whether that materially benefit them. The Code ^{P. 275.} Noir appears to be well calculated to secure good treatment to the slaves; but he believes it is far from being rigidly enforced, and sometimes it is impossible for the planter to comply with it, particularly respecting provisions. Believes the French planters oftener side on their estates than the English.

The negroes are not likely to be better used by the proprietor, than by a prudent manager, because the former feels immediately the expence of an ample

1790. provision and necessaries, which the latter does not
 Part II. and it is a particular pleasure to the manager, r
 } dounding much to his credit, that the negroes und
 him look well.

P. 276. Does not recollect any managers discharged fr
 shewing too great indulgence to the negroes in food
 and labour.

Information, as to their true interest, is equally a
 cessible to to the French as to the English planters
 but from observation thinks the former in general n
 so well educated as the latter.

The greatest time the negroes have to cultivate
 their own land is all Sunday—sometimes, and in fe
 sonable weather, when a little extra time is likely
 be particularly useful to them, they have Saturday a
 ternoon; and he believes, on some estates, they g
 nerally have it; besides there are holidays, 2 or 3
 Christmas, Good Friday in general, and on man
 estates, a day at the finishing crop, the other times a
 such as they chuse to take from their rest; the 2 hour
 at noon is seldom employed in preparing a regul
 meal, their chief meal being supper; so that they ofte
 work their ground then.

The allowance from the master generally, I
 thinks, is regular and settled, but sometimes affecte
 by the scarcity or plenty of provisions to be bought.

The allowance differs in some measure on differ
 estates; the average may be stated at about 6 to
 or 10 pints of grain or flour for each negro per week
 including every weaned child; besides this they hav
 6 or 8 herrings per week, or salt fish, &c. in propor
 P. 277. tion; in addition to which, on many estates, and o
 all which he directed, they had out of crop, a re
 gular breakfast served them in the field, of a biscuit
 molasses and water, qualified with rum in rainy wea
 ther. Whenever from indolence or inattention t
 dressing the provisions served out, any negroes fall of
 they have more victuals served out to them dress
 Negroes thus fed with dressed victuals, are called th
 pot gang; and it is a reproach for a negro to be
 carele

careless as to be obliged to be fed that way. On most 1790.
 states a por is boiled daily for the children, weak and Part II.
 convalescent negroes, and those under confinement. }

The negroes may neglect their provision grounds,
 but on some estates they are obliged by their masters
 to cultivate such grounds, though this is not common.
 The character of negroes as to indolence or industry,
 is various as that of whites, and depends much on
 the part of the coast they come from.

Has found it easy to persuade some negroes to
 adopt such alterations in managing their own con-
 cerns as might tend to their advantage, but in gene-
 ral they are obstinately wedded to their own customs.

Not to be supposed that many negroes possess con- P. 278.
 siderable property in a small island, like Nevis; be-
 sides they are very jealous of letting their owners or
 managers know it.

A sum sufficient to buy a field negroe's freedom,
 would not be deemed a considerable property, if he
 chose to save the money he could earn instead of
 spending it in fineries for himself and his wives, and
 other superfluities.

His property depends chiefly on the quantity of
 stock and poultry he may raise.

The pastures of the estate, if extensive, are gene-
 rally more than enough to keep the master's stock in
 wet, but not in dry weather.

Severe droughts are common in Nevis and St. Kitt's,
 especially Nevis. In those droughts the master's cat-
 tle are often with difficulty furnished with sufficient
 grass, yet it is very remarkable, that from some cause
 or other, the negro stock seldom or ever appears af-
 fected by such droughts. The managers are not in
 general allowed to keep stock, at least such as go into
 the pastures; such stock out of crop are fed with
 grass or shrubs gathered by grass gang generally. P. 280.

Surgeons, for their attendance in these two islands,
 have usually 6s. per ann. for each negro, young and
 old; but such annual sum is the least part of their
 profit, as they charge for every night visit 3l. 6s.;
 for

1790. for every midwifery case (in Nevis) 5 times the
 Part II. sum, and for all capital operations in the same proportion; they also charge separately for inoculation. With some of the most useful medicines (bark especially) they are generally supplied by the planters, or charged separately by the surgeons. Currency varies from 160 to 187½ per cent.

It is not very common for field negroes to have more than one wife.

Apprehends that taking the coast of Guinea altogether, the W.-India islands may be said to be in a healthier climate; and yet, from experience, the change of the climates has very bad effects on the negroes, on their first arrival.

P. 281. Doubts very much whether, if the negroes in the W. Indies were to be freed, they would be nearly as happy as they are now; but to such of them as have industry and prudence to make a proper use of it, freedom is preferable; but those who abuse it, are less happy than a good slave.

In the present state of the islands, and few as free negroes are, they can earn more by fundry trades, fishing, &c. with the same time and industry, than by hiring themselves to do field work on estates at the usual price; but were a general emancipation to take place, or the number of free negroes greatly increased, it might probably be otherwise; it cannot therefore be expected, in the present state of the islands, that free negroes should offer to do field labour.

P. 282. The communication between the W. Indies and Africa not very frequent, but vessels are occasionally sent from the island to trade for slaves.

Believes few managers keep negroes to let as jobbing gangs, either to their masters or others.

The cane pieces, provisions, and other stores, are generally watched.

For the protection of free negroes from ill usage, every law is as much open to them as to Whites.

P. 283. Supposes an African cannot lay by a sum to buy his freedom in a short time after his importation, and
 in

his comparison of the state of slaves in the W. In- 1790.
 es, and negroes in Africa, and also of the former and Part II.
 e labouring poor of England, he has alluded to the
 lerably industrious slaves, which, in fact, are the
 ajority. The profligate and incorrigible are gene-
 ally apt to run away, to sell their clothes, and to neg-
 ect the food allowed them, are often loitering about
 e towns, and strolling along the bays and sea side,
 If naked, and apparently half starved; and from
 ch wretches he thinks the state of the slaves in the
 ands has been described and published in England,
 r people who have transiently visited them, without
 owing the management of estates, and the treat-
 ent of the slaves.

Three persons have been tried, convicted, and
 nished, for ill treating their own slaves, under the
 mmon law of England, in St. Kitt's; and of such
 nvictions authentic transcripts have been sent home
 the information of the H. of Commons. Such docu-
 ents evince how much the police of Nevis and St.
 itt's has been misrepresented by assertions that, in
 ose islands, there was no law to interpose between
 e tyranny of the planters and their defenceless P. 234.
 ves.

The slaves, neither before nor after the surrender
 Nevis to the French, shewed any disposition to
 volt, but quite the contrary.

In St. Kitt's, when attacked by the French in 1782,
 e slaves eagerly desired arms to defend their mas-
 's property; and, on some estates, where the whites
 re insulted by the French soldiers, the negroes took
 e most ample and savage revenge.

The instances of conviction and punishment of
 rsons for ill treatment of slaves in Nevis referred
 ly to the two murders before specified.

The instances of conviction and punishment of
 isters for ill treating their own slaves, mentioned to
 ve occurred in St. Kitt's, were, since the passing of P. 285.
 e act for punishing offenders for particular kinds
 ill treatment; but the indictments under which
 they

1790. they were convicted and punished, were under the common law of England. Knows of no similar convictions and punishments in St. Kitt's previous to this period. Does not recollect having heard the particulars of the several cases of conviction and punishment in St. Kitt's, except the case of Strode for flitting a negro's ear.

- P. 286. By custom the master supposes he has the right of exacting labour from the slave by compulsion, the master being the judge of the labour exacted; but knows no law that gives him such right. And the statute law of England supposes that right to exist in the master, as clearly as any colonial laws, as many acts of parliament relating to the colonies, would be absurd, without supposing such right actually to exist.
- P. 287. Thinks the mode adopted in prosecuting Strode and Burke on the common law of England, and not on the new-island statute, demonstrates, that, in the opinion of the prosecutors for the crown, the statute created no new indictable offence; but that an act of wanton cruelty by a master on his slave was a misdemeanor indictable at common law in that island before the statute passed.

Witness examined—ALEXANDER DOUGLAS, Esq.

Resident in St. Kitt's from 1749 to 1771, except a few months; leased part of an estate, managed two estates besides his own, and was attorney to several estates of absentees. Had under his care about a 6th or 7th part of all the negroes in the island. Could not keep up the negroes without importation.

On the estate he leased are 100 males and 115 females, but in general, believes the males exceed the females. The stock has not been kept up by breeding

g, even on the estate he leased. To increase the 1790.
groes by breeding, was a particular object of his Part II.
ention.

Thinks it impossible for whites to undergo field-
work in the W. Indies, and free negroes are too idle
to do it for hire; never knew an instance of it. —
Does not think it probable that the proprietors could
keep up the necessary stock of negroes by breeding,
having himself tried it and failed. Does not suppose
anything owing to over-working, neglect, or ill treat-
ment.

Women six months gone with child, do as they
please, and their indolence has been deemed one
cause of the children dying of the locked jaw, with-
in the ninth day. They are attended by a midwife P. 289.
and a sick nurse, and have every thing necessary in
their condition, also the assistance of a plantation
surgeon, if required. Should the mother be too in-
convenient (which sometimes happen) to provide baby
baths, most people, he believes, send for them to
England. Added to the produce of their own
grounds, the general allowance to negroes in St. Kitt's,
is from 6 to 8 pints of flour, beans, and Indian corn,
and a basket of yams. With 12 to 15 acres of cane land
planted in yams, he has been able to feed the negroes,
sometimes for 9 months together; but the produce
depends on the weather. Each slave has also 6 or 8
fish a week, or salt fish in proportion; and at
Christmas salted beef; but their allowance is more or
less, as the masters see requisite. Good negroes live
contentedly; the vagrants often want, and it is impossible
to prevent it. Good negroes have very large quan-
ties of grass, wood, poultry, pigs, roots, &c. to sell.
In crop, negroes that grind all night, divide their
work into 3 or 4 spells, but of late, on most estates
grinding in the night is left off. Out of crop, they
are generally discharged about 6 or 7 at night, and
called out in the morning at daylight, about 6.
Thinks the negroes in St. Kitt's have from 9 to
Numb. 2. O II

1790. 11 hour's respite in the 24, and they are universal
Part II. healthier in crop than at any other season.

The texture of the land at St. Kitt's is looser and easier holed than the other islands. A creole is put into the holing gang, according to his growth of strength, at 16, 17, or 18 years of age.

As to masters, in their behaviour to slaves, being actuated by a constant jealousy, not to be satisfied by any exertion, or softened by any attachment of the slaves, the idea is perfectly new to him; never knew masters treat their slaves in St. Kitt's with spiteful severity; thinks all masters treat their slaves with compassion, as their most valuable possession, and recollects no instance of severity. By accounts received, thinks the treatment of negroes in St. Kitt's better, if any thing, than while he was there. Every proprietor, of common sense, wishes to breed as many negroes as he can.

291. A Creole negro of equal age and strength, would he thinks, from the knowledge of his good qualities be worth 2 at least, perhaps 3, of new negroes whose qualities the proprietor must be ignorant of.

Managers, in the proprietors' absence, have no reluctance, nor shew any inattention, to rearing and breeding negro children.

The planters generally prefer a single to a married manager, unless the wife happens to be remarkably careful of the negroes.

Does not conceive any want of attention to breeding is consequent on the absence of the proprietors.

Of the 6 estates mentioned in the paper the Report Mr. Ramsay delivered in to the Privy Council, he believes about four of the proprietors never were in the W. Indies in his time; of course, their affairs were left to managers and attorneys. Mr. Molyneux was there for about a year, he believes; Mr. Crook after living long in England, spent a few of the last years of his life in St. Kitt's, where he died.

4,781 was the amount of the Treasurer's account of negroes in St. Kitt's in 1768.

20,435 was the number of negroes in St. Kitt's in 1790.
 788, as sent by the island, and given in to the Part II.
 Privy Council.

Thinks the negroes have certainly more comforts P. 292.
 than the labouring poor of Europe: they do not
 work so hard, and have a master to take care of them
 and their children when sick.

Thinks the effect of the abolition of the slave trade
 on the negroes now in the colonies, would be sedition,
 from a fear that their labour would be greater
 the gang decreased, and there being no hopes of
 assistance from Africa, as heretofore.

Thinks no act could prevent the importation of
 negroes into the English islands; every man would
 naturally assist his neighbour in the common cause.

Thinks, from 6 to 8 pints of flour, beans, &c.
 per week was given to each negro, and herrings from
 6 to 8.

Recollects no criminal proceedings against whites
 for offences against slaves, while he was in the W.
 Indies, but one or two being threatened with prosecutions,
 left the island.

His whole gang was 215; his estate about 250
 acres.

They lost a great many infants, and there were a P. 293.
 great many very old people on the estate when he
 came into possession; the estate is healthy.

Very young children, he thinks, have half allowance;
 recollects having a complaint from some
 others, that they had not time to dress their children's
 food, but having always looked on the breeding women
 as the most valuable of the gang, from their sobriety,
 and always keeping at home, he determined to have
 victuals dressed for their children daily. They came
 for this food punctually, a week or two, or longer;
 but at last they dropped off one by one, and he left off the practice.

Whilst he was in St. Kitt's, Mr. Thomas lost, in a
 year, by a flux, 34 of his best negroes, out of 170

1790. to 200; and Mr. Thomas, he believes, was remarkably careful of his negroes. Does not believe that losses of negroes by epidemics are uncommon in St Kitt's, and knows no means by which these losses could be supplied but from Africa.

Witness examined—THOS. NORBURY KERBY, Esq.

P. 299. A native of Antigua—left it in 1762—returned February 1780—staid till July 1788; was a Member of Assembly till early in 1784, then received mandamus from home to a seat at the Council.

Has 2 sugar plantations; has been attorney for friends at different periods; cannot exactly say how many years the estates had been in his family—but considerable time—and descended to him.

P. 300. Thinks most of the estates in the island want slaves; one of his estates is sufficiently handed, the other not: as to those he is concerned for, some are sufficiently handed, others not.

Thinks there may be as many born as die; but by no means raised to maturity. On one of his estates the increase equals the decrease; on the other, does not: on one for which he is concerned it is equal on the others not; cannot exactly tell the number raised, where the increase equals the decrease, but certainly not all, as many die within nine days of the tetanus.

Believes many die from inattention of the mothers as they are apt to think young children a burden, and a great bar to their pleasures, and to nocturnal meetings and dances.

Having been very unsuccessful in raising children on one of his estates, he built a lying-in hospital, hoping to have the women, lying in, more immediately

lately under the manager's eye, and so greater care 1790.
ould be paid to the little comforts they wanted.—Part II.
ut from the slaves' dispositions, and their great dis-
ke to all confinement, his endeavours had not P. 301.
roved, when he came away, very beneficial; and
e is apt to believe his losses since have still been in
e same proportion.

On arriving in the W. Indies, he found that the
ave-houses on the estate, where they decrease, had
ormerly stood exposed to the N. wind, and that me-
ical men had advised re-building them in a diffe-
ent site, which was directly done; yet his losses
ill continue, though he is confident no estate has
reater attention paid to the slaves in every situation,
articularly to mothers and children.

The negro women are very partial to their own
midwives. A slave in labour, on his own estate, was
eported to him as in danger: he directly went to
er friends, and told them he had sent for a doctor
o give her every help. The answer was, if he
ame he should not attend her, as she preferred the
state midwife. She was delivered before the doctor
ame. Doubts not, losses are sustained from want
f skill in some midwives. Whenever a difficult case
occurs, believes a medical person is always employed.

It is the practice on his estates, and those for
which he has been concerned, to pay the midwife for
every child born;—to encourage the mothers, he
as also made them some present, generally about
Christmas.

Certainly does not ascribe the failure of increase P. 302.
and rearing of children, to hard work, harsh usage,
or improper food of the mother, while pregnant or
afterwards. As soon as a slave says she is with child,
and that hard work would hurt her, every attention
is paid her.

Believes it general to relieve from all hard work
a slave 4 months gone with child; sometimes they
do not lie-in for 6 or 7 months after. They are al-
ways

1790. ways attended by the nurse of the estate and some female friends; and care is taken that they have every necessary. He allows such baby-linen as is wanted.

Part II.

Makes the women bring their children to him at the end of the 4th week, then orders them to such work as he thinks they can bear. Believes a woman never goes to hard work till the end of 6 weeks.—Children of careless mothers are always put under one of the nurses, who pay them every attention, while the mother is in the field.

To the children of other mothers every attention as to food and lodging is paid, though they are not taken from them. The work is always proportioned to the slave's strength. The estates in general, and his own, have not a proportionate number of females. Cannot at all times get out of a cargo, the breeding females wanted: the proportion brought from Africa is very inadequate.

Thinks it would be impossible to keep up the present stock without supply from Africa; and is confident it would be impracticable, if they had an equal number of women, considering the disorders to which persons in the W. Indies are subject, and the dreadful ravages often caused by epidemical ones. In 1779, it was generally thought in the island, and from his own losses verily believes, $\frac{1}{3}$ th of all the negroes died of a dysentery. In 1782 many died by an epidemical pleurisy; in 1783, by the measles; and in 1786, there were heavy losses by the small pox and chin-cough, though every attention was paid to inoculation.

Generally speaking, thinks they may, with propriety, be put to the hardest field-work from 18 to 20; some are more capable of labour sooner. If he should lose any able slaves, before the Creoles reached this age, if the African trade was abolished, a proportion of his land must be uncultivated, or his young negroes be worked too soon. If the trade was not abolished, he would certainly look to Africa for

supply. Thinks every negro brought forward 1790.
 work beyond his strength, must be worn out very Part II.
 rly. His losses in 1779, 82, 3, and 6, have
 t been repaired; though he constantly bought
 ves, when he could, from Africa or elsewhere,
 far as he was able; but, from many bad years,
 w planters were able to repair their losses.

The crops in the island in 1779, 80, and 81, were
 generally very bad: he did not make, in 3 years,
 at he ought to have made in 1.

Thinks, if the crop had been large in 1780 and
 , and there had been no supplies from Africa, it
 ould have been impossible for the slaves then on
 e island to have done the work. If the African
 ade should be abolished, and the island again have
 ch calamitous years as 1779, 82, 3, and 6, great
 rt of the land now cultivated must be neglected.

It has been generally found, that estates which are P. 305
 ft handed, make in proportion the largest crops.

Thinks, were the slave-trade abolished, all the
 ves would be very sorry, as they would be certain
 e work would fall wholly on themselves: It is very
 ell known, they express much satisfaction when
 ey hear of the arrival of slaves, and often ask
 eir masters to buy a few more help-mates.

In July 1788, he paid 42l. for the same kind of
 ve, which in 1787 he bought for 36l.—Which
 attributes entirely to the report of the abolition,
 ich had reached the W. Indies; but should cer-
 nly prefer a Creole, even at an advanced price.

Thinks every planter, who studies his interest
 ould prefer the breeding of slaves to buying Afri-
 ns. Believes planters constantly pay new negroes
 ery attention, and give them necessary time to
 cover from the fatigue of the voyage.

Slaves are lodged in stone, wattled and dawbed,
 d wooden houses, built and kept in repair by the
 aster, or by allowing the slave time to do it:—
 othed by him (speaks of his own estates and those
 he

1790. he directs) with 1 suit of woollen, and 1 of Osna-
 Part II. burs annually.—He always allows from 8 to 12
 measures of grain per week to each slave—from 26
 to 36lbs. of yams or eddoes;—from 4 to 8 herrings
 according to the age, or from 2 to 3lbs. of salt-fish.
 They have also dry salt. Every estate gives each
 slave yams or flour, with salt beef or pork at Christ-
 mas, beyond the weekly allowance, and 3 holidays.
 Believès it a general rule on every well-regulated
 estate to give any slave that applies for additional
 food, such help as he appears to want, without re-
 spect to weather. In bad weather, the whole gang
 have grog,—and when working hard.

He gives allowance to every one on his estates
 and those under his care, according to their ages.
 On every estate land is allotted for the slaves, which
 P. 307. they cultivate for their sole benefit. All may raise
 small stock, goats and hogs, which they dispose of
 entirely as their own. Never knew a case where the
 money arising from them was considered but entirely
 as the slave's own.

Men of war, and merchant-ships are constantly
 supplied on Sundays with vegetables, the slaves pro-
 perty;—on other days it is usual to send vegetables
 to market by the slaves, on the owner's account;—
 the small stock, goats, and hogs are chiefly the
 slave's property, and with which the shipping is
 chiefly supplied.—The people of St. John's have
 their small stock and vegetables chiefly in the same
 way as the shipping.—It is common for masters to
 buy stock from their slaves, and pay as much as
 other persons.

Remembers a slave giving 200l. for his freedom.
 Also knows many who spend annually from 10l. to
 15l.

One afternoon weekly is allowed to the slaves out
 of crop, to work their own grounds,—sometimes in
 crop, but not constantly.

They hold every Sunday a market to sell their
 produce and stock.

Ever

Every estate has an hospital for the sick, who are 1790.
 attended by a medical man and proper nurses,—sup- Part II.
 plied with every requisite, and never sent to work
 without the doctor's sanction. A doctor is constantly
 employed at a certain rate for each slave; attends
 twice a week, is liable to be sent for whenever ne-
 cessary—paid also for fractures, midwifery, vene-
 reals, &c.

Thinks the slave enjoys full as many comforts
 as the English labourer, in some respects more; as
 he is sure of being taken care of in sickness, and has
 not the anxiety of providing perhaps for a wife and
 young family.

The usual punishment of slaves is, whipping
 for petty thefts, such as breaking open negro-houses,
 stores, and stealing from other slaves;—for higher
 offences they are tried by 2 justices, one being of
 the quorum, and 6 white jurors balloted for out of
 2, and punished according to the offence. A master
 generally inflicts from 10 to 39 lashes for the offences
 he takes cognizance of.

Believes no planter ever thinks of engaging an over- P. 309.
 seer, without enquiring his character, and if cruel,
 he is never employed.

An overseer is never allowed to punish except by
 an occasional lash at work, and that generally over
 his clothes;—on ill behaviour he complains to the
 manager. Every man tries to get a manager of infor-
 mation and education, with whom to trust his pro-
 perty, and he is generally associated with by gentle-
 men. Has himself discharged an overseer and a ma-
 nager for cruelty;—the last could get no employ-
 ment afterwards, and was obliged to leave the island.

Thinks holing (which lasts about 3 months) and
 lunging the hardest work; though in crop the slaves
 work many more hours.

The dung is carted to the land's side, and thence
 carried by the slaves in small baskets, on their heads,
 to the holes. The slaves carry them with the greatest
 Numb. 2. P apparent

1790. apparent ease, as that is the usual mode of carrying Part II. weights.

It would be impossible to distribute the dung another way.

Heat appears congenial to the slaves—never knew one complain of it—has often seen them bask in the sun in the heat of the day, when they might have been in their houses.

Thinks it morally impossible for Europeans to do the necessary field labour—for he twice made trial, one with a gardener, the other a carter—after a very short time, not above a fortnight, they each gave up their offices, finding the climate too severe.

Knows the military always complain of the heat if kept out any length of time. It is the opinion of all the officers with whom he has conversed, that it is too fatiguing for the men to be out, except evenings and mornings. Recollects the regt. quartered in Antigua were obliged to carry their provisions from the king's stores to the barracks, and in a few weeks it was necessary to give them a cart, the work being too severe, though it was not $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile on level ground.

Knows the plough has been used by some, but found not to answer.

P. 311. His slaves cost him 5*l.* per annum each, besides the yams he raises, which generally feed them between 4 and 5 months; and wine, fresh meat, &c. for the sick.

Were it possible by the plough, &c., to lessen in the least the slave's labour, or the expence, certainly the planter would most readily adopt it.

Recollects another slave, worth 180*l.*, partly inherited, considerable part got by his industry—he thinks, because he was a valuable tradesman, and had constant employ. He who gave, as mentioned 200*l.* for his freedom, was a mason.

P. 312. When he spoke of many slaves spending from 10 to 15*l.* per annum, he alluded to field, as well as house

ouse-slaves. The last acquire their property from 1790. selling their stock, roots, and fruit. These sell at a Part. II. moderate price, compared with the same or similar articles here.

One of his estates consists of 120 acres of cane land, the gang 152; the other of 222 acres, gang 37.

Cannot state the proportion of infants, &c.; but thinks there are about 22 domesticks on the estate where he resides, besides about five more, who wait on the manager and overseer; on the other, about 8 tend on them.

Were he to speak of the acres in an estate in Anguilla, he should include every part.

The proportion of slaves' provision-grounds varies P. 313. almost every estate: on one of his, the provision-ground is large; on the other, very small.

The ground-provision is the produce of a part of the master's land allotted for raising provisions for the whole gang. Every negro family, he believes, has a piece of ground for raising provisions, universally through Antigua.

On one of his estates, where there are the most slaves, he thinks the land for the whole gang not above from 3 acres; on the other, about 4. Some of it adjoins the negro huts, or within a stone's throw; the rest is at some little distance.

As far as he saw, each hut has between 14 to 18 feet square, which is the quantity on his estates on which the slaves generally allot to stock-pens, and to provisions—some plant fruit trees.

The provision land, divided among the slaves, is not the best, but answers for provisions.

Believes a slave sells full as much provision of his own growth as he uses; but as they are generally fond of new provision, they often sell their allowed gain, and eat part of the provisions they raise themselves. In 82, many of his own told him, they often got a dollar a week for the vegetables they sold in the hurricane months to the shipping.

1790. While he lived in the W. Indies, he often knew
 Part II. the slaves' provisions, as well as the masters', much
 } hurt by bad weather and winds—in that case they
 have an extra allowance.

The slave commonly gets his property by selling
 his produce, allowed grain and stock, and, from his
 industry in the time allotted him to rest, has often
 known field slaves earn $\frac{1}{2}$ a crown a day as porters—
 particularly Sunday, that being considered as entirely
 his own.

P. 315. No field work is ever allowed on Sundays. Me-
 chanics, he believes, work almost every Sunday, if
 they can get work. It is very usual in crop for slaves
 to thatch, on Sundays, negro houses.

No master has a right to exact any work, ever
 trifling, from his slave on a Sunday without pay.

In crop the slaves' hogs are generally fed with the
 canes they carry away; the goats with grass, &c.; the
 poultry with grain. He speaks of canes, ground
 and unground, especially the last; though slaves
 are not allowed to take a large quantity of canes ne-
 ground, it is done very constantly.

Considers the yearly expence of 5l. each slave, ex-
 clusive of ground-provision, to begin nearly from
 the birth, as he regularly gives food and cloathing
 from that time; but it was on an average, of old and
 young.

P. 316. The chief articles in this estimate are food, cloth-
 ing, doctor's charges, and parish and public taxes
 which begin at birth, continue through life, and are
 considerable.

Some free negroes work as tradesmen in town
 but in general they prefer sedentary business.

Has bought new negroes, in various lots; the
 largest, he thinks, not above 16. Bought as many
 females as possible, and preferred young persons.
 Thinks the last 2 lots were all under 15. Many were
 only fit for children's work.

It is not very common to get a lot of slaves,
 young

ung; nor should he, had not a friend wished for 1790.
ults; they therefore accommodated each other. Part II.

The buyer may reject any slaves out of any lot;
d the seller never obliges him to take more than he P. 317.

shes; but then the price is often raised. Believes
ar relations, appearing to be so, are never parted.
confident no near ones were parted by his and his
end's purchase; but in his lot there were 2 sisters
d 2 brothers.

Thinks a Creole slave so much more desirable, as
ing attached to the soil, than an African, that the
pence can never be worth any planter's attention;
ough he believes by the time a Creole comes to
aturity, he costs as much, if not more.

Believes the motives for pressing an act for regu-
ting the trial of criminal slaves by jury, originated
om all the magistrates thinking it too great an un-
dertaking to sit, both as judge and jury, on any per-
n's life.

Never heard any bad effects resulted from the
rmer modes of trial.

It certainly was generally understood that slaves
ere protected by the common law of England. A P. 318.

ave of his had been ill-treated by a young man with-
ut any provocation: he thought it his duty to apply
a magistrate: the man was bound over; but
rough some of his friends the matter was made up,
the particular request of the slave, to whom he
ade satisfactory recompence: but for this he should
certainly have prosecuted him to the utmost. The
ave was a cooper, and coming home from St. John's,
he young man very wantonly rode against him; and
n the slave's remonstrating, beat him.

The slave applied to him directly.

From every information he has gained, the regu-
ting act has certainly tended materially to raise the
rice of slaves.

Speaking within his own knowledge, does not
now any alteration in the treatment of slaves.

The

1790. The Moravian and Methodist preachers have applied themselves very zealously and successfully in the
 Part II. conversion of negroes in Antigua; and having built
 P. 319. proper meeting houses, all the slaves are encouraged by their masters to attend.

The general effect on the converts has been a more decent behaviour and religious attendance; and most are become Christians.

Before the Moravians and Methodists came to the island, the negroes very generally attended all the churches, and they considered themselves as influenced to pursue the doctrine they heard; but from their having had greater attention paid them by the Moravians and Methodists, he thinks, they are much more enlightened than they were.

Managers have often slaves, (their own). Some wait on them: others are often hired to work with the gang of the estate they manage.

The lives of slaves are full as long as those of free negroes, but not quite so long as that of whites that do not work. Has know negroes live to a great age.
 P. 320. Doubts not slaves would live much longer, if less debauched.

From the situation of his estate close to the sea where there are most slaves, they want land less than on the other, by being most plentifully supplied with fresh fish from the sea, and the guts adjoining.

A young healthy Creole slave is generally put to the hard work of an estate at Antigua, about the age of 18.

The island is subject to frequent long droughts sometimes succeeded by great rains. Recollects no rain of consequence from Feb. 80, when he arrived there, to Oct. and he understood, before his arrival the island in general had wanted rain many months he has just received from thence similar accounts. Various epidemics often follow such a change from drought to moisture.
 P. 321.

Understands epidemics have lately raged there and many have died. On some estates it has been more

ore fatal; on one estate, of 240 slaves, 12 died in 1790.
 ry few days; and at different times from 20 to 30 PART II.
 dangerously ill.

Certainly does not think it possible, under such circumstances, for a planter, the most successful in rearing Creoles, to carry on his usual cultivation without interruption, unless he can buy new slaves to supply the occasional losses of slaves by these epidemics.

Witness examined.—Doctor SAMUEL ATHILL.

Was born in Antigua. First left it 1764, re-P. 321.
 ned to it 1779. Was in the assembly 5 years,
 and appointed counsellor 1786.

Practised physic there, and attended from 8 to P. 322.
 100 negroes. Had so much per head yearly, and
 und to attend when called on (at times, twice
 ay) besides 1 or 2 visits weekly. Had extra pay
 laborious deliveries, fractures, &c.

Possesses 2 estates in Antigua.

By far the greater part of estates there were under-
 ended. Some few perhaps had more slaves than P. 323.
 y wanted.

As a medical man and a planter, thinks births
 y equal deaths, but the number raised does not
 al the decrease; negro children are liable to the
 y-fall; few had it on his own estates; on those
 which he attended, he was never called for it, death
 flowing so quickly: Thinks the cold and damps
 y are exposed to, by their mothers night rambles
 one great cause why children are not reared;
 which the owners cannot remedy; they do what they
 by exempting nursing women from throwing
 gs at night, or other work which the rest are oc-
 casionally forced to: Many other causes prevent
 children being reared; unhealthy situation of an
 estate, its nearness to a town or port: On one of his
 estates

1790. estates far from town, his slaves increased; on
 Part II. other estates near English harbour, fewer children
 are born and raised, from the excesses of both sexes,
 P. 324. at that port.

Great attention was paid to rearing children on the estates he attended; a good slave, when settled and had several children, is always careful of them, and is encouraged by her master; many owners give midwives rewards on births. He gives a dollar. Pregnant women seemed more likely to suffer from indolence, than hard work: As soon as they are with themselves with child, and often long before, they withdraw from work; and he has found it difficult to get them to attend the field merely to look on; which he always insisted on, to prevent their carrying heavy burdens to market, or doing other injurious work for themselves. When brought to bed, on the estates, she has any nursing woman she chooses, to attend her the first 9 days: She has sugar, oatmeal, &c. daily, and often candles and other indulgences. Never works till her month is up, and then she does not turn out till the sun is well up, and retires before it is down: She has the child with her in the time which she attends, as it cries; so that the work

P. 325. a nursing woman is very trifling indeed.

Where he has ordered wine, animal food, or other indulgencies, has no reason to think they were withheld.

The dysentery was epidemic in Antigua in 1779, 1780, and carried off nearly 1 5th of the slaves. On his estate, east-part of the island he lost 10, being a healthy situation, on his other estate he lost more.

Every medical exertion was used to stop the progress of this distemper.

Has known food scarce from a long drought: the owner gave less food, the work must have been less, and his wants kept pace with the slaves: for his last 5 years residence, the island has been more flourishing, and he has seen no signs of scar-

The scarcity from the drought mentioned, was in 1790.
war-time, when the whites also suffered very much. Part II.

Has in the course of his practice, generally found
the negroes in health, spirits, and seemingly content,
and when he noticed their houses want repair,
in mentioning it to the manager, it was done.

Does not recollect being called to attend any slave
in consequence of a punishment; though had it happened,
thinks he must have known of it. For great
faults they are oftener confined, which they mind
more than chastisement.

New slaves are generally very much indulged.
From the want of slaves, he thinks there is not
now of females.

The abolition of the slave trade would certainly
increase the difficulty of keeping up the stock; a few
states on the island, not very much weakened by
mortality, may never require an African slave, but
supposes those must originally have had most women.

The loss of 1779 is not yet repaired, the bad
crops which followed disabled most from buying,
and within these 2 or 3 years.

Many must have stopped cultivation, had the African
trade been abolished, as task work would have
been so high as to prevent them from doing it that
day, nor could the cultivation have been carried on
then by this mode. For task work being at 7l. 10s.
per acre, instead of 4l. 10s. as prior to 1779, the
land must be concluded still very much underhanded.

As a medical man and a planter, thinks the slaves
could not be kept up by breeding; some estates
are unhealthy, and have other circumstances unfavourable,
which makes him doubt if, by any means,
the increase could be made equal to the decrease:
the planter would constantly prefer breeding,
negroes being preferable to Africans.

Thinks estates could not be cultivated otherwise than
at present: The number of slaves required in crop,
could not be otherwise supplied: Whites could not
Numb. 2.

Q

do

1790. do the work : Plough-men and boys were brought
 Part II. out to estates where the plough was tried ; but they
 could not stand the labour there.

P. 328. Never heard a negro complain of heat, but often
 of cold.

Thinks the plough cannot be used in Antigua, where it has been tried in situations most favourable, it has always been given up. The planter would certainly adopt any mode tending to lessen expence and his slave's labour.

In crop, the first work in the morning is cutting canes, in which all that can be, are mustered; when there is enough cut to put the mill about, 3 able men attend it, and 5 or 7 younger hand them canes; when 2 coppers of juice are ground, 2 more strong men are called as fire-men, and 2 boilers; as more juice is collected, more men are called, and there are generally 7 boilers, and 4 fire-men on a moderate estate with 9 coppers; amounting, with those in the distillery, to 20 or 30, when the work is brisk; if that few are left to cut canes, drive the cart, and do the other work, except on very well-handled estates: Such an estate with 9 coppers, should produce 200 Hhds. of sugar a year.

P. 329. The number of slaves in the boiling-house is no proportionate to the size of the estate, the produce or number of slaves; for, some, over-rating the property, may have erected buildings for 200 Hhds. when perhaps it does not turn out 60; but still, the coppers being there, are used and attended.

On estates weakly handed, the canes are cut by the whole gang one day, and manufactured the next.

Canes should be cut just when ripe, when let stand longer, 'tis to the Planters great loss: If not ground immediately, in a few days they sour, and are fit only to make rum.

It often happens, that the persons who are employed in cutting the canes, attend the boiling-house afterwards to a late hour; but they do not in general

ral turn out with the gang to hard labour the next morning. 1790.
Part II.

Though cane cutting is laborious, he does not think it one of the hardest services of the plantation; it is done with such alacrity and good spirits that it seems trifling; women do it with as much seeming ease as the men: The instrument used is a bill, a good cane is from 5 to 8 feet long, it is cut down at the root, then the top is taken off, and, if too long to go into the cart, cut in two; young slaves and women with young children, attend to bundle up the canes as they are cut.

Distilling begins 10, 15 or 20 days after the first canes are cut, and lasts through the crop, conducted by a skilful negro, with 4 assistants under the direction of the manager.

The act intitled "An act for settling and regulating the trial of criminal slaves by jury" was passed, to relieve a hardship complained of by magistrates, two of whom (one being of the quorum) sit in judgement upon the slaves for all crimes, thus acting as judge and jury; it was also thought more effectual justice would be done the criminal by a jury.

Ascribes tetanus in young children to a premature exposure to cold, but is of opinion that so many do not die of it even as owners think; none die within the 9th day, but it is said to be of the jaw fall; though it is natural to suppose that many die from the same causes which cut off white children.

His estate on the windward part of the island is 200 acres; 200 in canes, 30 in provisions, the rest pasture: his other in Falmouth divisions, near English harbour is 220 acres; 100 in canes, 20 in provisions, the rest pasture. On the largest he has 220 slaves, of which about 80 are field slaves, on the other 110 or 115 slaves.

Some of the provision ground is planted with Guinea corn by the whole gang, and the produce reserved for the use of the estate; the rest is divided among the slaves at the rate of about 70 feet square

1790. per head; as he had so much land, his provision
 Part II. grounds in general were larger than common, as
 they had more if they pleased; yams and eddoes
 were besides annually raised in the cane land.

Besides the produce of their own grounds, they
 had from 8 to 12 measures (of about a pint each) per
 head, or 26 to 30 pounds of yams each, a week
 such as look ill are fed twice or thrice a day; at
 dinner they have a very full meal.

P. 332. From the produce of their grounds, their goats,
 hogs, and poultry, an industrious family both live
 and dress well.

The pasture ground is allotted for feeding cattle,
 mules and sheep: a large herd of cattle requires
 men and 2 young boys, mules one man, and sheep
 2 boys. On his windward estate he had fewer
 one man, on the other he kept no sheep, and one man
 and 2 boys were enough to attend the cattle and
 mules.

It requires an able and trust-worthy slave to attend
 the pasture grounds.

The potatoe raised by the slaves is thought to exhaust
 the land more than any other root; on estates where
 almost the whole land is in canes, the provision ground
 is taken in exchange for the same quantity of new
 land once in 2 or three years, to the mutual advantage
 of owner and slave: the slaves are always pleased
 with the exchange, as new land yields them more.

When their ground provisions fail, which is often
 P. 333. their allowed food is increased; he never gave, as
 general allowance, more than 12 pints, but generally
 gave what more was asked.

Thinks the annual expence of a slave from 8l.
 8l. currency; in war it was fully 8l.

On his estate at windward, his slaves increase; on
 the other at Falmouth, he placed 20 slaves in the 1790
 9 years, and the number does not now exceed what
 was then.

Never bought more than 8 Africans, and those

lot; 7 males and 1 female, all about 15 years of age, from the windward coast. ^{1790.} Part II.

Never heard it doubted, that breeding is more profitable than burying to the planter.

In the scarcity before mentioned, large orders for provisions were sent to Great Britain, and supplies had to be got from the neighbouring islands: quantities of beans, flour, and Indian corn were got from Antigua, bad, and exorbitantly dear. P. 334.

He desires, in consequence of more maturely considering a calculation made and communicated to him by the late Alderman Oliver, to state sterling for currency in his preceding estimate of a slave's annual cost for maintenance in war time, when every article of food is dearer, as is also the freight and insurance. P. 335.

The various sorts of ground provisions, are yams, the most material, and most productive in a light soil, such as the east, north east and north west parts of the island; eddoes, which do best in a strong or clay soil, Guinea and American corn, which grows in either, and Plantanes, which do best in rich and moist bottoms and near rivulets, cannot therefore be raised with advantage in Antigua as a material article of food; worms hurt every species of provision but it.

In case ground provisions fail, planters have generally a quantity of beans from England, for an emergency, which are kiln dried, and keep a long time: in peace never knew Indian corn altogether wanting at market; it is subject to be hurt by the weevil, and soon gets musty.

The W. I. islands suffered much when the American ports were shut; and even the average price of grain from thence is nearly double what it was before the war: then it might be had for 5s.; now they ask 8s. 3d. or 9s. per bushel. P. 336.

Slaves have not suffered from this circumstance; believes they never were better fed in Antigua than for the last five years: more yams and eddoes have been raised, more beans imported, and there has been

1790. been always American grain at market, though at a higher price than before.

Part II. { The cane requires regular rains, the yam will do with less; but in October, when appling, it must have rain; the eddoes require much rain: the uncertainty in raising American corn makes it, he thinks, come higher than buying: the pastures require constant rains.

P. 337. Guinea grass is raised in particular spots, and in the intervals between cane pieces; being more attended to than the general pasture, it can do with less rain, but continued dry weather often kills it.

Does not know there has been any material improvement in the economy and management of a sugar estate of late years.

In case of the abolition of the slave trade, thinks a considerable number of slaves could be introduced into ours, from the neighbouring islands.

Slaves live to as great an age in the W. Indies as whites: on most estates old age is spent in a comfortable and easy way.

P. 337. When they deem themselves superannuated, they do no work for their master; before that, their work is light; they act as assistant nurses for the sick and for children, and wash or cook for the overseers: he had 15 or 16 of the first description at Windward, an old settled estate, and the gang chiefly Creoles; on the other, he had not about two; being near English Harbour, the slaves there lead a more debauched life than the others; are not so healthy, nor live so long: of the second class, can't say how many he had.

P. 338.

Slaves are often long lived in Antigua: never knew a slave abandoned by his owner, because unfit for labour from age or disease.

An able field-slave watches canes, &c.—an old slave sometimes lives in the negro grounds and plantain walks to guard them; in that case, his hut is made more durable and comfortable than the common watch-houses.

The

The late advance of price on slaves, he believes, 1790.
been on males and females alike. Part II.

Formerly, he believes, the slaves thought little of
igion, and few were Christians; many now attend
urches and meetings, and most are baptized, from
settling of Moravian and Methodist teachers in
island; the former have two good chapels, are
entive to their duty, and lead exemplary lives.
mpossible to keep up stock without importation. P. 339.
Never knew a black ploughman in Antigua. P. 340.
It is from the excessive heat that he thinks a white
apable of field labour in the W. Indies. Thinks
medium heat at Antigua may be about 80° of
thenheit.

Several estates have a white overseer, who turns
with the slaves in the morning, calls a list, and
s that each is at work, attends the great gang part
the forenoon, when, from the great heat, he re-
ts, and if at a distance, has a mule to carry him
ne; in the afternoon, he calls the list again, and
erlooks the work.

Never saw a white whom he thought could hole;
ertain they could not stand the office of fireman,
boiler.

White domestics have so many negroes about them,
t they soon become gentlemen; and believes they
generally deemed useless: knew but two cases
ere they were tried, in both they became sots,
al were sent back.

For one European blacksmith in a shop, there are P. 341.
blacks, who do the drudgery; they are not healthy
long lived.

The cutting of canes is so easy, that often more
n one cane is brought down by a stroke of the

Though in crop the slaves work harder, yet are
y incomparably more chearful than at other times,
al are much healthier after a long than a short
p.

1790. In Antigua, they cool down their coppers every night, but not immediately after sun-set; at an average about 9 or 10 o'clock; seldom begin boiling before sun-rise; hence the slaves have time to rest if they chuse.

Townpeople who have no plantations, and keep horses, are furnished with provender by the negroes of the neighbouring estates, who carry it in for sale at noon and evening, to a great amount; grass, bought, will cost 2s. 3d., or 2s. 6d. sterl. a day for horse, besides oats.

Those townpeople, also the troops and ships' war, are furnished with vegetables, hogs, and poultry, by managers, by some owners who make it an object; but chiefly, he believes, by the slaves; some poultry is imported from America.

Slaves have the entire property of what they gain by their industry; never heard of an owner interfering in any degree with the property of a slave so acquired.

From the observation he has made of the labour treatment, and general state of the slaves in Antigua, he scruples not to declare, that he thinks the negro and his family happier, and much freer from care and misery, than the peasantry in many parts of the country.

ALEXANDER WILLOCK, Esq.

P. 343. Resided 36 years in Antigua, (except in England 18 months, p. 356); had estates there, and was attorney for others; returned to England in 1781.

Most estates wanted hands, especially after the fatal year 1779, before which his estates were full-handed. His stock at first was mostly Africans; increased by births till 1779, when on two of his estates, of above 500, he lost 50 by fluxes from Au

Nov. The general loss was computed at 4,500 ^{1790.}
more.

Several negroes have been since imported, but
ere is still a great deficiency: he happened to be ^{Part II.}
well stocked as to want no supply. Less sugar ^{P. 344.}
ust have been made, had no new slaves come; and
ould a similar misfortune befall the island, and the
opies from Africa cut off, several persons must
andon their estates.

He has been lately informed from the island, that
c. and Jan. last were remarkably sickly, and many
ves were lost: in confirmation, he produced an
tract of a letter from a Mr. Lovell to his wife, ^{P. 345.}
ed Antigua, 14th Jan. 1790, which says, that all
c. had been dreadful sickly among the negroes:
some estates more fatal than on others; and that
Mr. Brookes's estate (Pope's Head) 12 out of 240
re lost; 30 or 40 down together on the Wood
ate.

Says, that in the sickness in 1779 every attention, ^{P. 346.}
dical and other, was shewn; that himself called
o surgeons, in aid of the proper one of the estate,
told them, that they could not put him to too
ch expence for the negroes.

Does not think estates in general have females
w; he bought a great many.

Thinks the present stock of slaves in Antigua
ld not be kept up by breeding.

Breeding is more profitable than buying, one
ole being worth 3 Africans.

Slaves are, in general, fed, cloathed, and lodged,
their owners; their food is corn, beans, rice,
rings, at times pork, flour, biscuit, or beef; they
e also provision grounds, and are allowed to keep ^{P. 347.}
many fowls and hogs as they please. He allows
h slave generally an afternoon a week (which was
the general practice, p. 354) to work their
unds, where they often employ a part of the hour
half they have at dinner time.

1790. Has known several slaves acquire money : a male slave of his bought of him two slaves.
 Part II. A slave of his refused his freedom, saying, w
 men would beat him, and he should have no m
 to help him.

Has known many slaves reach old age.

He takes dunging, in baskets of about 25 lb
 all, to be the hardest field work : they always
 P. 348. cheerfully, for he generally gave them grog.
 basket of dung is not the greatest weight a slave
 be required to carry — a firkin of butter will w
 70lb.

Their houses are from 25 to 30 feet long,
 two rooms : they are provided with cabins to
 on and covering.

Produce depends considerably on the number
 hands. He bought an estate with 120 slaves
 made about 70 hogheads of sugar ; there is
 350 slaves on it, and it averages 150 hogheads

P. 349. Breeding is not obstructed by hard labour
 usage ; he exempts his women, when they do
 their pregnancy, from all hard labour ; lying-in
 have every indulgence, and any negro they ch
 attend them ; he gives the midwife a dollar (8
 currency) for each child that lives 9 days. M
 suredly the master does his utmost to prefer
 children.

As to the effect the abolition of the slave
 may have on the negroes, he dreads it abo
 things ; thinks that so soon as they knew that
 would be no more imported, they would destr
 whites ; there are, he reckons, 15 to 1 in Anti

Negroes rejoice on the arrival of a ship which
 pens to have slaves from their part of Africa

He carried out 2 ploughs from England in
 by advice of a Mr. Baldwyn, but they did n
 P. 350. ceed. No whites could stand the climate in
 work ; never employed any ; never knew a co
 dug by a white ; has known some employ
 gardeners, were obliged to give it up. Th

ites are so drunken, there is no dependence on 1790.
m. Part II.

Dung could not be carried through the cane fields
carts, (to ease the slaves), the carts would destroy
cane holes.

Has 2 sugar estates in Antigua; one in the Body
Division of 450 acres, 250 in canes and 200 in pas-
ture and provisions, (p. 352) bought in 1768, with
slaves; he continued to add to these by purchase
in 1781; with an increase of 230 slaves and 30
acres he highly improved it, and raised the produce
in 70 hogsheads a year to 150 hogsheads on an
average of 7 years, (p. 353). His other estate in
Pe's-Head Division is of 130 acres, 90 in canes
and 40 in pasture and provisions, bought in 1777,
with 130 slaves; lost 25 in 1779; bought none;
there is now 100, which are sufficient, the land be- P. 351.
light, work easy; (the proportion of cane land
each the same as when bought, p. 352.)

Had more males than females; men are necessary
boilers, tradesmen, carters, and watchmen.

Thinks the planters are fortunate who, upon an
settled estate, have two-thirds of their slaves
workers (including the grass gang) from 6 or 7 to
5 years old; of the other one-third, one-fifth may
be supposed above 55.

Was factor for all the sales at which he bought P. 352.
slaves; never bought more than 50 at once; always
divide them between the age of 10 and 25, but if
old parents in the lot, bought them; never sepa-
rated relations. As a factor, never suffered a family
to be separated; if a buyer had laid out a lot of
slaves, and it was afterwards known they had rela-
tions in the cargo, he insisted the buyer should take
them also, or give up the others. Has bought slaves
from Bonny, the Windward Coast, and chiefly from
the Gold Coast.

On his largest estate his slaves have 10 to 15 acres
provision ground, and often a cane piece of about
10 acres for further provision. On the other estate P. 353.
they

1790. they have about 10 acres. At both the manager lay
 Part II. out the ground in proportion to each family. Cane
 { holes are 2 feet, sometimes 4 afunder. His working
 slaves had generally from 12 to 14 pints of corn
 with about 5 herrings, per week; the others from 8
 to 10 pints, with about 4 herrings: about one-third
 of the gang were generally fed from the pot; those
 so fed may have about 21 pints of corn or beans
 with herrings, beef, or pork, in the pot per week
 sometimes they have rice twice a day, which is de-
 ducted from the 21 pints of grain. (The stoutest of
 the pot gang had also provision ground. The over-
 seers were directed, when any negro had neglected
 to bring his breakfast to the field with him, to stop
 his allowance, and feed him from the pot: this
 though they got more food by it, they reckoned
 disgrace, as treating them like new negroes. p. 354.

After great damage by a hurricane in 1772 he en-
 larged his works.

P. 354. The excess, over the usual allowance which the
 pot gang had, was much more than equal to the pro-
 duce of the ordinary lots of provision ground.

Slaves near towns can pick grafts, and sell it in the
 market from 2d. to 6d. per bundle.

General allowance of food in Antigua not equal to
 his; but where he directed, he kept it up as much
 as he could.

When the supplies from America were cut off, he
 did not give an ounce less food to his slaves, though
 the article sometimes cost him thrice the price.

The ground provisions are, yams, eddoes, Guinea
 and Indian corn, potatoes, and cassada; all which
 often fail in drougths, to which they are subject
 but the provisions and indulgences he gives his slaves
 are sufficient without them.

The hardiest ground provisions are cassada, Guinea
 and Indian corn.

It was not general in Antigua to allow the slaves
 an afternoon to themselves.

P. 355. Heretofore he thinks there was no protection for
 th

the slaves against masters and others; but since he ^{1790.}
 came home he is told there is an act in the island, ^{Part II.}
 that whites, using a slave ill, are brought to sessions,
 the owner prosecutes. Has known slaves beat by
 whites (not their masters) without redress; but slaves
 are now much better used than when he first went to
 the island in 1745, and their good conduct deserves
 as they are much more civilised, and often go to
 church and methodist meetings on Sunday.

Has heard the slaves instructed at methodist meet-
 ings to be attentive and obedient to their masters,
 with other good advice: never knew the regular
 clergy pay any particular attention to them. (Has
 heard that the Society for propagating the Gospel sent
 missionaries out to convert the slaves, p. 357.)

Thinks a humane master cannot do worse by a
 slave than to free him.

Had 33 domestics on the Body-Division estate, P. 356.
 (none on the other), viz. 5 footmen, 2 cooks, 8
 washerwomen, 3 sempstresses, 5 small stock-keepers,
 grooms, 6 women with child, and 2 aged females;
 no town house; had many more than was generally
 kept by people of the same rank, owing to his hav-
 ing many children. (Thinks no family in the island
 kept so many domestics, p. 358.)

Reared most of his negro children from the encou-
 ragement to the midwives, and attention to the mo-
 thers.

Slaves of 6 or 7 years are put under the charge of
 a careful old woman, and pick grass merely to keep
 them employed.

From the increase of slaves and the mules upon P. 347.
 his estates, he planted more canes than his prede-
 cessor.

Provisions have advanced in Antigua 150 per cent.
 on an average, since the supplies from America were
 cut off.

The slaves near the towns and English Harbour
 have a good deal of traffic by their small stock, yams,
 &c.: they supply also the troops and ships of war.

W.INDIES.—Witness examined—R. HIBBERT, Esq;

1790.
Part II.

A native of this country, resided about 18 years in Jamaica, left it September 1789, was a merchant, P. 360. knew the management of plantations there, was owner also of estates there, and has had charge of others.

Is certain Jamaica cannot be cultivated by Europeans; for no European could bear constant exposure to the heat, still less when labouring. The soldiers are allowed black pioneers to carry wood, water, &c. The officers have told him the mortality has since decreased much.

P. 361. A sugar estate, at the present prices, could not afford proper food and accommodation for the necessary number of European labourers.

There are a great number of free negroes and tradesmen, of whom many do nothing.

There is occasionally a necessity for more than can be done by the plantation negroes. Never knew free negroes offer to do field labour; has known them offer themselves as tradesmen.

The plough is used in Jamaica, he thinks, whenever it can advantageously, from nature of soil and surface, &c. in most of the islands it cannot be used; where it has been long used, has known it often worked by negroes. Such parts as may be cultivated with advantage, are far from being all so.

P. 362. Many estates with full value paid, and extensive works built, are only partly settled; must be thrown up, or continued with loss, if owners are deprived of the means of cultivation. Much land is uncultivated.

Thinks some uncultivated land unfit for sugar, or coffee, cotton, &c. but a large part would do well for coffee.

Lessening

Lessening the duties on British plantation coffee 1790.
 has caused many, who could not settle as sugar Part II.
 plantation, to buy some wood-land and a few slaves,
 and open and till it successfully. Thinks they shall
 thus gain many useful citizens of the middle class,
 who will add to the safety and happiness of the
 island, and increase the commerce and revenue of
 the mother country. Such settlements cannot be
 made without negroes. Thinks the old settlements,
 if stripped for this end, must suffer in proportion;
 and thinks the new ones, mostly in their infancy, P. 363.
 must be thrown up, or cultivated to certain loss.

Believes the present cultivation of Jamaica cannot
 be kept up without annual importation of
 negroes. The negroes generally decrease on sugar
 estates; for, in most, males exceed females. Infants
 are subject to the locked jaw, in a few days after
 birth; and the young women have indiscriminate
 intercourse with the men. The adult are subject to
 the yaws, and every disorder as Europeans. Fluxes
 are often caused by improper food; and sometimes
 after hurricanes proper cannot be had. Recollects
 great mortality among the negroes from such
 causes; lost about a sixth of about 120 in two or
 three weeks, on a small estate in parish of Clarendon,
 by a flux so caused, though the best help in the
 island was applied. Does not recollect, if confined
 to his own estate, or general at that time; but it P. 364.
 was general after every hurricane he saw. If such
 disorders, with putrid fever, are common, after
 every rain succeeding long drought, he thinks they
 arise from improper food. Some die of them.

The Jamaica report, of 1788, proves the proportion
 of imported males and females has been for
 many years as 5 to 3. It differs much on sugar
 estates; in general, males exceed one fourth at least,
 which is certainly one cause of the decrease.

Cannot state the general proportion of deaths and
 births; has had many years estates of his own, and
 others

1790. others under his care, and does not recollect on Part II. case of births equal to deaths, though all attention was paid, and no excessive labour required.

Thinks every attention generally given to pregnant women, on plantations known to him. There may be instances to the contrary: knows none.

In general, the locked jaw among children fatal.—A native is of more value than an African certainly for planters' benefit to encourage their rearing. Slaves are often so reduced by diseases, &c. as to make it needful to purchase or hire fresh.

Thinks such estates could not be kept up without fresh imports. Sugar estates so reduced, could not be put to other use with equal profit; in some cases might do for pasture, or cotton, but the works and appendages would be of little or no use. Thinks coffee, indigo or pimento could not be raised on old sugar land; that it must be thrown up as such, not to be used in another way, to anything like the same gain.

Never heard domestic negroes in the island computed. In towns, the principal families he knew have from 10 to 30; in the country, in general barely what is necessary. Does not think if all the domesticks were turned into the field, fresh importations would be unnecessary. It is mostly thought a punishment. Many would be so hurt in their spirits by such change, as to be of very little use even if their numbers were greater.

He is a member of the assembly.—A duty of 30s. currency on every negro imported is imposed by the legislature; 20s. paid by buyer, 10s. by importer makes part of the island fund for subsistence of the king's troops; quite independant of their English pay. Believes, if Great Britain should forbid importation of Africans, they would want rather power than will to continue it; that the plantation only partly settled, must depopulate the small settlements, or be thrown up; and that the full-handed plantation

plantations (the sexes being in general badly as- 1790.
 sorted) would naturally, in time, decrease in Part II.
 produce, and a total stop be put to improvement.

The whites have very seldom any other domestics. P. 367.
 than negroes. Upon plantations in general no
 more, he believes, than are necessary.

The full-handed plantations are so badly assorted
 as to sex (5 to 3) because men are supposed capa-
 ble of more labour; knows not what it is also
 owing to the deficiency of procuring females in
 Africa, or disposing of them in the West Indies:
 knows nothing of the trade on the coast of Africa:
 sugar planters chiefly chuse males.

Believes the number of negroes annually exported
 and imported from and to Jamaica, very accurately
 stated in the report of the assembly; cannot now call
 to mind: They differ greatly.

When a plough is first used, a white man is P. 368.
 mostly employed.

On such plantations as he has had care of, the
 annual usual decrease has been about 5 per cent.
 decrease 2 and $\frac{1}{2}$. No true judgement can be formed
 whether the decrease is greater or less on cotton or
 coffee plantations being new. Rather thinks the
 proportion of sexes more equal there, as the work
 lighter.

Believes instances of inattention to pregnant wo-
 men very rare.

White ploughmen and tradesmen have very
 high wages. Never knew the sun oppressive to
 negroes in full health; does not recollect one such P. 369.
 that complained.

Believes many diseases brought on negroes by
 doctural ramblings and dancing.

Their food is in general good and sufficient. They
 are protected and provided with food and raiment by
 law: Thinks the last consolidated slave-law indispu-
 tably shews the legislature of the island disposed to
 give them every necessary comfort and protection.

W.INDIES.—Witness ex^d.—JOHN WEDDERBURN, Esq;

1790.

Part II. Is a native of Great Britain; has lived between
 and 27 years in Jamaica; left it the beginning of 1790.
 P. 370. May; was a planter, and has property there: has
 care of several plantations; of full 5000 negroes.

Thinks they are treated with humanity; are
 general in a happy state; are attended when sick
 a doctor, who prescribes every medicine proper for
 them; have proper nurses, often provisions of the
 best sort from owner's or overseer's table. They have
 often also wine, and whatever other necessary the
 doctor thinks proper. Has known in dangerous cases
 the medicines given by whites, who often lose the
 night's rest by it. Negroes by age or infirmities, incapable
 of labour, mostly live in a comfortable negro
 house; have every allowance and attendance, as
 still of the greatest value, are still fed and clothed.


P. 371. never knew one such discarded by his master.

The Africans have a remarkable saying in the
 disputes, to shew that the stronger can take no advantage
 of them; "this no for we country, this for
 " Buccra country; Buccra country every body have
 " right;" i. e. in their own country, the stronger often
 use the weaker as they please, whether justly or not.

The negroes have lands to cultivate for their
 benefit; raise much more provisions than they use
 and sell poultry, hogs, and various kinds of fruit
 and have the profits. Many might be rich; number
 spend their money in fine cloaths, and salt meat from
 England; others buy cows and heifers: Has known

P. 372. on different estates from 10 to 40 taken care of
 miscuouly with their masters, who take no part
 They sell them when they will. He has bought from
 different negroes, young steers, and paid them from
 £10 to £13 per head.

He

He has known different negroes wish to buy their 1790.
 freedom themselves, and a few friends possessed of Part II.
 money sufficient. Recollects an estate where there 
 were 300 slaves, the owner, in easy circumstances
 before the hurricane of 1780, by that calamity, other
 arms, and perhaps some little imprudence, became
 embarrassed: A writ was issued the marshall came
 the estate to secure him, and left it disappointed.
 the evening a few of the chief negroes came to
 their master, told him what they had heard, and
 bought him between £200 and 300. He refused it
 with thanks.

Such land in Jamaica as may be cultivated to
 advantage, is not, by many thousand acres.
 He thinks the lands now in canes cannot be used to
 advantage in coffee and cottons; if it could, the loss
 many planters would be great, having bought
 lands and stocks, raised buildings, and had various
 things from England, only to cultivate the sugar-
 cane; thinks cane-land in general not adapted to those
 articles, and that to oblige the owner to this change,
 would be much the same as taking part of his property P. 373.
 without paying for it.

Thinks Jamaica cannot be cultivated by Europeans.
 They could not bear the necessary labour, and the
 mortality he thinks would be so great as to stop the
 attempt.

Thinks the sun's heat not hurtful to the negroes
 health, and that it affects them little at work; has
 seen them often at it, and stood with them hours at
 a time: They seemed to him to feel no incon-
 veniences.

Jamaica cannot be cultivated by the plough: It is
 used in many parts, but after ploughing they are
 forced to dig the cane-holes with hoes, to plant the
 canes, and often to trench the land to dry it.—Great
 part, steep and hilly, does not admit the plough; many
 thousand acres have stones and rocks so intermixed
 with the soil, that the plough cannot turn it up.

1790. Many estates are cultivated so, that the canes are not
 Part II. stocked up, but it is a rule to keep them on the stock
 as long as possible. The plough could be of no use
 there; only the hoe.

When the plough is used, the same number of
 negroes are requisite; but it is of infinite advantage
 P. 374. to them by breaking the soil, and taking a part of
 the hardest labour from them: But supposing fewer
 at ploughing season, the usual number would be
 necessary in crop-time.

Has heard the legislature of Jamaica has encouraged
 inventors of machines for saving manual labour.
 Planters have readily adopted all they thought ad-
 vantageous, or that have stood the test of experience.

An overseer has commonly from 6 to 10 domestic
 mestics, mostly unable to support field-labour; the
 most weak and delicate, are generally put to domestic
 mestic uses.

Thinks the present cultivation of Jamaica cannot
 be kept up without annual imports; not that the
 negroes are used ill; the women do not breed there
 as the labouring ones of Great-Britain; greatly from
 promiscuous intercourse, causing venereal disorders,
 P. 375. often destructive of the constitution. Many die by
 yaws, fluxes, ulcers, and pleurifies; infants, besides
 the disorders to which they are subject in Great
 Britain, are liable to the locked-jaw, of which he
 thinks $\frac{1}{4}$ die.

Supposes the loss in 20 landed in tolerable health
 about 5 in the first 3 years; if with yaws, or other
 disease, double at least. Thinks they would be
 dissatisfied in having no more recruits from Africa
 having often heard them wish for such help; and
 that the slaves now in Jamaica would be worse used
 because most sugar-plantations being at so great
 expence, are obliged to borrow of the British mer-
 chant, and make him annual consignments, and
 payments; deprived of slaves, they could not
 The merchant would be disappointed—the connection

on unprofitable to him. He may, to be sure, take 1790.
eps, compelling the planter to push his slaves be- Part II.
ond their strength, to pay him, in hopes of keeping
p his crops, and preventing the ruin of himself, and P. 376.
amily.

Slaves labour about 11 hours out of crop-time ;
crop-time, though the time of labour with some
longer, they are mostly happier, and in better con-
ition, from the canes they eat, and the liquor they
rink.

Thinks, if the slave trade was abolished, many
planters could not pay their debts. Some small
rissing settlement might be practicable ; none of
much importance.

There are many free negroes in Jamaica, some of
hem tradesmen ; but most idle. The estates often
equire the help of other negroes, besides the
owner's ; has known the free then employed as
radesmen, but in no other way. Many estates,
where expensive works have been erected, and much
money laid out, are only partly settled ; no further
progress can be made, without supplies from Africa ;
unless those, who have jobbing gangs, were to sell P. 377.
hem : then the loss of their help to different estates,
would be very distressing, and no other estates could
be settled with propriety.

Native negroes, are much more valuable than
imported ; it certainly is the planter's interest to
encourage raising them, and they do.

Many diseases are brought on the slaves by night
travelling, feasting, and dancing.

Except after such calamity, as the hurricane 1780,
they have plenty of wholesome food.

If an act of parliament for abolishing the slave-
trade, should only transfer that trade to other nations,
the Africans would not be benefited, or the cause of
humanity advanced, as far as he is capable of
judging.

1790. Is convinced the slaves there would suffer exceedingly, as their labour would naturally be increased; thinks it would tend to depopulate Jamaica, lessen its cultivation, and prevent its improvement. Thinks it would not be attended with satisfaction to the planters, and other whites there is confident it would produce alarming discontents.

P. 378. Quantity of land, negroes, and produce, on as many estates as he can recollect, are as follows :

| | Acres. | Negroes. | Hhds. Sug. | Pun. Rum |
|-----------------|--------|----------|------------|----------|
| Mesopotamia — | 2600 | 310 | 315 | 230 |
| Grange — | 1500 | 175 | 165 | 70 |
| Glenesley — | 1800 | 230 | 110 | 80 |
| Caledonia — | 3000 | 180 | 75 | 45 |
| Blue Castle — | 1800 | 245 | 240 | 140 |
| Blackheath — | 1100 | 110 | 180 | 80 |
| Mount Eagle — | 1000 | 165 | 160 | 80 |
| Spring Garden — | 2600 | 250 | 165 | 90 |
| Green River — | 1000 | 240 | 240 | 115 |
| Richmond Vale — | 700 | 220 | 155 | 80 |
| Providence — | 1000 | 106 | 110 | 75 |
| New Forest — | 2000 | 180 | | |


New Forest is now improving in Cotton and Coffee, Sugar-Work being in a Manner given up.

These estates can make annually the quantity of sugar just stated, if there are no storms, and they have the same support of slaves as now; by more strength they can make much more.

P. 379. Mesopotamia is level land, and great part only adapted to pastures; many of which are over-grown with logwood, and require more slaves to improve them. The Grange is hilly, of rather poorer nature, and one of those, where the plough is useless.

Believes Glenesley produces the least sugar of all, from the moist land. Its cane-land has been so exceedingly injured by the hurricane of 1780, that it does not yield well; about 200 acres are in canes. On many of these estates, the canes lie contiguous; on others, the pastures are dispersed with the canes; the lands in wood, and ruined, lie mostly by themselves.

Does

Does not know that the value of any of these 1790.
estates could be estimated from the quantity of sugar Part II.
produced, except Green River, and Providence: 
the others (some of them in particular) have very
valuable land, fit for sugar, and when improved,
could become exceedingly valuable.

The mode would be to buy more slaves, without P. 380.
which it is impossible to improve them; it would
require much labour and expence, but would pay
very amply, he thinks; great part is at present in
poor, morass, or ruined.

Cannot state the number that would be necessary
to cultivate fully all these estates; but as to his own,
is convinced, that its valuable land, fit for sugar-
cane, would require 200 more, and without them,
the present cultivation cannot be extended, were
they to continue nearly the same, as to sugar,
pasture, wood-land, &c. Thinks the present stock
of slaves, if kept up, not tolerably sufficient. Many
of those estates now require more labour than for-
merly, when the land was new.

The general proportion of male and female slaves P. 381.
in Jamaica, supposed 5 to 3.

On a very few estates there are Moravian parsons,
but in general no attention is paid to any religious
instruction. The Society for propagating the Gos-
pel has not, to his knowledge, employed any persons
in converting the slaves.

He has no calculation by which to estimate the
ordinary expence of maintenance of slaves at various
ages. They have as much food as they can eat,
except after such a calamity as that of 1780, when
the allowance was not so liberal. Three large
plantations are thought as much as they can eat at a
time; when small, they get more. They in general
live on the produce of their own provision grounds.
They are naturally lazy and neglectful of themselves;
satisfied plentifully by their masters. A few estates
excepted, they have more land allowed than they
can cultivate.

Refers

1790. Refers to the late consolidated act for the leg-
 Part II. protection of the slave from ill-usage by his master
 or other whites. Thinks the effect in Jamaica, of
 stopping the intercourse with America, was the loss
 of many thousand lives for want of a supply of
 provisions, rice, corn, &c. particularly after the
 hurricane of 1780.

Indian corn and cassada are cultivated in Jamaica
 with good success.

Has often bought slaves soon after their arrival
 from Africa; the chief part have been deliberately
 chosen from the whole cargo. They generally em-
 ploy one day in each fortnight, and Sundays,
 cultivating their own grounds, and have often other
 days allotted to them, when it appears necessary
 to their employers.

Doubts not, if a law were to pass here to forbid
 the importation of slaves into Jamaica, they would
 be secretly brought in, and that most of the planters
 there would encourage it.

P. 383. Thinks the late regulating act has been attended
 with much advantage.

The slaves for the plantations are in general bought
 by the owner, or his attorney.

Many estates in Jamaica are so steep, that the
 plough would be destructive, by the violent rain
 peculiar to it washing away the soil.

Thinks an African's constitution perfectly well
 adapted to bear heat: never knew a slave in health
 complain of it. Pleurifies are often got by being
 out at nights; the healthiest and stoutest field-slaves
 are more subject to them than others: has known
 many very fine valuable ones die of them. The
 Owner generally prevents those nocturnal rambles
 as far as possible.

The produce of the estates before-mentioned, was
 exceedingly reduced by the hurricane of 1780, but
 cannot say exactly in what proportion. The produce
 was much less than in 1789.

Whether

Whether the crop is great or small, the expence 1790.
 of cultivation is the same, and often increased, par- Part II.
 ticularly by such a calamity as that of 1780; but
 when the crop is smallest, the expence is greatest, P. 384.
 only in particular cases; in storms; a long con-
 tinuance of dry weather, when the cane-stalks are
 hurt by it, if the crops of corn and provisions are
 in the ground, they are destroyed; but the provi-
 sions taken early, before the hurricane months come
 on, are safe. The hurricane of 1780 destroyed the
 plantations, and in many respects, the ground pro-
 visions. The proprietors bought on this account
 provisions from England and America.

Never knew but one free negro desire to return
 to Africa; he went to see his friends, and returned
 again. As far as he can recollect, he was a Gold
 coast slave.

If the estates in an incomplete cultivation for
 want of sufficient slaves, could be cultivated to
 their extent, he thinks the increase of produce
 would be a very great addition to the revenue,
 commerce, and manufacture of the mother country.
 It is not usual in general for slaves to obtain their
 freedom, till after a long residence in the West-
 Indies.

Witness examined.—GEORGE HIBBERT, Esq;—

A merchant of London.

The house he is concerned in, has had considerable P. 385.
 dealings with Jamaica (as factors to the planters)
 and to whom the house is considerably in advance.

They import from 5000 to 6000 hogheads of
 sugar, besides other articles, the gross value of which
 may be from £ 200,000 to £ 250,000.

From the concurring evidence of planters. others P. 386.
 who have lived in the islands, and from his expe-

T

rience

1790. rience gained in the course of business, he believes
 Part II. the abolition of the slave trade will greatly injure the
 population and produce of Jamaica, and consequently himself as a merchant and creditor.

Any estimate of his, of the debt of the sugar islands to Great-Britain must be from partial inadequate grounds: but could never make it less than £20,000,000. Lord Sheffield conjectures such debt to be one-third of the value of the colonies, which has, since he wrote, been estimated £70,000,000.

Speaks from experience, that the creditors of West India property include these classes, each to a considerable sum, especially the 2 first. 1st. Merchants who have advanced money, to get consignments, support old correspondents, or protect old engagements. 2d. Mortgagees who have advanced money on interest. 3d. Annuitants by purchase, will, or marriage-settlement. 4th. Legatees, many under old bequests. 5th. Consignors of goods to the West Indies, captains and mates of ships, &c. 6th. Shippers of goods for the stores, to order. 7th. Creditors on bond, note, &c. 8th. Representatives of the deceased of the above classes, or whose concerns are assigned to others. Their engagements are chiefly under the first class.

P. 387. A considerable part of their capital is lent to creditors, part in settling new, and extending and improving old, estates; and, he believes, part in new machinery and modes of manufacture; also a very considerable part in advances made to repair damages by hurricanes, and to feed the negroes in drought and famines. Their books contain some debts which have existed from 40 to 50 years: and he believes had they not protected those debts by advances to buy negroes and other relief, the estates, now their security, would have been long ago ruined. Believes, that when by short crops, low markets, or other causes, the planters have been distressed, they are generally relieved by British loans. In most of their

their concerns, they have understood the buying new 1790.
negroes to be absolutely necessary to carry on the Part II.
states, and have advanced money for that use.

Several planters have assured him that they wish
or new negroes, not to extend estates, but merely P. 388.
to ease their present stock.

In Jamaica there is a considerable number of store-
keepers, and importers of British goods, and who
are not land-holders: Advances to such rest on the
security of the produce; Agriculture in the West-
Indies, especially in Jamaica, is the basis of their
returns and solvency.

Their security rests intirely on the produce of
estates cultivated by negroes. Real security is either
an estate with negroes, or negroes alone. Land
without negroes, or an immediate prospect of buying
them to work the land, would be considered by a
merchant here, as no security.

Such West-India properties as give security for
British loans, he thinks, may, with a very few lucky
exceptions, be comprized in 3 classes. 1st. Long
settled estates, which, thro' depopulation, or acci-
dental calamities, need supplies of negroes. 2d.
Estates, in a progressive state, prudently adding a
few negroes yearly to their gangs, till their settlement
is compleated. 3d. Estates newly settled, or by
accidents almost without negroes, but which would
afford an ample security to their creditors, if furnished
with negroes cheap.

Several Jamaica estates mortgaged to them, have
large tracts of uncleared land, which are some security,
while negroes may be bought to make them produc-
tive. On some of them the cultivation has been
advantageously extended.

Believes minor's estates leased, with but few
negroes, have been often improved by such leasing,
when the minor came of age. Knows a renter of a
minor's estate, who, on the minor's taking possession of
it, carried off a good gang of negroes, and settled an

1790. entire new estate, which with a small addition to
 Part II. that gang, promises to turn out very well; but the
 proprietor has in his late letters to them expressed
 great anxiety about working his own estates; and
 if he can't buy new negroes, will find his present
 fine canes of little value, and his estate worth almost
 nothing. Believes the estates of infants, or others
 so situated, could not possibly be improved or kept
 up, without new negroes.

Had their house expected or believed that the slave
 trade would be abolished, they certainly would not
 have made the great advances or engagements stated.
 He never thought of the abolition, as not believing
 it probable; but knew that his trade, the West
 India estates which secure his advances, the African
 trade which supports those estates, and even the very
 loans he has made, have been encouraged and sanc-
 tioned by repeated acts of parliament, of which he

P. 390. produced a list as follows, viz. 1st. Acts encour-
 aging and protecting the sugar colonies, 15 Cha. I.
 chap. 7; 22 and 23 Cha. II. ch. 26.—7 and
 Will. III. ch. 22.—6 Anne ch. 30 and ch. 37
 8 Anne ch. 13.—4 Geo. II. ch. 15; 5 Geo. I.
 ch. 24; 6 Geo. II. ch. 13; 12 Geo. II. ch. 30
 19 Geo. II. ch. 30; 21 Geo. II. ch. 30.—5 Geo. II.
 ch. 45; 6 Geo. III. ch. 52; 27 Geo. III. ch. 2.
 The leading feature in all these acts is encouragement
 to the sugar colonies, as inhabited by British subjects
 and very advantageous to Great Britain.

P. 391. The 2d division of acts on the slave trade, and
 stating it necessary for the West-India colonies
 Royal charters of Cha. II. of 1664 and 1672.—
 9 and 10 Will. III. ch. 26.—10 Anne ch. 27.—
 The Queen's speech, June 1712.—23 Geo. I.
 ch. 31; 25 Geo. II. ch. 40.—4 Geo. III. ch. 20
 5 Geo. III. ch. 44; 23 Geo. III. ch. 65; also, the
 proceedings of the House of Commons from 1707 to
 1713, during all which time the slave trade was under
 the

their consideration; and it was recommended, by a 1790. message from the Queen, to consider its nature; and Part II. a publick censure was then passed on it; but it was repeatedly voted advantageous to Great Britain, and necessary for the sugar colonies. And, tho' the various bills brought in, and some of which passed the Commons, failed from disputes between the chartered company and private traders, it does not appear the restriction, much less the abolition of the trade, was ever thought of.

The 3d head of acts encouraging loans to the West-India proprietors, from British and foreigners, 2. 5 Geo. II. ch. 7; 13 Geo. III. ch. 14, and 14 Geo. III. ch. 79.

The inspector general of imports and exports, P. 392. has stated to the Privy Council, the imports from the West-Indies to Great-Britain in 1787, at

| £. | s. | d. |
|-----------|----|----|
| 4,945,387 | 19 | 10 |

and from the West Indies
in 1787, was exported to
Ireland, value

| | £. | s. | d. |
|-------------------------|---------|----|----|
| the U. S. of America | 127,585 | 4 | 5 |
| British Col. in America | 196,460 | 8 | 0 |
| Foreign West-Indies | 100,506 | 17 | 10 |
| Ireland | 18,245 | 12 | 6 |
| India | 868 | 15 | 0 |
| | 443,666 | 17 | 9 |

Grand total £ 5,389,054 : 17 : 7

The inspector general states these to be mercantile values formed on the prices current published at Lloyd's. This trade employed 1815 vessels, 242,721 men, and 21,114 seamen. That the exports from Great Britain to the West-Indies in 1787, in British goods, &c. amounted to £ 1,638,703 : 13s. : 10d. and from Ireland, besides what is shipped in vessels cleared out from Great-Britain £ 20,160.

The witness believes the annual average of slaves imported and retained in the British West-Indies may be 15,657, amounting at £ 35 per head, to £ 547,995.

The

1790. The inspector general has also stated the quantities
 Part II. and custom-house values of imports from the West
 Indies to Great-Britain only in 1788, whence he
 has, with all the care and exactness he could, estimated
 their gross mercantile value, (taking the opinion of experienced
 brokers on the average prices of that year) and which on a very
 moderate calculation, amounts to £ 6,800,000 of which he finds
 the customs and excise received about £ 1,800,000
 Ship owners for home freight, about 560,000
 British merchants and brokers, for }
 commissions, about - - - - } 232,000
 Under-writers for insurance, about - - 150,000
 Wharfingers, &c. including primage }
 or freight, about - - - - } 95,000
 The whole of which is - - £ 2,837,000

P. 393. The rest, being something less than 4 millions, the net proceeds passed to the credit of the planters by the British merchant; but from which must be farther deducted the value of British goods exported to the plantations, with freight, insurance commission, and port charges thereon; also the sum paid the African merchants annually for slaves; and when to this is added the interest of the debt due from the colonies to Great Britain, there can be no doubt but the whole £ 6,800,000 rested in Great Britain. In confirmation, can assert that tracing the gross produce received through their house, for many years, in his time and his predecessors, (of an inconsiderable value) there is a very small part of it indeed, which he cannot follow home to one or other of the above heads.

The tonnage in the West India trade, in 1788, has been stated 242,721 tons; and though in this estimate, some vessels are included which must have made more than one voyage a year, and their tonnage are counted for each voyage, yet in many cases, the estimated tonnage is somewhat under the real: taking

therefore that quantity, and estimating the West 1790.
 India ships, with all their expences at sea, at only Part II.
 10 per ton, the amount is £ 2,427,210.

The amount paid by the British West-India trade
 ship owners, for freight alone, may be estimated as
 follows:

| | | |
|---|---|-----------|
| Homewards to Great-Britain, as above | - | £ 560,000 |
| Homewards on British manufactures, &c. about | | 120,000 |
| Irish manufactures exported, and pro- | | |
| visions in ships clearing out from G. Britain | } | 22,000 |
| Exports from the West-Indies to Ireland | | 14,000 |
| Exports from ditto to British America, | | |
| and the United States | } | 25,000 |
| Imports from America to the W. Indies, | | |
| Including ships clearing out from G. Britain | } | 200,000 |

Total freight — £ 941,000

To which add the freight paid, in the price of P. 394.
 goes, to the African ships, and this Article alone
 be found above a million sterling. Most certainly
 diminution of West-India produce, will affect the
 quantity of freight; and if the ships now employed
 that trade don't get other employ, it must affect
 price. The same causes will reduce the tonnage,
 number of seamen. The increase of price of
 West-India produce will be necessary to counter-
 balance it's diminution, to make the estates as pro-
 fitable as at present. A diminution of West-India
 produce, if caused by any difficulty of getting ne-
 cessaries, will raise their price, when to be had. The
 rise of price of produce, will certainly diminish
 consumption, and the export of it from Great-
 Britain.

Having never been in the West-Indies, he can only
 judge from facts well authenticated, or generally ad-
 mitted. The committee of council in Jamaica stated,
 that from the tax-rolls, that the slaves there in
 1774, were about 167,000. Governor Keith in

1790. 1774, about 193,000. Governor Clarke in 1787, Part II. 256,000. The assembly in 1787 stated the slaves 240,000, at the least: But observes that the number on the tax-rolls, was only 210,894. Governor Keil says, his number in 1774 was from the tax rolls; but there were at least 10,000 more, as many jobbers and others gave not in their numbers. The witness thinks, the only fair calculation can be from the tax rolls, according to which, he gave in this statement

| | | |
|---|---------|---------|
| In 1768, the number was about | - - - - | 167,000 |
| Left in the island to 1774, inclusive | - - | 41,000 |
| Left in the island from 1774 to 1787, inclusive | - - - - | 87,600 |

| | | |
|---------------------------------|---------|---------|
| | | 295,600 |
| Deduct on the tax-rolls in 1787 | - - - - | 210,894 |

The deficiency in 19 years is - - - - 84,706
or 4,461 annually, i. e. 2.34 (in decimals) per cent
per annum, on the medium number.

| | | |
|------|---|---------|
| 1768 | — | 167,000 |
| 1774 | — | 193,000 |
| 1787 | — | 210,894 |

3)570,894 (190,298 is the medium Number)

The calculation of loss in the first 6 years, will be
In 1768 the number was - - - - 167,000
Left in the island to 1774, inclusive - - - 41,000

| | | |
|---------------------------------|---------|---------|
| | | 208,000 |
| Deduct on the tax-rolls in 1774 | - - - - | 193,000 |

The deficiency in 6 years was - - - - 15,000
or 2,500 per annum, i. e. 1.4 per cent per annum
on the medium number.

| | | |
|------|---|---------|
| 1768 | — | 167,000 |
| 1774 | — | 193,000 |

2)360,000 (180,000 is the medium Number)

1790. and the notoriety of the cause of their sale. T
 Part II. British merchants, finding their profits diminish w
 the diminished produce of the islands, must r
 cessarily lessen the expence, by which they cont
 bute to the revenue, and must look forward to t
 ruin of the trade, that they and their families ha
 depended on. He believes many rich West Ind
 planters, whose estates are large and full-hand
 might for a while feel little injury from the abolic
 and even receive a temporary benefit from it, wh
 the present system of colony regulation is continu
 as by the ruin of smaller planters, whose slaves th
 would buy, their rivals would be diminished; b
 that they and the kingdom at large, must soon f
 the ruinous event of the abolition, in the total dec
 of the sugar colonies, and in the dependance of Gr
 Britain on foreigners for her immense consumpt
 of their produce.

P. 398. In lending money on a West India estate, e
 annual produce is more considered than the nom
 value.

The London merchant has $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. co
 mission on the gross sales of produce, the same
 amount of supplies shipped, and $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.
 making insurance on each.

Much of the Jamaica rum is sold on the est
 or at the next shipping port. What is sent home
 the planter, is generally consigned to him to wh
 he sends his sugar.

P. 399. Insurance outwards or homewards, is always m
 on a policy, deliverable to the planter on dema
 If the merchant stands part of the risk, it is as
 under-writer, as an individual, not in the firm
 the house.

The West India merchant is often the husband
 ships, and holds his share of them. The share of
 merchant in general is supposed much less now, th
 it was some years ago.

The estates do not require supplies in proportion to their produce. 1790.
Part II.

The planters often draw bills on the merchants to whom their produce is consigned, to pay for the slaves they may buy. The planter has often credit the island for the slaves he buys. When he draws his merchant, at the expiration of that credit, draws at the island usance, or, if for a longer time, interest for such time is included in the bill. P. 400.
Bills from Jamaica are usually drawn at 90 days, but they may be, on an average, 2 months on voyage.

In all casual business, the merchant reimburses himself from the sale of the sugars, for the sums advanced to the planter, for stores sent out, commissions, &c. but where there is a connection (and such there is commonly an advance) such exactness in keeping the account balanced cannot be expected.

In the war, it was certainly difficult to sell West India estates to advantage; and he thinks the agitation of the question of the slave trade has in part renewed that difficulty. The facility of borrowing money on West India estates has certainly increased since the peace; and, if not entirely prevented by P. 401.
the agitation of the present question, he believes it to be because they who well know the value of the West India trade, cannot believe the abolition of the slave trade, on which that commerce depends, will take place.

As to estates which have kept up their slaves without importation, he can recollect but one, among all with whom his house was connected, that of Lord Dudley, which he understands, is peculiarly fortunate in situation, easy of labour, number of slaves and proportion of the sexes. In 1776, their number was 637, in 1788 it had increased only 31, at that time it was exempt from any of those calamities that affected the neighbouring estates, yet

1790. there were two years in which there was decrease, and one year they have no account, and in one year there was neither increase or decrease. In 1784 there was 222 men, 220 women, 59 boys, 41 girls, 126 children, 608 in all. The late Lady Dudley said, that the estate did not pay her above 3 per cent. on the capital advanced. He is not certain, but believes, that in the period just mentioned, no negroes were bought for Lord Dudley's estate.

In 1787, Jamaica did not make its average crop. The importation into London only, was 10,000 hogheads less than in 1785. and 13,000 less than in 1788. Has always understood the leeward island made much less than an average crop in 1787. P. 402. the year on which he calculated for all the West Indies.

In Jamaica of late years there has been constantly a premium paid to drawers of bills on Great Britain, at usance from 5 to 10 per cent. A large debt due from West India islands to Foreigners contracted, as he believes, on the faith of parliament, their being an act expressly encouraging it.

A very considerable quantity of herrings is sent from Scotland, Ireland, and Newfoundland, to the West Indies for negroes.

The seamen employed in those fisheries are not included in the above estimate, except such Newfoundland seaman as may occasionally carry the fish to the West Indies.

P. 403. When he stated that the rich planter, whose estate is large and full-handed, may find a temporary benefit in a greater price, should the abolition of the slave trade diminish the number of his rivals at the market, he presumed on his being able to keep up his slaves and produce during such temporary benefit. Thinks the diminution of produce from the abolition must increase in compound progression, and that the price could not be afforded here any way adequate to such a diminution. If the price was much higher

he believes, an equal consumption could not be expected, for it was generally thought much affected by the high prices last war. 1790. Part II.

Has heard lord Dudley's estate is separated from others, in a particular way. Has often heard persons who lived on it say, this peculiar situation keeps the negroes from rambling at night, and getting venereal, pleurisy, &c. which tend to lessen population. And also from being infected with the small-pox, &c. The attorney or manager informs them that when by a late contagion, many of the neighbouring estates suffered, that estate lost none, and had but few ill of it.

Witness examined. — Admiral SHULDHAM.

Lord Shuldhham (Admiral) has observed the behaviour of masters to their negro slaves, in the islands where he has commanded, to have been mild, gentle, and indulgent, equal to that generally shewn by masters to their servants in this kingdom. The slaves were decently clothed, and properly for the climate, and seemed perfectly satisfied with their victuals, and lodging: He never heard them make any complaints; they are in all respects perfectly satisfied, so, that when midshipman, he envied their condition, and often wished to be in the same situation. P. 404.

In his opinion, the West-Indies could not be cultivated to advantage by Europeans, it must be attended with immense expence, and the loss of a greater number of lives, from effect of climate on European constitutions.

French West-Indiamen he considers as one of the principal sources of the French naval power; these ships he does not think remarkably fine vessels; they are of about 3 or 400 tons, and manned pretty much as our own; but it is 27 or 28 years ago, since he was in that part of the world. P. 405.

W.INDIES

W. INDIES.-Witness examined—Adm. BARRINGTON

1790. Admiral Barrington has observed, that the masters
 Part II. in the islands where he has commanded, have always
 behaved to their slaves with the greatest humanity. The slaves appeared properly fed, clothed, and lodged, and more labour did not seem to be required of them, than they could properly bear. They are, in general, perfectly satisfied with their condition, so much so, that when being miserable himself, (from being 4 months Commander in Chief, without an opportunity of revenging the insults of France) he has seen them so happy, that he wished himself a negro; but when he had his full revenge, he never wished himself a negro afterwards.

He does not conceive the plantations in the West-Indies could be cultivated to advantage by Europeans.
 P. 406. Ships employed in the French West-India trade, he considers as one of the principal sources of the naval power of France; they are remarkably fine vessels, and have, he supposes, double the number of hands that our ships have, and are as large or larger than ours in the same trade. He conceives the French have of late years increased their West-India trade, and also the number of their West-India ships.

The British West-India trade is no doubt a considerable nursery for seamen. He holds it by all means important to keep up, and encourage the slave-trade: its abolition, will tend to reduce the West-India trade, and consequently to lessen the number of ships, and seamen.

In the last war, he was three months at Barbadoes, and on shore every day, where he had continual opportunities of observing the situation of the negroes, and conduct of their masters; he never knew any act of cruelty, by the owners, on their slaves, nor ever saw a punishment, but one, which was that of a negro woman by her own husband.

The slaves in Barbadoes are more comfortably lodged, and much cleaner than the labouring people of Ireland, and in general in the West-Indies they appeared happier than the labouring poor in Ireland, and many parts of Great-Britain. 1790. Part II.

Whether by proper regulations the stock of negroes could be kept up without importation from Africa, is a question he cannot answer; he has heard, that some very few plantations may keep up their stock;—for example, Commissioner Martin's.

Witness examined—Adm. MARRIOTT ARBUTHNOT.

Admiral Arbuthnot having commanded on the West India station, has been frequently in plantations, both at St. Kitt's and Jamaica, and never observed the least cruelty to slaves; has seen them punished, but neither unhumanly nor wantonly, and by no means so severely as a British foldier or sailor; they are clothed according to the climate, and fed with the utmost care, having ground allotted for that purpose, besides other Provisions from America, and constantly from England; a point of lodging, and accommodation, they are better off than the labouring poor in Ireland. No more labour is required of them than they can properly bear, P. 408. P. 409. their labour is not equal to that of seamen in a man of war, in heaving down or clearing; so far are they from a desponding state, that they have as joyous moments as any of us: He has been very happy amongst them.

He calculates, in Jamaica, there are 16,000 whites, and 200,000 blacks, and that it is impossible for this country to send out 200,000 in their room; therefore the plantations in the West-Indies cannot be cultivated to advantage by Europeans. Says, that in 1730, he was midshipman to a 40 gun ship, that carried out 2 regiments

1790. regiments to Jamaica, where the colonel died in
 Part II. fortnight, the greatest part of the officers, and three-
 fourths of the regiment in little more than a year.

The ships in the French West-India trade, he does not consider as a principal source of their naval power, but of great consequence to them; he knows nothing of the vessels, nor how they are manned.

The British West-India trade, he thinks, is a nursery for seamen, and that important to be kept up, and that the abolition of the slave trade, will assuredly tend to reduce the West-India trade, and lessen the number of ships and seamen; and the grounds of this opinion are
 P. 410. a certainty, that if all the seamen employed in any trade, do not die by unhealthy climate, those that return, will be useful to their country. The seamen from Guinea ships were of great use last war in manning our fleet, but at what period, he does not know, not having been at the Windward islands, where the ships received great recruits from Africa.

He does not know whether any regulations would keep up the stock of negroes, without importation, but thinks it impossible that any improvements or better regulations can be made; Our labourers earn their bread with greater difficulty than the negroes.

The negroes are beyond comparison better treated now, than when he first knew the West-Indies in 1763; in particular, they are much improved in Jamaica, where they are treated more humanely, and in general appear comfortable. He answers that their clothing
 P. 411. is well adapted to the climate; they want for nothing and seemed satisfied. Every plantation of 150 negroes had a surgeon.

During the last war, he was not in the West-Indies; he was in the West-Indies in the year 1763, and being asked on what grounds he thinks the slaves better treated now than formerly, he answers, that he only confines himself to the year 1763.

Witness

V. INDIES—Witness examined—Admiral EDWARDS.

Admiral (Richard) Edwards served in the West-Indies in 1731, 1753, 1760, and 1761. Has not been resident in the islands, and does not know any thing very particular of the behaviour of masters towards their slaves; does not recollect any particular cruelties; and in particular estates has observed a want of humanity to the negroes; he never heard any complaints of their provisions, and as to their clothing, he has mostly observed them naked, some instances excepted. He never knew any instance of more labour required of them than they could bear. He by no means conceives the West-India plantations could be cultivated by the labour of Europeans.

1790.
Part II.
P. 411.

He has been on the coast of Africa, and when there received and redressed a few complaints of the men on board African ships, of want of provisions, and other casual matters; thinks the seamen treated in this as in other trades; never was any where but men and masters made mutual complaints: believes, if the slave trade were abolished, the French and Dutch could engross the trade of the Gold Coast.

P. 412.

He believes the slaves treated better now than when first was in the West-Indies; thinks most slaves on the Gold Coast are supplied from the Along-shore-coast, from the different forts, and the boats which go often for a week or longer trading from the ships; thinks the numbers sold to other Europeans would be increased on our abolishing the slave trade, and that they should be forced to buy of them. He never heard of an African slave in West-Indies express a wish to return home. The slave trade, as combined with the West-India trade to England, he apprehends, is of equal consequence in manning the British navy, in time of war, as any trade he knows; thinks the abolition of, or a check to either of these trades would

P. 413.

1790. produce no good to the navy. As to preventing the
 Part II. smuggling of new negroes into the West-India islands,
 it could no more be prevented than smuggling any
 where else. The slaves in all the islands furnish the
 ships of war with live stock, &c. for they have bum-
 boats, as we have at Spithead, and elsewhere; but not
 being a judge, he cannot say that this traffic amounts
 P. 414. to any considerable sum. The African trade by
 itself is of consequence to the manning the navy; he
 says, he could have no conversation with any one, as
 to the inclinations of negroes to return home, because
 he never knew any thing of their inclinations for it.

W. Indies.—Witness examined—Admiral HOTHAM.

- Admiral (William) Hotham has known the West-
 India islands from a boy, and never found the conduct
 of masters to slaves otherwise than very proper. The
 treatment of slaves was mild and humane; they
 seemed properly fed, clothed, and lodged; he never
 thought more labour was required of them than they
 could properly bear; they did not appear desponding,
 but very well satisfied with their condition, and always
 very chearful. Judges it impossible to cultivate the
 P. 415. West-Indies by Europeans,—their constitution would
 not bear it.

- The ships in the French West-India trade he thinks
 a principal source and nursery of the naval power of
 France; says they are fine ships, as large or larger
 than British West-India ships, but knows not how they
 are manned. He thinks the British West-India trade a
 considerable nursery for seamen, the African trade also a
 nursery; these two trades are advantageous in supplying
 seamen in time of war, and they should therefore be
 kept up; thinks the abolition of the slave trade would
 reduce the West-India trade, and lessen its ships and sea-
 P. 416. men. He has been often on shore in the West-Indies,
 and

frequently observed the condition of slaves, and the
 behaviour of their masters towards them; was on
 Wm. Coddington's estate, for 6 weeks or 2 months,
 had daily opportunities of observing their treat-
 ment, and has been occasionally on other estates, on all
 which they were well treated; with no particular
 severity; he has been five or six years in the West-
 Indies, at different times, and does not recollect to have
 more than 3 or 4 punishments, and is far from
 thinking the planters may be justly accused of cruelty
 or wanton severity.—The slaves in all the islands carry
 a considerable traffic in supplying the fleets with
 provision, who pay them more with ships provisions
 in exchange, than with money; but these provisions he
 believed were for the personal profit of the slave. On
 the abolition of the slave trade, he should think it
 most impossible to prevent the smuggling of new
 slaves into the islands: What number of ships could
 prevent it he cannot judge, nor can he speak to the
 efficacy of the regulations made to prevent the
 introduction of American provisions into the West-
 India islands, not having been there since that time.

P. 417.

Indies.—Witness examined—Captain LAMBERT.

Captain (Robert) Lambert has served in the West-
 Indies, at different times, 8 or 9 years, particularly in
 Jamaica; he served first in a king's ship, afterwards
 commissioner at Port Royal. He never observed
 usage to the slaves, but thought they generally
 seemed happy, and saw nothing to the contrary of their
 being properly fed, clothed, and lodged; it did not
 appear to him that more labour was required of them
 than they could properly bear, always saw them cheer-
 ful after leaving work; thinks he sees more desponding
 people in this country, than among the negroes: is
 of the opinion that the West-India plantations could not be cultivated

P. 418.

1790. to advantage by Europeans. From number
 Part II. ships and the number of men carried, he thinks
 { ships in the French West-India trade a principal source
 of their naval power. Their West-India ships are
 extremely fine, large, and well manned. The British
 West-India trade forms a considerable nursery of
 seamen in time of war; he never had any other means
 of recruiting his ship than from West-Indians; he
 imagines it highly important to keep up and encourage
 P. 419. the West-India trade. The abolition of the slave
 trade would undoubtedly tend to lessen the West-India
 trade, and the number of ships and seamen. Were the
 slave trade abolished, it would not be possible to pre-
 vent the running new slaves into the islands. He
 thinks he left Jamaica in 1784; says only from hear-
 say, that the population cannot be kept up without
 continuing the importation of African slaves; was
 obliged to have the king's slaves under his direction
 replenished, to carry on constant work; these were
 mostly men, who had wives, but neither their wives
 nor children belong to the king. He has known a
 greater number of men come to the navy from Guine-
 neamen than from other ships, because they carry a
 greater number. Does not know of any considerable
 number of plantations able to support their stock of
 slaves, without purchasing recruits.

W. Indies.—Witness examined—Commodore GARDNER.

- P. 420. Commodore (Allan) Gardner has served in all the
 West-India islands, and returned from Jamaica August
 1789. Cannot point out any particular impropriety
 of conduct of masters to slaves, as in all countries there
 may be good and bad; in Jamaica he believes the
 treatment in general humane and mild. He believes
 slaves have sufficient food for their work. Little cloth-
 ing is necessary in tropical climates, but once a
 twice

1790.
Part II.

every year he believes a certain proportion of cloaths
in general distributed to every slave. For their
living, huts are provided, the comfort of which
depends on themselves. No more labour is required
of them than they can properly bear; a labouring man
in England does twice the work of a negro. Thinks
the negroes are not in a desponding state; as in this country,
they are some constitutionally of a melancholy turn;
and in their cheerfulness out of work-time, and ready
to engage in diversions, he believes them perfectly
satisfied with their condition. Firmly believes the
West-India plantations could not be cultivated by
Europeans, having known Jamaica 24 years; he re-
mained the last three as commander upon a penn allotted
to the admiral, and attended to the cultivation of
about 80 acres. During the hurricane months he
employed persons skilful in farming, from the ships,
to plant corn, to mow and make hay; they worked
in the morning early and in the cool of the
evening, and yet, though allowed extra provisions and
wages, were unable to go through this business: he
therefore substituted negroes. From this circum-
stance, and observing that book-keepers, when
standing to negroes, stand under umbrellas, he is
satisfied Europeans cannot stand the climate. He
thinks it cannot be doubted, that ships in the French
West-India trade are one of the principal sources of
naval power; they are considerably larger than
our own, and better manned. The British West-
India trade is a nursery for seamen, and extremely
advantageous for supplying men in time of war; it is
important to keep up and encourage it, so long as the
ships are thought worth keeping. He considers, if
the slave trade were abolished, there is an end of the
colonies, as the negroes are the very sinews of the
system. He thinks it impossible to keep up the stock
of slaves without importation from Africa; and
founds this opinion on the disproportion of females
to males, promiscuous cohabitation, the diseases thence
arising

P. 421.

P. 422.

1790. arising, and the diseases they bring with them from the coast of Guinea. Supposes there are three males to two females in Jamaica. A greater proportion of males than females has always appeared to him. He is confident they are much better treated now than when he first knew the island; their burden grows daily lighter, and they are better fed, clothed, and attended to. Believes there are very few if any plantations able to support their stock without new recruits. Has not made this an object of enquiry. Has resided, except 6 or 7 weeks, for 3 years on shore at Jamaica; is of opinion, if estates had kept up their number without importation, he should have heard it remarked. On the arrival of a cargo, the planters are all anxious to purchase, and many involve themselves in debt by so doing. They can purchase negroes only because they consider them necessary to the cultivation of their estates. As a proof that the plantations of estates are much encreased since he first knew Jamaica, he says, that there are now 50,000 more negroes there than there were then. He believes he has heard in conversation, that there may be eight or ten estates in Jamaica that have kept up their stock without buying imported negroes.

W. Indies.—Witness examined—Lord MACARTNEY.

- P. 424. Lord Macartney was upwards of 3 years in the West-Indies, as governor of Grenada, the Grenadines, and Tobago, from 1776 to 1779. Treatment of negroes there depends much on the temper of the master, whose behaviour is greatly regulated by his own interest, connected with the well-being of the slave. Thinks in general their behaviour is mild and humane; has heard of a very few bad examples, but not known them. A bad master is always much despised by his fellow planters.

Slaves

slaves in general seemed properly fed, clothed, and 1790.
ged. Interest of master and exertion of slave are Part II.
connected with these things, that great attention is
ays paid to them. Thinks no more labour re-
ed of slaves than they can well bear. Some parts
cultivation require more labour than others; but
ks a labouring man in England works full as much,
negro.

dependence of negroes depends on the countries P. 425.
come from. They are brought from an extent
coast of 40 degrees of latitude. In some of the
tries he has understood they were slaves before
ortation; in others the government is different.
ne, as the Coromantees, living he believes under
s despotic government, are high spirited, and not
submissive to their condition. Has heard there
ne nation of negroes which are prone to suicide at
ne, and have consequently given the examples of
same disposition when brought to our islands.
le believes many slaves, after having been some
time in our islands, would not go back if they
d.

hinks that no man, who has been a year in West-
es, through all the seasons, can think it possible
ultivate West-Indies to advantage by Europeans.
hout great care they can scarcely preserve their
th, without labor.

ever having had a plantation, he cannot well answer
question, whether present stock of negroes, in the
ds he governed, could be kept up without fresh
lies from Africa.

he present state of residents there he does not P. 426.
w; when he was governor, many persons of large
es were resident, and many absent; but having
his papers, when the islands were taken, he cannot
nce ascertain the proportion.

ecollects having heard a gentleman in Grenada
calculated the comparative expence of breeding,
that of buying imported Africans; and that he

1790. was of opinion, it was more for his interest to work out his slaves in a few years, and supply their place by fresh purchases, than to work them moderately like his neighbours. Whether he reduced his opinion to practice he does not know; but possibly he did: he was a new subject, not an Englishman, and he was little respected in the colony.

Part II.

Does not recollect the laws of the island give any effectual remedy to a slave against his master; of the fact of remedy he knows, viz. a little before his arrival a white man was hanged for murdering a black woman. He repeats, that in general, he believes slaves are not ill used, it being contrary to the interest of their masters.

The number of white persons on an estate must depend on number of negroes; on a large plantation there should be and usually are a manager, under-manager, and a doctor: on many estates there are more.

Does not recollect what legal protection free negroes enjoy, but conceives they might be redress'd by a magistrate in the usual manner:—he is not certain.

As to a white person, desirous of committing an act of violence on a slave or free negro, being able to find an opportunity, when all the whites should be out of the way, of executing his purpose without fear of legal conviction, he thinks he might, in the same way as against a white, if all the whites were out of the way, conviction depending on a jury, if brought to trial. Does not recollect any instance of negro evidence being admitted.

P. 427.

He conceives the state of a negro, exclusive of liberty, which is a sentiment felt by every Englishman, and which few negroes feel in the same extent, to be very comfortable. Being in general well fed, well clothed, taken care of when sick, and having every thing provided for him, he fears no creditors, which on the whole renders his state, exclusive of the idea of being a slave, perhaps as comfortable as a peasant in this country.

To the best of his recollection, the whites on the island were 1,400, and the negroes 33,000.

1790.
Part II.

Not having had either a plantation or any considerable number of negroes, cannot tell whether they look forward in general to a state of freedom with anxiety. Those of his own family were so happy, that he believes they never had, at least, they never expressed a wish to him to be free; he made them free on his arrival in England, and they returned as usual to Grenada. Conceives many field negroes desire to be free, but knows not what would become of them if they were: he imagines they would wish to return to their former state. In some cases freedom is held out to them in the clauses of some of the acts, as a reward or a temptation. But no negro can be made free in Grenada without great expence,—he gives 100l. currency to his master. Does not know whether the protection of their masters is the best security that negroes enjoy against ill treatment from other persons: it is one undoubtedly; it may be the best.

P. 428.

Being asked whether he does not imagine, that as negro evidence is not in any case taken, numberless opportunities of gratifying a disposition to ill-treat negroes may occur to a white man, without any fear of legal punishment, answers, that though he said he does not remember negro evidence ever admitted at Grenada, he does not know that cases may not occur, in which it may; he heard that on Mr. Franklin's arrival in Tobago, attempts were made to introduce slavery, but it was not received. Cannot say what operated on the minds of those British subjects who purchased lands, and extended large capitals in Grenada (whether they were led to it by a dependance on the faith of parliament, for their protection and cultivation, or not.) Supposes they expected their profit from the same mode of cultivation as had been practised before. Has understood they have borrowed large sums of money from Foreigners, and believes they

P. 429.

Y

they

1790. they did so under the faith of parliament; he supposes that if from the want of cultivation, the estates became of no value, some other provision would be made by the legislature to indemnify the creditors. Wilkes avoids giving any opinion as to whether the abolition of the slave trade must necessarily make those estates of no value.

He has heard instances of worse treatment of negroes in Grenada under the French government than when it came under the English government, but does not know the facts himself.

Not having any estate of his own, and living chiefly in town, he cannot from his own observation say, but when the proprietor of slaves becomes distressed in his circumstances, the slaves suffer for such embarrassment by a diminution of their subsistence, or increase of their labour; he thinks it possible, and believes they may have suffered just as servants do here by the distress of their masters.

W. Indies.—Witness examined.—Sir JOHN DALLINGHAM.

P. 430. Sir John Dalling Bart. resided as soldier and governor in Jamaica, off and on from the taking of the Havannah till 1781. Great attention is paid by masters to slaves. The worst master is the freed negro. Treatment of slaves is in general mild and humane, particularly of the field negroes. They are well clothed and though sometimes unfavourable seasons make a scarcity, the planters, from humanity, as well as interest, seek provisions for them at any expense. Their clothing and lodging are well adapted to the climate. The general work of negroes is not too hard called labour, according to the acceptance of the word here; a well regulated plantation is not an unpleasant object to the eye and mind. Great attention is paid them in sickness; and in old age they are

flight work. A desponding negro is generally a 1790.
 ling that from refractoriness or disinclination does Part II.
 chuse to work. Among such numbers there must
 many of ungovernable temper as among us; in P. 431.
 military line the disgusting punishments are gene-
 rally divided among 20 or 30 in a regiment from
 50 to 700 men. A well minded negro looks for-
 ward to something better than his present state. That
 they are in general satisfied, may appear from their
 having been incited to desolation and murder long
 before this period by the public conduct of this country,
 which has doubtless been exaggerated to them through
 various channels.

In the mountains of Jamaica an European might,
 by his labour, possibly produce enough for his con-
 sumption, but no where in the island any of the staple
 commodities. Great-Britain could not bear the con-
 sumption of men to cultivate the plantations; the
 young people sent out for book-keepers can scarce be
 kept alive, though without work. Umbrellas were
 necessary for them when standing out, and would be
 more so if working; and a negro or white person
 must be obliged to hold it over them.

He is sure the present stock of negroes cannot be
 kept up without an annual importation from Africa.
 The abolition of the slave-trade would by degrees
 prove the ruin of every proprietor, and produce beg-
 gary to his descendants, and by degrees also, he fears
 bankruptcy to this country.

Cannot speak positively to the annual decrease of a P. 432.
 the stock of negroes not recruited by purchase, but
 usually depends on situation. Imported negroes
 bring many disorders with them; exclusive of such,
 in happy situations, the consumption is trifling, but in
 unwholesome ones, which are many, it is great.
 Some of the disorders of imported negroes, such as
 dysentery and flux, are infectious. He infers the impossi-
 bility of keeping up the stock by breeding, under
 proper regulations and expedients, from their own
 Y 2 irregularities

1790. irregularities. He believes when in health, the negroes
 Part II. are capable of doing all kinds of work they are
 called to.

If a man uses his slave ill to a degree, he is
 amenable to the magistrate; if he destroys him wantonly,
 he is tried for his life. He does not recollect any instances
 of conviction and punishment of white men for ill using
 their own, or other men's slaves. Chief protection of
 negroes from ill usage by other persons, consists in
 some degree in the interest the masters have in
 protecting them, but he hopes from humanity also.

P. 433. Understands the Spaniards treat their slaves better
 than we; we better than the French; and the French
 better than the Dutch.

Free negroes in Jamaica follow different trades, as
 carpenters, masons, &c. but wanting regulation are
 debauched, and a great nuisance; they raise and bring
 stock to market for sale.

There are, he believes, many more males than
 females, but of late he understands the planters would
 prefer a greater proportion of females. He never
 heard much about the comparative cheapness of breeding
 negroes, and working them out and recruiting by
 buying imported slaves; he holds the importation
 from Africa necessary, both for keeping up the present
 cultivation and extending it. A planter in easy circumstances
 he is persuaded would buy more negroes from
 humanity, to ease the work of those he already
 had.

For extending the cultivation of the island, all
 opening new grounds, a greater number of negroes
 would be requisite. He is persuaded the loss in
 clearing new grounds, would be great in proportion
 to that in working of old settled plantations.

P. 434. Comparing the situation of field and domestic
 negroes, he repeats, the field negroes looks forward to
 something better, that is, to the cultivation of his own
 grounds and stock, which not only produce the
 necessaries

necessaries of life, but, with the overplus, give him what he understands to be the luxuries of it, yet in his opinion the lazy house slave would not change situations with him. 1790. Part II.

The number of domestic slaves may be trifling at first, but as their progeny are never turned into the field, they augment greatly in a few years.

Many British families carry over white domestics, but the masters and servants soon tire of each other. More of them return to this country in proportion, than of those whose duty requires them to be exposed to the vicissitudes of the climates.

He does not know whether the Spaniards use negroes for working their mines; he has heard, but does not know it, that English seamen taken on the coast of Spanish America, have been condemned to that employ. Has heard regulations exist in the Havannah, empowering domestic slaves to work out their own freedom, but does not know whether they exist among the plantation slaves. He has heard that the planters in Jamaica are frequently induced by the purchase of new negroes, to an unprofitable extension of their cultivation, but while the benefit remains to the successor.

W. Indies.—Witness examined.—Sir R. PAYNE.

Sir R. Payne, very early in life visited West-Indies twice, to see his friends, and the property he was afterwards to possess. In the latter end of 1771 (which was a few years afterwards) he returned thither as Governor General of the Leeward Islands, continued there almost 4 years, viz. until June 1775, and occasionally visited the principal islands under his governments. P. 435.

The management of slaves in the islands he governed, seemed wise and humane. They most unquestionably appeared in general properly fed, cloathed and lodged. More labour never seemed required of them than they could properly bear. He trusts he may P. 436.

1790. may aver without being contradicted, there is no
 Part II. slave, (at least he never saw any one) whose labour
 is by any means comparable to that of a day-labourer
 in England. This opinion may be supported by
 slaves having better health and spirits in crop-time,
 than any other, and being best pleased with the
 labour attending it, tho' the severest they have.

General appearance of negroes does not indicate
 despondency, nor does he believe they are more
 dissatisfied with their state, than the bulk of mankind
 in their respective stations. It is very common for
 them to perform their labour singing, and with ap-
 pearance of gaiety. Their necessities are supplied,
 and their situation has every appearance of comfort,
 but it will be more or less so in proportion to their
 industry, by which they may become comparatively
 affluent, as is proved by numbers being able to pur-
 chase their freedom. He manumitted a slave, who
 in slaves, houses, and boats, was worth between
 £500 or 600, and he is sure this sum was of the man's
 own acquiring. He had been latterly a distiller on the
 St. Kitt's estate, seemed between 60 and 63 years old,
 and was not born in the West-Indies. This man
 shews the comfort to which a foreign negro, unassisted
 by the family, and other advantages attending natives,
 may arrive.

P. 437. He conceives it visionary to employ Europeans to
 cultivate plantations, and so impracticable, as that
 there cannot be two opinions among those acquainted
 with the subject.

Has 2 West India estates; one at St. Kitt's, the
 other, named Carlisle's, at Antigua. Having passed
 2½ years on the Continent, he cannot specify with
 accuracy the numbers now on the 2 estates. On the
 latter he had 470 when he went abroad, and guesses
 the number must now be nearly 500; they are all
 Creoles. On the former, he thinks he may have
 about 140 or 150, partly Creoles, partly Africans.
 In 1771, when he came to this estate, he found on it
 about

about 170, and it was thought very liberally handed, 1790.
 so much that task-work had been occasionally per- Part II.
 formed by the former owner. But wishing that the
 slaves might play with the work, as on the Antigua P. 438.
 estate, Sir R. P. by a purchase completed the num-
 ber to 200. On the Antigua estate, not a single slave
 has been added to the stock by purchase, but the
 number has greatly increased by births, and there
 are so many supernumerary hands on it, that had he
 not been unwilling to separate families and friends, he
 could have supplied his St. Kitt's estate from it.

When Governor of the Leeward Islands, he found
 the management of his estates incompatible with his
 public duties. He therefore resided on neither of
 them, left them in the hands of his attornies, as
 before, giving no orders as to their management,
 tho' occasionally riding over them, and sometimes P. 439.
 perhaps suggesting his ideas to his attornies. In doing
 the latter, he omitted nothing which would assimilate
 the mode of proceeding on the St. Kitt's, to that on
 the Antigua estate.

Thinks he can confidently assert, equal care
 was taken of the slaves on his two estates. His
 attornies at St. Kitt's, were men of indisputable
 knowledge and humanity. Dr. Thomas was in this
 capacity when Sir R. P. was governor, and continued
 in it to his death, about 4 or 5 years since. He had
 the medical care of the slaves, not only under Sir
 R. P. but under his uncle. He had been regularly
 bred to surgery, under Mr. Warner of London, who
 expressed the greatest respect for his personal and
 professional merit, and Sir R. P. is satisfied, that the
 loss of slaves at St. Kitt's, was not occasioned by
 want of skill and attention on his part.

He cannot account for the encrease on the Antigua
 estate, and decrease on that of St. Kitt's, notwith-
 standing the purchases for the latter, and its being so
 circumstanced as to make it probable the slaves would
 increase, at least, as fast as on the former. Tho' the
 situation

1790. situation of the Antigua estate is not unhealthy, yet
 Part II. is nearly a flat, and not comparable to that of the
 other, which is a tract of land gently rising from the
 sea to a mountain. The slaves at St. Kitt's have
 much provision ground as they chuse in the upper
 part of the estate, besides two guts bounding it to the
 east and west: the provision ground of those

P. 440. Antigua, is very small. The allowance of food and
 cloathing at St. Kitt's, used to be more liberal under
 his predecessors, than at Antigua, where, tho' the
 estate has been in his family above 80 years, and the
 slaves always increasing, little or no provisions have
 been allowed. They have now the same as on other
 estates in this respect; and also as to cloathing,
 which he had from the custom of the estate, and
 almost without knowing it, not allowed a garb 'till
 a few years since, when on their request they were
 supplied with cloathing, as on other estates, tho' ex-
 perience had shewn it not absolutely necessary. The
 St. Kitt's estate has sustained that misfortune, as
 population, which he fears inseparable from almost
 all estates in the islands. The only reason he ever assigned
 for the uncommon encrease on his Antigua property,
 his grandfather having always bought women instead
 of men, and thus made the estate for years a nursery
 for young slaves. Mr. Blizzard his Attorney, and Chief
 Justice of Antigua, used to assign as a reason the high
 opinion these slaves had of themselves, as of a superior
 rank to all others in the island, because they were
 natives on the estate, and most of them the offspring
 of natives. Mr. Blizzard, tho' desirous of getting
 some of their breed on his plantation, which was
 contiguous, could never induce any of the men to
 marry in it. Their marriages were among them-
 selves, tho' the women might have gallants from other
 estates.

P. 441. Thinks it infinitely more advantageous to breed
 than to buy slaves, and he never had a doubt of this
 being a general opinion among planters.

When visiting the islands as governor, no act of cruelty from masters to slaves came to his knowledge 1790. Part II.
 hearing. The interest of the master is generally ought to be, and certainly is, a security for the good age of the slave.

From his knowledge of the judges and magistrates, is confident slaves and white persons would meet with equal redress for any cruelty sustained by them. This he fears is much more doubted in England, than in the colonies. He never heard a doubt expressed by any reasonable man, but that a master would be usually tried for his life for the murder of a slave, as that of a white man.

The nine parishes of St. Kitt's, are served by five P. 442.
 clergymen, the difficulty of procuring proper ministers making it usual to give 2 livings to a clergyman, both there, and in all the Leeward Islands. A personage house, glebe, surplice fees, and 16,000 pounds weight of sugar (or the current value of the sugar, at the option of the clergyman) belong to each living. The income from 2 country livings is not, he believes, over-rated at between £ 5 or 600 sterling per annum.

When he spoke of the lightness of a slave's labour, compared with that of an English labourer, he alluded to the former mostly out of crop-time, but he mentioned circumstances to shew that even in crop-time, it does not render the slave an object of consideration. Tho' cautious of delivering an opinion on the interior œconomy of an estate, he can say without hesitation from casual observations, he thinks field employments are not beyond the strength of men. Is convinced negroes only can cultivate P. 443.
 West-Indies, and that they are as capable of labour as those of other countries are in climates congenial to them.

He cannot say, what are the quantities of land in cultivation on his 2 estates. Should imagine from 50 to 170 acres at St. Kitt's, where he knows the

1790. cane-land has been lessened from the diminution of
 Part II. negroes; and if that diminution continues, and the
 means of supplying it are taken away, the inevitable
 (450.) consequence must be a still farther reduction in the
 quantity of cane-land, and perhaps eventually the
 throwing of the whole of it out of cultivation.

P. 444. The state of the provision grounds on his 2 estates
 was, he believes, very different, owing to the different
 natures of the estates themselves; but speaks with
 (445.) great diffidence as to all plantation matters. At St.
 Kitt's, these grounds are in the highest part of the
 estate, where the cane is not cultivated, but not more than
 above a mile from the sea, and also in the 2 grounds
 P. 444. before-mentioned. The negro huts are, he imagines,
 rather nearer the sea than the mountain, in a spot
 which, like the whole estate, is without exception one of
 the healthiest in the island. The provision grounds
 is sub-divided, and the negroes have their separate
 properties in it. Besides this, negro-provisions are
 raised for general use on other parts of the estate,
 which at one time of the year bear canes, at others
 yams, potatoes and eddoes.

P. 445. He does not recollect the quantity of corn and rice
 allowed his own negroes; but is certain it was not so
 great at St. Kitt's, as at Antigua.

Cannot tell the numbers of males and females on
 his estates; nor whether the loss on the St. Kitt's
 estate, since he augmented the slaves to 200 or there-
 abouts, before he left the islands, has taken place
 among grown slaves or infants, but believes it has
 been gradual and regular. He says he has not the
 least knowledge of the tetanus on his estates.

The manager who was on the St. Kitt's estate in
 1771, had been appointed when Sir R. P. was abroad,
 and returned to England a few years after Sir R. P.'s
 return thither. A second was appointed, who died on
 the estate, and now there is a third.

P. 446. He cannot say, whether on his estates, lying-in
 women were delivered in their own huts, or in rooms

for the purpose. There are hospitals on both of them, 1790.
 well as, he believes, on every other estate in the Part II.
 islands, which he believes are attended with all possible
 care. A physician constantly attended on his, and he
 believes on all others, twice or thrice a week, who,
 besides his regular stipend, was, he believes, paid
 extraordinarily for cases of midwifery, inoculations, and
 all extraordinary occasions.

The field negroes have certainly more or less property of their own.

As to their industry, that is matter of opinion, but those who are industrious are sure to be comfortable.

He apprehends the expence of maintaining negroes is considerably encreased since shutting up the American ports from the colonies.

Is unable to say what alterations have taken place in the treatment of slaves since he left the West-Indies.

In each island there are a chief justice, and, he P. 447.

believes, 4 puisne judges; and also magistrates chosen the commander in chief, and vested with the powers of justices of peace, which latter he always appointed (448.)

When governor, out of the most respectable planters and merchants. Sometimes an island has been so P. 447.

fortunate as to have a professional man at the head of law, but in general this is not the case, owing to small emoluments of the office, which arise entirely from certain fees established by the law of the island. He has however heard that since he quitted government, Mr. Robinson has been appointed judge of the Virgin islands, (which form a part of government of the Leeward Islands) with a salary of £200 per ann. sterling. When no proper person the law will accept the office of judge, the most scrupulous care is taken to select a planter of the best character for it.

The present chief justice of Antigua, practiced P. 449.
 many years at the bar there with great reputation.

1790. At a distance of 15 years, some allowance must be made for an inaccuracy of recollection, but Part II. does not remember any white being punished for ill-treating a black, nor does he remember ever hearing of any enormity of this sort that deserved punishment.
- P. 448. (449.) He cannot say whether the number of slaves employed in working the Antigua plantation, was greater, compared with the quantity of cane-land, of produce, than at St. Kitt's; but the whole number of slaves at the former, was infinitely greater than the latter estate, even when the number at this was 200; for at Antigua there was a task-gang, at St. Kitt's he never meant to establish one. No particular gang was appropriated to task-work at Antigua, but all were by turns employed in it as occasion offered, and on certain exigencies the whole gang is employed on the estate.

Witness examined—Sir ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL.

- P. 450. Sir Archibald Campbell resided 3 years in the west before last in the French islands of Martinique, Guadeloupe and Dominique, after the conquest of these islands, in a military capacity. He resided also in Jamaica 5 years during the last war, 2 of these years was governor.

The conduct of masters towards their slaves seemed mild, and marked with great kindness. Slaves appeared properly fed, clothed and lodged. He had no opportunity of ascertaining, whether more labour was required of them than they could properly perform, but understands it to be the masters' interest not to give them more than they can bear.

- P. 451. They appeared comfortable and satisfied with their state; heard no complaints to the contrary: cannot compare their condition with that of the labouring poor of England, not being able to judge of the labour here,

Does not conceive it possible that Europeans could
cultivate West Indies to advantage. 1790.

Should imagine a stop to the supply of African
negroes, would prove an immediate stop to all im-
provement, and occasion a general decrease in all
sugar estates.

Part II.

The Spanish treatment of their slaves he thinks P. 452.
like ours, very humane. Does not remember any
white man's being brought to legal punishment in
Jamaica, for ill-usage of his own or any other's slave
or free negroes; his time was occupied in defence of
the island, being shut up in the garrison. Nor does
he know any instance of the sort in the French islands.

Remembers many instances when in Jamaica, of
runaway slaves brought in by Maroon negroes,
according to their treaty with governor Trelawny.
Understands the cause of their flight to have been in
some the fear of returning home, after having staid
out too long with women they were attached to; in
others a disposition to idleness, and hopes of living
undiscovered with the Maroons; he cannot specify
any other causes. When brought back they were
always returned to their masters, if known, or else to
head quarters.

Advertisements for runaways often describe the P. 453.
negroes by marks of brands, but these he understood
to be marks of their own country, and his reason for
thinking so is, that all new negroes imported while he
was in Jamaica had their particular country marks;
these he does not mean to say were received in the
interior country, from which they originally came,
but made in Africa previous to their exportation
hence: he never saw them appear fresh; understood
all such marks to have been made in Africa before they
came to the island, but where he never heard. He
understood that the tribes in Africa distinguish them-
selves by tattooing, or impressing marks on their faces
and bodies.

When

1790. When the Maroon negroes made their treaty with
 Part II. Governor Trelawny in 1739, he has heard that
 amounted to about 3000 men, fit for arms. During
 his government, he endeavoured to get all the fighting
 men in their towns, to turn out when Jamaica was
 threatened by the French and Spaniards, and was surprized
 to find they did not amount to 300.

He never knew the Maroons hire themselves to field
 labour.

There are great numbers of free negroes in the
 towns, and different parishes in the island; in general
 they are idle, and dissipated. Does not know, but
 thinks they had matrimonial connections with negro
 women on the plantations: He thinks it very probable
 that these connections were formed, in order to derive
 subsistence from the wives, and so live in idleness
 themselves.

He ascribes the decrease of the Maroon negroes
 chiefly to a free access to spirits. They have women
 among them, and have wives; another cause of the
 decrease, he has heard, is their cohabitation with the
 women of the neighbouring plantations. He understands
 they are daily decreasing; cannot say in what
 proportion. The decrease from 3000 men in 1739, to
 300 in 1782, extends only to fighting men.

Witness examined—J. ORDE, Esq;

P. 455. John Orde, Esq; had been at Jamaica 3 years as
 midshipman and lieutenant; a few months at the
 Leeward islands as lieutenant in the navy, and near
 6 years at Dominique as governor; it is 7 months
 since his return to England. In islands where he
 has been, has observed the treatment of slaves in
 general humane and good. Severe masters occur in
 all parts of the world; one or two he has known at
 Dominique. A knowledge of these, occasioned the
 legislature

gislature to pass a law to give farther protection to 1790.
 negroes, and promote religion and morality among Part II.
 them; it obliges masters, under heavy penalties, to
 give them a certain quantity of food, clothing, and P. 456.
 medical aid; limits powers of punishing; secures them
 trial by jury in all capital cases; makes it felony in
 white men to kill them; enjoins masters to christen
 their children within a certain time, and to have divine
 service performed by a white person, on the estate,
 once a week. This law, but lately past, he believes is
 intended to: The negroes are, as in general before
 the law, well taken care of. He confines his answers
 here to Dominique; serving in the navy, when at
 Jamaica, though he was there 3 years, had but little
 opportunity to remark, so particularly, the treatment
 of masters towards their slaves.

More labour was not seemingly required of negroes
 as they could properly bear; 10 hours in the 24
 as all the time required; they do not turn the
 negroes, at Dominique, into the field till after sun-rise,
 an hour is given them for breakfast, which they eat
 in the field, and from 12 to 2 o'clock for their dinner,
 and they cease labour at sun-set, except bringing home
 a bundle of grass. Believes they are generally thought
 most healthy at crop time, both at making sugar and
 rice. Their labour he thinks not greater than that
 of a common labourer in England; that of the hedger
 and ditcher, he thinks full as great.

When sick they are well taken care of; many estates
 have hospitals for them; some have medical people P. 457.
 attending on them, and almost all are attended by the
 clergy once or twice a week, or oftener, if necessary.
 The old people, he believes, are well taken care of;
 never saw a beggar in the street.

They appear very well satisfied with their condition
 in general; some, he has heard, have been offered to
 return to Africa, but refused it: Old negroes consider
 their situation as vastly preferable to that of the new,
 and go to the Beach to see them when imported. To
 prove

1790. prove the attachment of slaves to their masters, he r
 Part. II. lates that a number of foreign runaways had come over
 that a number of the negroes of Dominique, perha
 tempted by the French, had left their masters, and th
 others, perhaps through discontent, had deserted al
 that these altogether inhabited the woods of Don
 nique, and were armed, and there committed ma
 acts of violence against the inhabitants, so as to d
 termine the legislature, after an ineffectual trial of eve
 lenient method, to endeavour to reduce them by forc
 Slaves from the different estates were on this servic
 and through the whole course of it manifested th
 greatest zeal and desire to bring them back to th
 duty.

He conceives it impossible to cultivate West-Ind
 plantations to advantage by Europeans; manywhite a
 tificers work in all the islands for very great wages, an
 are thus enabled to live well; yet these work mod
 rately, and almost always under cover; notwithstan
 ing, he believes more than $\frac{1}{2}$ of those who were
 Dominique when he went there, were dead when
 came away. The loss of European troops in St. L
 cia, he has heard, was due to their rolling provisor
 for a few hours only in the day, up to Morne Fortu

P. 458. He has his doubts, whether in Dominique, where t
 negroes have certainly not decreased for 6 or 7 yea
 past, the numbers might not be kept up, if not attack
 by epidemical diseases, or other causes of extraordina
 mortality, incident to that climate; but Dominique h
 advantages, perhaps not possessed by any other island
 a great quantity of uncultivated lands allows them
 raise as much provisions as they please, and a surpl
 to buy a thousand necessaries and conveniencies. Th
 proximity of the foreign islands, and our frequen
 communication with them, affords them an advan
 tageous market; and the good water, may also co
 tribute to their health; but he only says, that th
 present number could be kept up without importatio
 There could be no possibility of extending the cult
 vatio

tion, nor does he believe the quantity of land now 1790.
cultivation could be kept so; for as land grows Part II.
it requires more labour. — Dominique contain
out 186,000 acres, of these about 54,000 are in
cupation, and 26,000 in cultivation. The merely
eping up the stock, therefore, would be very in-
ficient for the wants of the Dominique proprietors,
d should the trade be abolished, they would certainly
great sufferers. If some such encouragements for
eeding, were held out to Dominique, as are to the
ench islands in the Code Noir; and if the practice
separating children from their parents were more
ecisely dropt than it is, he thinks it would still more
ntribute to insure keeping up the present stock,
thout farther importation.

In explanation of the apparent difference between P. 459.
s own answers to the queries transmitted to him by
e Secretary of state, and the returns sent home from
e custom-house: he says, that in some of his answers,
e stated the negroes of Dominique to have encreased
the last 5 or 6 years; whereas the custom-house
turns declare, that the negroes imported, from 1784
1788, amounted to 27,553; that the numbers ex-
ported in the same period, amounted to only 15,781,
d of course, that the number remaining in Dominique
as 11,772. As a reason for the difference in these
counts, (as at the time explained by him to the
ecretary of state) says, that previous to the free-port
it of 1787, no slaves could be legally exported in
oreign vessels, and in the French islands, so heavy a
ty was laid on those imported in foreign bottoms,
to make that mode of sending them disadvantageous
the merchant, and the vigilance of the French
uifers rendered it dangerous to attempt running them
licitly; they were therefore smuggled out of Domi-
que, of which the custom-house had no returns, nor
nce the free-port act, can any returns be relied on.
he French have, in fact, taken about 4-5ths of the
hole number imported, and the Spaniards, and other
A a foreigners

1790. foreigners so many more, as not to leave, in his opinion,
 Part II. above 1000 in Dominique, and many of these, refuse
 negroes, part of which died, perhaps, before they got
 on the estates. The encrease by births, was stated
 from documents received from Mr. Constable, deputy
 treasurer of the island, a person very capable of giving
 true account. The returns of the French inhabitants,
 in the parish of St. Patrick, and his own observations
 confirm them.

P. 460. The persons to answer the queries of the privy
 council, were selected by Mr. Orde; finding the
 assembly backward to answer them, and desirous of
 collecting the sentiments of proprietors in the island,
 he sent different copies of the queries to 4 or 5 of the
 principal settlers in each parish, to be communicated
 by them to the whole; he sent also to the merchant
 for the same purpose, and requested answers. He
 conceives the answers he received, may be supposed
 the result of the experience, and knowledge of the
 most intelligent men in the island: Being first com-
 municated to him, he sent them to Great-Britain.

Where there is but little provision-ground on an
 estate, (a rare case in Dominique) the negroes are
 almost altogether fed by the owner; he believes they
 receive 2 lb. of salt fish, salt beef, or pork, or 7 or 8
 herrings, and about 7 or 8 quarts of farine each
 week; the children in proportion: The same pro-
 portion of fish, or meat, and nothing more, is given
 where there is provision-ground, but not quite sufficient
 for full subsistence; but where provision-ground is
 plenty, (generally the case in Dominique) the negroes
 are allowed to cultivate as much as they please, and
 have a day in the week, besides Sunday, for it; this is
 the usual method with the French inhabitants, and the
 most satisfactory to the negroes.

P. 461. The number of slaves lost in opening new lands in
 Dominique was ascertained, but being before his time
 he cannot state it; they were, he believes, very con-
 siderable, and partly owing to mismanagement: A

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custom then prevailed of working new negroes; which contributed to the loss, but this is not now followed. 1790. Part II.

Does not know that the difference of profit to the resident and to the absentee proprietor of estates in the West-Indies is so great as he stated to the privy-council, he believes it however to be in general very material.

Believes attention to moral and religious instructions of slaves would contribute to their comfort, and their masters interest; the French are more attentive to these points than we are, and benefit accordingly.

Understands that lately in Tobago the French have established a regulation, excusing female slaves from labour, in proportion to the number of children they bear and bring up, and liberating them after having borne 7.—Being asked if a slave's security from ill usage does not depend on the temper of the owner, he answered, the laws in the Colonies are not so well executed as in England; in general, he dares hope the honor and humanity of the owners lead them to attend to the protection of slaves. The treatment of slaves in the French islands he believes more severe than in the English. In Dominique the French follow the custom of the English. The laws provide security for free negroes against ill usage of white men; their evidence is not good, in capital cases, against white. Thinks the Tobago law stated above, regarding a woman who has brought up many children might be advantageously adopted; at present, negro women are certainly averse to bearing children, and careless in bringing them up; as he thinks bearing children interrupts their libidinous pursuits, and makes them less desirable to the men.

Were the planters to see the benefit of the Tobago regulation, as before stated, they would, no doubt, adopt it. P. 463.

Believes, if the slave trade is abolished, the consequence will be disadvantageous to the empire in general, and in particular to Dominique, the pro-

1790. prietors of which bought their lands of government
 Part II. at a very high rate, trusting for their cultivation in
 uninterrupted importation of slaves; no more than
 one-third of the island is now in occupation, and only
 26,000 acres is in real cultivation: A stop to the im-
 portation of slaves would therefore make it impossible
 to clear more, and very difficult, perhaps, to keep what
 is now planted in the same state of improvement.

He does not recollect the refusal of a free negro
 evidence against a white man, except in one instance,
 which was a case of murder.

Witness examined.—DAVID PARRY, Esq;

P. 464. David Parry, Esq; resided at Barbadoes near 7 years
 as governor of the island, and left it July 6, 1781.
 Masters behave to their slaves with every possible kind-
 ness and attention. Negroes seem properly fed, clothed,
 and lodged; had it not been so, he would, as it was his
 business, have enforced the law to that end. Not that
 so much labour was required of them, as their owners
 had a right to demand; the common labour of a negro
 would be play to any English peasant. Never saw the
 least degree of despondency among them; has even
 reason to suppose them perfectly satisfied, as no com-
 plaints ever reached his ear. Banishment is the severest
 punishment to a negro at Barbadoes; there is no cor-
 poral punishment they would not prefer; has known
 them even hesitate between banishment and death.
 In general, he thinks their state infinitely more com-
 fortable than that of the labouring poor in England
 or any other part of the world that he knows. He
 thinks it impossible that the West-Indies could be
 cultivated by Europeans, without such a destruction
 of the human race as would harrow up the feelings of
 the hardest breast, and would be (to the imagination)
 distresses of the negroes) inhumanity in the extreme.

he has not the smallest doubt, that a supply of negroes 1790.
from Africa is necessary to the cultivation of sugar Part II.
plantations, particularly if they mean to improve more
and more. The abolition of the slave trade, would, in his P. 465.
opinion, prove detrimental both to the colonies, and
to the empire at large; it would raise the productions of
the country, beyond the power of the consumers here
to purchase, and consequently lessen the revenue,
in proportion as the consumption is diminished, and
it would injure the individual in his property, by en-
creasing his private expences; it would occasion the
immediate declension, and final ruin of the sugar co-
lonies, unless they were at liberty to seek for, and carry
their sugar and other produce, to other markets; and
this, in his opinion, would be bad policy.

If supplies of negroes be totally stopped, the gradual
diminution of their produce, and finally the extinction
of the sugar colonies, he thinks, would take place, and
he thinks it a dangerous and unnecessary experiment
to make; the planters of Barbadoes he knows, and the
planters in general, he believes to be men of sense,
of government, and humanity; and he thinks, that good
policy, ought to leave them in the quiet management
of their own affairs, and so render them, as beneficial
as possible to this country, to whose laws, constitution,
and king, they are warmly and zealously attached.

One man will annually cultivate 3 acres of cotton, P. 466.
and only one of sugar; the substitution of cotton for
sugar in many plantations in Barbadoes, arose more
from the loss of negroes in the hurricane 1780, than
from the depredations of vermin, or other causes.
This substitution is going on, though in a less degree,
because new negroes have been imported. The greater
part of the lands, where cotton was substituted, is now
allotted to sugar. The substitution of cotton
for sugar, might have been made immediately, but
did not take place to any extent for 3 or 4 years after-
wards. The difficulty of obtaining African negroes,
was the cause of that substitution, aided by the blowing
down

1790. down of the sugar-works and buildings. Tar
 Part II. difficulty arose from their not being brought to
 island, and from their high prices. The answers
 P. 467. by him, to the queries of the Privy Council, were
 framed by himself; the answers of the council, and
 assembly, by those bodies respectively; those returned
 by individuals, were transmitted by him, for the pur-
 pose of returning those answers: He selected men of
 whose discernment, experience, and integrity, he could
 rely, and persons also differing in sentiments, in order
 to give the Secretaries of State, the fullest information.

Witness examined—Lord RODNEY.

Lord Rodney went first to the West-Indies in 1777, he resided first at Barbadoes, then Martinique, St. Kitt's, and a small time at Guadaloupe, when those islands belonged to Great-Britain; he was also in Jamaica $3\frac{1}{2}$ years.

P. 468. Masters, in the several islands, seemed very attentive to their slaves; it is their interest to be so; he never saw one instance of cruelty, but many of forbearance, on an impertinent answer being given to the master. Slaves seemed properly clothed for the climate, in all the islands; in Jamaica, seemed better fed than the common labouring people here; the other islands had not grounds to give them such food as Jamaica could afford; they appeared also extremely well lodged for the climate, and their houses calculated for it. more labour was required of them than they could properly bear: A hundred times he has noticed, that he thought a labouring man in England did more work in one day than any 3 negroes. He has often noticed in the many plantations he has visited, that there is an hospital, called the sick-house, with negro women attending as nurses; there is scarce a plantation without a surgeon; it is their interest to be attentive.

P. 469.

negroes appeared to him to be in a state the 1790.
 se of desponding; after the day's work, they Part II.
 generally dancing, and making merry. Thinks
 possible to cultivate West-India plantations to
 ntage by Europeans. Believes the present stock
 e islands could not be kept up, without fresh
 rtations; for he believes, breeding is encouraged
 uch as possible; for one Creole is, in value, worth
 ew ones from Guinea.

onsiders the ships in the French West-India trade
 e greatest source of their power, for the West-
 a commerce enabled France last war to dispute
 Great-Britain the empire of the sea; their West-
 men are generally much larger than the British,
 appeared more than doubly manned. Thinks
 British West-India trade a considerable nursery
 eamen, and the West-India fleet very advan-
 ous in time of war in furnishing men for the
 ce, who are seasoned to the West-Indian climate. P. 470.
 ks it extremely important to keep up a trade,
 h he considers one of our principal branches of
 merce; without the African trade the West-Indies
 nks could not be supported. In 1787, the
 ch paid 200 livres a head premium for every
 imported into St. Domingo and St. Lucia, and
 for each imported into Martinique and Guada-
 e, besides a premium on ships that traded from
 ports of France to the coast of Guinea, payable
 ediate on their sailing, at so much per ton.—
 abolition of the slave trade would tend to reduce
 British West-India trade, and lessen the number
 ps and seamen, it would tend to encrease the
 ch marine in general; if the British slave trade
 abolished, and engrossed by foreign nations, it
 d add to the naval power of France, who has
 dy much more than half the West-India trade in
 ands, and diminish that of Britain in propor-

Never

1790. Never made a comparative estimate of the expense of breeding a negro till fit for the field, and that buying an able African: declares that wherever P. 471. went, it appeared they encouraged breeding, and took great care of the children. Does not recollect any regulation for the encouragement for breeding sanctioned by the legislature of the islands, but always understood they gave every encouragement for the negroes to breed, and for the settlement of the white people; it appeared so to him,

They were domestic slaves that gave impertinent answers.

The negroes seemed very bad labourers, compared with Europeans. Their inclination to labour was not equal to a labouring man's in England, not 3 of them could do so much work as one white man in Europe. In the West Indies they do more than the climate would permit a white man to do there.

P. 472. They are left to chuse their own wives; if there are any regulations concerning their marriages, he does not know them.

Being asked the grounds on which he concluded that the stock of negroes could not be kept up by breeding without importations from Africa, if proper regulations were adopted and adhered to, he answers, that he is not a judge of that. It is a long time before the children come to maturity. This opinion he draws from his own observations on what he has seen and heard; he knows no gentleman that does not attempt to keep up the stock, at least it appeared so to him.

He never heard what proportion of negro infants die within the month, or what grows up to maturity. He has been told they are apt to die very young of the locked jaw.

When we first took Martinique, 1761 or 1762, the French slaves appeared better clothed than the English; he desired the Barbadoes planters to observe that there was no naked slaves there, when

Barbadoes there were many naked. In consequence, the Barbadoes people put their laws in force and clothed their slaves. He thinks English goes better lodged than French. Food in a great measure depends on having proper provision on hand; such as have not this, give salt fish, and Guinea and Indian corn to their slaves. Slaves seem better off in the English than in the French islands; punishments in the French, greater than in the English islands. He never knew cruel treatment to a slave in the English islands, but the reverse. He never knew or heard of any thing in the public administration of justice between a white man and a negro, but strict justice to both. He was at the trial of a white man (about 1772 or 1773) for wilfully murdering a slave. The court condemned the man, and he believes he was executed. He spoke to the governor that he hoped he would pardon him. The man he believes was not the owner of the slave.

The property of slaves in the produce of their gardens, their poultry and pigs, as far as he has observed, is held sacred, and never taken from them without a just compensation; and at the market price.

If it were possible for a slave to be happy, they would be so. They never knew what liberty was. So far as regards only their food, clothing, lodging and care taken of them in sickness and in death, he thinks their lives as happy as those of peasants in this country.

As to seamen in the streets of Jamaica dying in an ulcerated state; falling without pity; without friends, without a look but of contempt from the hardened multitude that passes by, &c. He does not believe any thing of the sort ever happened in any of the islands. (See page 475 3d answer.) There may have been drunken seamen.

1790. If the crews of slave ships are ill used by the masters, they have always a remedy at hand, by entering into any of his Majesty's ships in the port. The ship cannot sail till the master has paid the men their just wages. The seamen of Guinea ships too customarily leave them to navigate the loaded ships to Great Britain, as their wages for the men exceed the wages due from their own ships; he believes there have been many instances of harsh treatment in captains of those ships, to get rid of their men. Regulations to this end are very necessary.

P. 475. He states, that in 1747, he saw 180 sail of French West India ships in one convoy, bound from St. Domingo to France. That we took 40 of them, the value of which was £500,000, and refers it to the committee to judge how much that commerce must have increased the last 40 years. He is convinced that France could not have disputed the empire of the ocean with us last war, but for the West-India commerce.

He never suffered pressing in the West-India, without recourse to the governor and council, who always allowed the impress, and gave every assistance in their power towards manning the ships in every island.

P. 476. The officers of the navy always oblige the captains of Guineamen to pay the wages due to such of the seamen as enter the King's service: If these have been ill-used, by captains of Guineamen, the officers of the navy, if it come to his ears, applies to the attorney-general of the island to prosecute such captains.

The African slave trade certainly supplies seamen to His Majesty's navy, because when they come to the West Indies we get some of them. It is not a nursery for seamen, that is certain; but it seals them to a hot climate.

INDIES—Witness examined—Sir PETER PARKER.

Admiral Sir Peter Parker was captain of a man 1790.
 war on the leeward island station the war before Part II.
 about 3 years. He was at the taking of Gua-
 loupe, and occasionally visited Barbadoes and all
 leeward islands except Nevis. In 1777 he was
 appointed admiral and commander in chief of all
 King's ships at Jamaica, where he arrived Feb. P. 477.
 178, and remained till 1782.

The treatment of slaves in the several islands
 is lenient, mild and humane. He never heard of
 one instance of severity during his stay at Ja-
 maica. The slaves not only seemed properly fed,
 lodged and clothed, but in a more comfortable
 state than the lower class of people in any part of
 Europe, Great Britain not excepted. No more
 labour was required of them than they could pro-
 perly bear. Our peasantry scarce earn a livelihood
 labour much harder than these are put to; and
 age and infirmities, drag on a miserable life on a
 small allowance of 1s. 6d. or 2s. per Week from
 their parishes; whereas the negro, when old and
 infirm, has particular attention paid to make him
 easy and comfortable; and if he has acquired money,
 which all industrious negroes may do, he may live
 in affluence the rest of his days; he knows that his
 family and friends will be sure of protection, and
 good treatment after his decease, and that he may
 bequeath his property how and to whom he pleases.
 They are far from being in a state of despondency,
 and generally chearful and merry.—It is absolutely P. 478.
 impossible to cultivate the West Indies by Euro-
 peans; to shew how inimical the climate is to
 European constitutions, he says he need only refer
 to the military returns there of 1779, 1780, and
 1781. The very existence of the soldiers depends

1790. on their being allowed negroes to carry their stores
 Part II. and provisions, and do other acts of drudgery.
 Our seamen work under awnings, to keep off the sun. The manning vessels in our dock yards with negroes, to water and store the King's ships, he is satisfied has saved the lives of thousands. The captains under his command had all leave to entertain a few negroes. The ships when once watered, kept up the quantity with their own long boats. This is a proof that negroes are necessary for this service, he relates that a frigate, about to sail from Port Royal, sent her long-boat to Rock Fort for water, with a midshipman, cockswain, and six seamen, and that on her return next morning, the midshipman and six seamen were taken ill and died.

He thinks the present stock of negroes cannot be kept up without fresh importations from Africa; experience proves it otherwise.

He considers the ships in the French West India trade, as a principal source of their naval power. Their ships in general are larger than ours, and carry double the number of men. Their West India trade is immense, and, in his opinion, two thirds of their whole commerce; should they obstruct their African trade, which he thinks they are too wise to do, they would lose their consequence among the nations of Europe, and not be able to fit out fleets sufficient to alarm their neighbours. He hears, and thinks it probable, that they are endeavouring to improve their West India trade, and their African, as connected with it.

P. 479. The British West-India trade is a great nursery for seamen; we should find it difficult to man a great fleet without it. There can be no doubt, that that trade, and also the African, are extremely serviceable in manning King's ships in the West-Indies in time of war. He received upwards of 2000 into the fleet under his command, and manned several ships that were bought for the King from West-India merchantmen.

and African ships: Those traders furnish seamen peculiarly adapted to West-India service, and more able to manage the King's ships in that station than seamen usually employed in Europe. It is important to the kingdom to keep up British West-India trade; but more important to keep up the African. 1790. Part II.

The abolition of the African trade would, in his opinion, cause a general despondency among the negroes, and gradually decrease population, and consequently the produce of our islands, and must in time destroy near $\frac{1}{2}$ our commerce, and take from Great-Britain all pretensions to the rank she now holds of being the first maritime power in the world.

In the same ratio that our power decreases, that of the French will encrease.

He has never seen nor heard of sailors dying in the streets of Jamaica in an ulcerated state, objects both of commiseration and horror, as stated in the report of the Privy Council, except in the committee room.

Witness examined.—STEPHEN FULLER, Esq; Agent for the island of Jamaica.

Produced extracts from the minutes of the joint committee of assembly and council of Jamaica, 3d December, 1789, which are inserted from page 485 to page 496 of the minutes at large* P. 481.

He also produced a paper intituled, "Jamaica export and import of negroes, and negroes retained in

Extracts from the minutes of the joint committee of assembly and council of Jamaica, 3d December 1789. Mr. Murray reported as follows;

Mr. Speaker,


Your committee appointed to meet a committee of the council in a free conference, to enquire into and to report to the house their opinion, what steps are necessary to be taken with regard to the slave trade, in consequence of the information received from the agent of this island of the proceedings had in the House of Commons in the last session of parliament in respect of the said trade, P. 485.

1790. " in the island for 49 years, viz. from 1739, to
 Part II. " to 1787, both inclusive, distinguishing the years
 " of war from those of peace." This paper is
 shew that the importation of negroes into Jamaica

trade, have accordingly met, and have taken the examinations of
 several persons, and have agreed to the following resolutions:

I. Resolved, It is the opinion of the joint committee, that
 the suppression, either direct or virtual, of the slave trade
 by the British nation only, (other nations continuing the trade
 as usual) would not promote the purposes of humanity, either
 in respect of the negroes which are annually brought to the
 African markets for sale, or in regard to the negroes at present
 in a state of slavery in this and the rest of the British islands in the
 West-Indies. The effects in Africa of a partial abolition would be
 this, that the purchasers from Europe, being fewer in number,
 would have a greater choice of slaves, equal to the whole demand
 of the British merchants at present which is stated at 38,000
 annually; whereby prime slaves only would be saleable; and
 the aged and infirm (many of whom are now purchased of necessity)
 being rejected in greater numbers than formerly, the horrible
 practice which has long existed among the slave-merchants on the
 coast, of putting to death such of their captives as are brought to
 market and rejected by the Europeans, would be more prevalent
 than ever. In the British West-Indies the effect (however lightly
 felt at first) must necessarily, in the course of a few years, from
 an unavoidable decrease consequent on the present inequality of
 the sexes, have this operation; that the labour which is now
 performed by a given number of negroes, must either be performed
 by a less number, or the planter must contract the limits
 of his plantation, and diminish his produce. Thus immediate
 interest, and in many cases urgent distress from the importation
 of creditors, will be set in opposition to the principles of justice,
 and the dictates of humanity.

II. Resolved, It is the opinion of the joint committee, that to
 condemn the slave trade as peculiarly destructive to British seamen
 (the contrary whereof is proved by the evidence of Vice-Admiral
 Edwards before the privy council) and to adduce in proof thereof
 the losses sustained on certain unhealthy parts of the coast, without
 taking into the account the losses sustained in other branches of
 the African commerce, such as the wood and ivory trades, where
 the mortality principally occurs, and the encrease of seamen from
 such other parts of the British navigation as are principally de-
 pendent on the African commerce, is partial and unjust. Among
 these branches may be reckoned the West India and lumber trades;
 and above all, those great nurseries for seamen, the Irish, British,
 British-American and Newfoundland fisheries; the consumption
 of herrings and salted fish by the negroes, being immense. We
 have

as very considerable in war time. He formed the 1790.
 calculation from 1739 to 1772, from an original Part II.
 account found among Mr. Rose Fuller's papers, 

after
 we likewise reason to believe, that since the late regulating act,
 the mortality of British seamen in the slave trade has decreased
 nearly one half.

III. Resolved, It is the opinion of the joint Committee, that
 the loss of Negroes which is sometimes sustained in the voyages
 from Africa, as well as in the harbours of this island, between
 the days of arrival and sale, and which is stated to happen from
 the mode of transporting them from the Coast, being *a remediable*
inconvenience, affords no argument for a total suppression of the
 Slave Trade.

IV. It is the opinion of the joint Committee, that no just esti-
 mate can be formed of the effects which the Regulating Act of
 the British Parliament, passed in 1788, will ultimately produce
 in respect of the loss of the slaves in the middle passage, inasmuch
 as it appears, from a return of negroes purchased on the coast of
 Africa by ships that have entered in the port of Kingston since
 the first of January last, that, out of 2099 slaves purchased on the
 old Coast, 2042 have been sold in this island, a loss of only
 one and three-fourths per cent. but that, out of 2550 slaves pur-
 chased in the Bite of Benin, only 1642 have been sold; a loss
 amounting to thirty-five and three-eighths per cent. and unknown
 before any regulation took place. Two vessels have since arrived
 from the same coast, the Ann and the Vulture: these vessels pur-
 chased 785, slaves of whom only 14 have died; a loss not exceed-
 ing *one and three-sevenths* per cent. This amazing difference, as ap-
 pears by the evidence taken on oath, is partly to be attributed to
 the small-pox, which raged in some of the ships, and the measles
 and flux, which broke out in others. The loss by the flux was
 chiefly occasioned by the use of unripe yams, for want of other
 provisions.

V. Resolved, It is the opinion of the joint Committee, that
 the number of slaves at present in this island is about 250,000;
 which, according to the best enquiries that can be made con-
 cerning the proportion of the sexes, there are 140,000 males,
 and 110,000 females: it follows therefore, that if future impor-
 tations from Africa be discontinued, there will unavoidably ensue,
 from the disproportion of the sexes alone, a very great reduction
 from the present number of our slaves, before any augmentation
 can be expected from natural increase by generation; a diminu-
 tion which must not only preclude all attempts at the further im-
 provements of our unsettled lands, but likewise occasion a propor-
 tionable decrease in the present cultivation; it being an undoubted
 fact, that almost all the plantations already settled are much
 under-handed.

VI.

1790. after his death, printed part III. of the Privy
 Part II. Councils report; thence to 1787, from the Inspector
 General's account, printed part IV. of that report.

VI. Resolved, It is the opinion of the joint Committee, that it is absolutely impossible to cultivate the West India islands, as to produce any commodities that would enrich the mother country, by white labourers. Fatal experience demonstrates the fallacy of such an expectation. In the year 1749, the legislature of this island passed a law holding out great encouragement for the introduction of white families into this colony, which proved ineffectual; very few families having come in consequence thereof, and of those that came not a vestige is left. The French ministry in 1763, attempted to settle a colony by means of white labourers at Cayenne, on the coast of America; twelve thousand miserable people were the victims of this impolitic scheme. Further instances are wanting to prove, that Europeans cannot withstand the climate when exposed to the sun and the rains, recourse may be had to the accounts of the siege of Carthagena, the expedition to Cumberland Harbour; the siege of the Havana; the returns of the regiments that came out under the command of General Garth in 1779 and 1780; and the expedition to Fort Saint Juan, on the Spanish Main.

VII. Resolved, It is the opinion of the joint Committee, that according to the best estimate which can be formed, this island may be stated to contain four millions and eighty thousand acres of land, of which not more than one-fourth part, or about one million of acres, is at present in actual cultivation; and although a considerable part of the country, consisting of high mountains and rugged precipices, is incapable of improvement, yet it may be presumed, that no part of the lands, which are actually patented, falls within that description; inasmuch as the owners thereof pay a quit-rent to the Crown for holding the same which quit-rent, and the arrears thereof, collected since Christmas last, amount to the sum of 27,000*l.* or thereabouts, exclusive of 13,000 now in a train of settlement.

VIII. Resolved, It is the opinion of the joint Committee, that it appears, from the offices of the Clerk of the Patents and Receiver-General, that there are at this time patented in this island or taken up by grants from the Crown, 1,907,589 acres of land from which, the quantity in actual Cultivation being deducted there will remain, with every allowance for unproductive territory 900,000 acres of cultivatable land yet unsettled; the whole of which, if the Slave Trade be abolished, must become an absolute burthen and incumbrance on its present proprietors; who will in such case, be entitled as of right, and on the principles of natural justice, to the liberty of surrendering the same back to the Crown, and receiving full compensation for the capitals therein vested.

looked on this last account as more perfect than 1790.
own, which was that of a private gentleman (of Part II.
naica) only, and the other that of a publick offi-
cer.

ed, and all quit-rents paid on account thereof. The said
l, valued only at 3l. currency per acre, is worth 2,700,000l.
ency, equal to 1,928,500l. sterling.

X. Resolved, It is the opinion of the joint committee,
the planters and proprietors of negroes in this island will
like manner, be entitled to compensation for the diminution
h must necessarily ensue in the number of our slaves, should
further importations be discontinued by authority of parlia-
t; the present disproportion between the sexes having arisen
f causes which are not imputable to us. With the reduction
ur slaves will likewise unavoidably happen a proportionate de-
se in the value of our lands, buildings, and produce;
which and all other losses consequent on a change in the pre-
system, it is the opinion of the joint committee, that the in-
tants of this, and the rest of his Majesty's sugar colonies, are
y and justly entitled to compensation; the said colonies hav-
been originally settled under the most sacred compacts with
nother country, sanctioned by royal charters and proclama-
s, as well as by a succession of acts of parliament, authorising
encouraging the slave trade; particularly by the charters
ted in 1662 and 1674, by King Charles II. which established
yal African company, the last of which was granted in con-
equence of an address from both houses of parliament, and by
cts of the 9th and 10th of William the III. a period when
principles of civil liberty were minutely investigated, well
rstood, and freely asserted; and more recently, by the act
George II. which recites the usefulness and absolute ne-
y of the African trade. Our claim of compensation is founded
nd supported by, not only the rules of natural as well as
justice, but by the expectations we are warranted to enter-
from the examples of compensation made by parliament to
oyal African company, for the resumption of their lands,
&c. &c. (see stat. 25 Geo. II. c. xl. in 1752, and to the
h merchants and owners of ships engaged in the African
for losses sustained by them in consequence of the act for
ating the shipping and carrying slaves in British vessels from
ast of Africa, passed in the last session of the British parlia-
t; and it is our opinion that, before any further measures
ds the abolition of the slave trade be taken by the parlia-
of Great Britain, commissioners ought to be appointed for
aining the losses to arise therefrom.

Resolved, It is the opinion of the joint committee, that
arges which have been brought against the planters of this
of improper and inhuman treatment of our Slaves, may
C c be

1790. cer. Hence he has taken the last part of his calculation from the Inspector-General's account, which reaches from 1772 to 1787. The said account was delivered

be fully refuted and disproved; first by an appeal to our laws, and, secondly, by the evidence of respectable men who have resided among us, and have been witnesses to our manners. Whatever may be said of our ancient Colonial Slave-laws, the Acts which have been passed, within the last ten years, are written in characters of justice, mercy, and liberality. Concerning the general treatment of our slaves, we refer to the evidence already personally given to the Lords of the Council, by the Right Hon. Lord Rodney, Sir Peter Parker, Adm. Barrington, Sir Joshua Rowley, Admiral Hotham, Vice Admiral Edwards, and Sir George Young: and to the further evidence that may be produced from gentlemen of character in England who have resided many years in this island, and are intimately acquainted with our conduct and manners. We conceive that the testimony of such persons is satisfactory, answerable and conclusive; and shall therefore only remark, that it is notorious our Slaves, in general, are not only treated with kindness and humanity, but that they are also protected by law from immoderate chastisement or cruel treatment, and enjoy more easy, comfortable, and happy lives, than multitudes of the labourers in Great Britain.

XI. Resolved, it is the opinion of the joint committee, that in confidence of the validity of plantation security, and the support and encouragement the sugar-colonies, and the African trade, have hitherto experienced from government, the merchant ships of Great-Britain have been induced to enter in very large advances, and engage in extensive loans to the West-India planters; and on the faith of an act of parliament, passed on purpose to make the receiving of six per cent. on colonial securities lawful in Great-Britain, great numbers of private persons at home as well as subjects of foreign states, have likewise embarked considerable sums on mortgages, and have purchased annuities to a very large amount on West-India estates: now the slave trade being the great source of every West-India improvement, its abolition must inevitably diminish the value of all such securities, and drive the creditors to use every means in their power to extricate their property from such a precarious situation; to the immediate distress of the planters and their families, and the ultimate ruin of many of the mortgagees and annuitants themselves.

XII. Resolved, It is the opinion of the joint Committee, that the present value of property in this island may be fairly and reasonably estimated as follows; viz. 250,000 negroes, at 50l. sterling per head, is 12,500,000l. The patented lands, with their erections, and the personal property appertaining thereunto, at double the value of the negroes (being the most general rule of valuation)

livered in and read, and is inserted from page 1790.
7 to 499 of the minutes at large. By this ac- Part II.
count it appears that, in

| | | | Total slaves
Years retained | Average
per Ann. | (499.) |
|----------|--------------|------|--------------------------------|---------------------|--------|
| ar from | 1739 to 1749 | —10— | 55230 | —5523 | |
| ace from | 1749 to 1755 | —7— | 43645 | —6235 | |
| ar from | 1756 to 1763 | —8— | 49368 | —6171 | |
| ace from | 1764 to 1775 | —12— | 88443 | —7370 | |
| ar from | 1776 to 1782 | —7— | 41536 | —5791 | |
| ace from | 1783 to 1787 | —5— | 32218 | —6444 | |
| | | | <hr/> | | |
| | | | 49 310440 | | |

AVERAGES.

War 25 years.

Peace 24 years.

5523

6171

5791

3)17485

5828

6235

7370

6444

3)20049

6683

5828

ace annual average exceeds war 855

annual average retained for 49 years 6335

C c 2

Witness

uation) amount to 25,000,000l. and the article of houses in the
ns, the coasting and trading vessels, &c. may be estimated at
million and a half at the least; it appearing, by the Report
of the Committee of the Lords of the Privy Council, that the
ses in Kingston and Spanish Town are alone worth 1,428,521l.
ling. The total is thirty-nine millions of pounds Sterling;
whole profits and produce of which capital, as also of the va-
s branches of commerce to which it gives rise, center in Great
tain, and add to the national wealth, while the navigation ne-
ary to all its branches, establishes a strength which wealth can
ther purchase nor balance.

Witness examined.—ROBERT NORRIS, Esq;

1790. Produced a paper, intituled, "An account of t
Part II. " vessels and amount of their cargoes, now employ
(483.) " by the merchants of Liverpool in the Africa
" slave trade, 3d March 1790." It was sent hi
by the secretary of the committee of African me
chants at Liverpool. He believes it to be a tr
statement of facts. It was delivered in and rea
and is inserted from page 500 to 509, of the print
minutes. By this account it appears that there we
then 139 ships, 24907 tons, 3853 seamen, employ
by the Liverpool merchants in the slave trade; th
the value of ships and outfit was £ 361,608 : os. : 8
and the total amount £ 1,092,546 : os. : 9d.

The witness also produced the following accou
and lists.

An account of the number of men discharged
the master tradesmen of Liverpool employed in t
slave trade, and who are now out of work, or go
to other places, from the restrictions laid on th
trade by parliament, with their occupations, an
wages in a year. This account is dated 15th Mar
1790, and is inserted page 510 of the minutes
large. The persons specified in it, are 1007 trad
men and labourers, 22 masters of slave ships,
mates, 356 seamen: total 1432 persons, in t
situations described.—N. B. In 1787, there were on
719 persons in the poor-house of Liverpool; b
from the said restrictions, there are now in the po
house 1227: increase 508. Added to these, t
poor relieved out of the house, are now 1060; al
in 1787, were 700: increase 340.

A list of African ships laid up in Liverpool, fro
the restrictions on the trade, inserted page 512
minutes at large: total 22 ships of 5366 tons.

P. 484. A list of African ships sold out of the trade,
sent on other voyages from the said restriction
inserted *ibid.* Total 16 ships of 3061 tons.

V. INDIES—Witness ex^d.—Capt. JOHN ASHLEY HALL

Now in the West-India trade from London, was 1790.
the African trade from 1772 to 1776 inclusive. Part II.
made two voyages to Africa in the Neptune, as (513.)
first, second and chief mate; touched at C. Mount,
and sailed along shore, sometimes trading for rice
at C. Palmas; failed thence the first voyage to the
River Del Rey, in the bight of Biafra, where they
sailed. Second voyage, failed from C. Palmas to Del
Rey; but the trade being dull, went to the R. Old P. 514.
Calabar.

The slaves were brought on board by the black
traders pinioned, and sometimes 4 or 5 with collars
rained together.

These traders always went for the slaves, after the
arrival of the ship, with goods they got, and in war
canoes. He saw from 3 to 10 canoes in a fleet,
each with 40 to 60 paddlers, and 20 to 30 traders,
and other people, with muskets, suppose one to each
man, with a 3 or 4 pounder lashed on the bow; they
were generally absent from 10 days to 3 weeks.

Often asked the mode of buying slaves inland;
was told by the traders they were prisoners of war,
and sold by the captors. He never saw a slave
brought on board with a fresh wound, and a few
with old scars.

Often asked them how they became slaves: they
constantly said, either surprized in their towns, at
work in the fields, or taken in fixed battle.

Often saw slaves brought on board from 8 to 13 P. 315.
years old, always without relations; never knew
but one instance to the contrary, which was a woman
with a sucking child about 6 weeks old.

The trade in the rivers Calabar and Del Rey is
carried on by means of pawns, who very often are
children of the traders. They were always parti-
cularly

1790. cularly anxious as to the fate of the pawns, and
 Part II. seemed much distressed when suspicious of the ship
 failing away with them.

Never saw more guns in the king's and principal
 trader's houses than appeared for use; never any
 trade guns but of a better sort. On the sea coast
 they were afraid to fire a trade gun.

In Old Calabar river are two towns, Old Town and
 New Town. A rivalry in trade produced a jeal-
 ously between the towns; so that through fear of
 each other, for a considerable time, no canoe would
 leave their towns to go up the river for slaves
 (537.) which happened in 1767. He corrects an error of it
 being in 1768, when examined before the Privy
 Council, from a copy he has since seen of the de-
 position of William Floyd, mate of the Indian
 (516.) Queen. In 1767 seven ships lay off the point
 which separates the towns; six of the captains in-
 vited the people of both towns on board on a
 certain day, as if to reconcile them: at the same
 time agreed with the people of New Town to cut
 off all the Old Town people who should remain on
 board the next morning. The Old Town people
 persuaded of the sincerity of the captains' proposal
 went on board in great numbers. Next morning at
 8 o'clock one of the ships fired a gun, as a signal
 to commence hostilities. Some of the traders were
 secured on board, some were killed in resisting, and
 some got overboard and were fired upon. When
 the firing began, the New Town people who were
 in ambush behind the point, came forward and
 picked up the people of Old Town, who were
 swimming, and had escaped the firing. After the
 firing was over, the captains of 5 of the ships deli-
 vered their prisoners (persons of consequence) to
 the New Town canoes, two of whom were beheaded
 along side the ships; the inferior prisoners were
 carried to the West-Indies. One of the captains,
 who had secured three of the king's brothers, deli-
 vered

red one of them to the chief man of New Town, 1790.
no was one of the two beheaded along side; the Part II.
her brothers he kept on board, promising, when
e ship was flaved, to deliver them to the chief
an of New Town. His ship was soon flaved from
is promise, and the number of prisoners made
at day; but he refused to deliver the king's
o brothers; and carried them to the West-Indies
d sold them. Thence they escaped to Virginia,
d thence, after 3 years, to Bristol; where the
ptain who brought them, fearing he had done
ong, meditated carrying or sending them back to
irginia. Jones, of Bristol, who had ships trading
Old Calabar, had them taken from the ship
where they were in irons) by Habeas Corpus. After
quiry how they were brought from Africa, they
ere liberated, and put in one of Jones's ships, for P. 517.
ld Calabar, where the witness was, when they ar-
ved in the ship Cato, Langdon. They said they
ere treated very ill in the West-Indies, but much
etter in Virginia.

So satisfied were the people of Old Town, in
67, of the sincerity of the captains who invited
em, and of the New Town people towards a
conciliation, that, the night before the massacre,
e chief man of Old Town gave to the chief man
New Town one of his favorite women as a wife.
was said, that from 3 to 400 persons were killed
at day, in the ships, in the water, or carried off
e coast.

The king escaped from the ship he was in, by
lling two of the crew who attempted to seize him:
then got into a one-man canoe, and paddled to
e shore; a 6-pounder from one of the ship's struck
e canoe to pieces, he then swam on shore to the
bods near the ship, and reached his own town tho'
osely pursued; it was said he received 11 wounds
om musket-shot,

Captain.

1790. Captain Hall in his first voyage on board the
 Part II. Neptune, had this account from the boatswain, Thomas
 Rutter, who, in 1767, had been boatswain of the Canterbury, captain Sparkes, of London, and
 concerned in the said massacre; Rutter told him the
 story exactly as related, and never varied in it; and
 also from the king's two brothers, who agreed exactly
 with Rutter.

When sailing along the windward coast, he often
 saw canoes hovering about the ship for a considerable
 time, after much intreaty they came on board, but
 were so suspicious that they kept constantly near the
 P. 518. ship's side, to jump overboard; they said they were
 fearful of being taken off the coast, as some of the
 countrymen had been.

The slaves when brought on board to be sold
 always appear dejected. It soon wore off with the
 young slaves, and some women; but not with the
 men, which he ascribed to their being forced from
 their dearest connections, and native country.

The men were immediately put in irons, two together,
 and kept in irons, hands and feet, 'till the
 arrival in the West Indies, unless taken ill, when the
 irons were taken off. Never saw a female in irons.

They often disagree in the night about their sleeping
 places; the men linked together often fight, when
 one wants perhaps to obey the calls of nature, and
 the other is unwilling to go with him.

Their usual food on board was horse-beans, rice
 P. 519. and yams, with a little palm-oil and pepper. They
 often refused to eat, especially beans, when they were
 corrected with a cat o' nine tails. He has known their
 refusal to eat attributed to fullness, when owing to
 sickness, particularly one man who was corrected
 moderately for not eating, and was found dead next
 morning.

They were made after meals to jump on beating
 drum. This is called dancing. When they refused
 they were compelled by the cat.

Often

Often heard them cry out below for want of air. 1790.
 between decks is so hot, that often after being below Part II.
 a few minutes, his shirt was so wetted by perspiration,
 that he could have wrung it.

Their vessel was about 180 tons by register. They
 purchased first voyage about 270 slaves: the second
 voyage 280. In the first voyage they lost he thinks
 5; but having been ill, was obliged to give up his
 journal; in the 2d, exactly 90. In the West-Indies he P. 520.
 and the loss of slaves to be very considerable on
 board many ships: Knew some bury half their cargo,
 one a quarter, and some a third; it was very
 uncommon to find ships without some loss of their
 slaves. They lost 10 seamen the first voyage out of
 30; and the second voyage 9 out of 30. He kept
 journal, so that the facts were mentioned as they
 happened.

The Venus sailed with them both voyages, belong-
 ing to the same owners; they kept company to the
 river Del Rey the first voyage, where they slaved;
 that ship buried in that voyage 18 seamen out of 30.
 the second voyage they kept company to the river
 Alabar, where they both slaved, and in that voyage
 the loss exceeded their's in proportion to her crew;
 it cannot speak exactly.

In his 2d voyage they spoke to the York, Adams,
 the windward coast; she had been 10 months from
 Liverpool, had lost 51 of her people including 6
 whites, out of 75 men. He relates this, from a remark P. 521.
 made in his journal on the day they spoke to the
 York.

In May 1788, two ships arrived in the West-Indies
 from Africa, called the Hornet and Benson; they
 anchored close to his ship. He went on board the
 Hornet, and was told they had lost 11 men out of
 30; when the Benson came to anchor, he was in his
 own ship, and could only see 2 whites handing the
 ship, the rest were black boys, slaves.

D d

The

1790.

Part II.

The crews of the African ships when they arrive in the West-Indies, were generally (he did not know a single instance to the contrary) in a sickly, debilitated state; the seamen who were discharged or deserted from those ships in the West-Indies, were the most miserable objects he ever met with. He often saw them with their toes rotted off, their legs swell to the size of their thighs, and ulcerated all over; such was their state, that however inclined to relieve them, by taking them into their ships, they were deterred by not having surgeons on board to give them the necessary assistance; he saw them on the wharfs in Antigua, Barbadoes and Jamaica (especially the two last) laying under the cranes and balconies expiring, and some dead. He saw last July a dead

P. 522. seamen laying on the wharf in Bridge Town, Barbadoes, who had been landed out of an African ship.

Never shipped an African seamen in any voyage made to the West-Indies. He commanded a West-Indiaman 10 years, made 10 voyages, and never lost but one seaman, and that was through interperance. Believes the African trade to be destructive to seamen, and beyond all comparison with any trade he knows; believes they are in general treated with great barbarity in the slave ships; and does not know of their being ill-treated in any other service.

On the windward coast he had seen rice, ivory, and Malaguetta pepper, plantanes, bananas, yams, and many tropical fruits; also on the leeward coast palm oil, ivory, bar wood, and most tropical fruits, and has seen very fine sugar canes brought on board the ships. Has seen traders and canoe men smoking tobacco of their own growth. The African rice was considered in the ship he sailed in much heartier food than the Caroline rice; they put two cruets of water, to one crue of Caroline rice; and three cruets of water, to one crue of the African rice. Has been at South Carolina, but never saw rice growing; he was informed upon enquiry that it grew in swamps; he

en rice grow in Africa, in a dry soil: has bought it 1790.
 in the windward coast from the natives, who brought Part II.
 on board in small canoes, (often with only one
 man) had been often on shore buying it in the ship's
 boats, and he does not recollect ever losing any
 of the surf.

Has seen the surf at Dominique and St. Kitt's, full
 as high as he ever saw it on the windward coast. On
 the leeward coast, he was in the rivers where there was
 no surf.

The Europeans who trade for slaves in the bight of P. 524.
 Benin, buy great quantities of yams and eddoes from
 the people of Fernandipo, where he had often been
 from Del Rey and Calabar to buy yams, and always
 found them very ready to trade. The ships from
 old Calabar, Del Rey and the Cameroons, he believes
 all send thither: has been 7 miles in the inland part

Fernandipo, and the yam and the eddoo plan-
 tations he always found in the highest order, and
 much more so than those of Calabar. The yams were
 much better than any he ever saw in the West-Indies.

There is no slave trade carried on by the natives P. 525.
 of Fernandipo, but some of them have been taken
 off by the ships and boats touching there.

At Calabar and Del Rey the only people that he
 heard called slaves, were the canoe boys: has always
 seen the slaves treated there with great kindness and
 familiarity; so much so as to be sometimes difficult to
 distinguish master from slave.

He believes negroes to be as ingenious as Euro-
 peans, under the same disadvantages, and as capable
 of all the virtues: he never saw them particularly
 dolent, when there was an opportunity of working
 to advantage.

He quitted the slave trade from conviction, that
 it was perfectly illegal, and founded in blood. He
 could often have had a ship in that service, which was
 then very lucrative for the masters: was second mate P. 326.
 when aged 22.

1790. Was often on shore on the windward coast in the Part II. river Calabar, not often at Del Rey. Was very often on shore at Calabar, sometimes 3 or 4 times a day to bring on board slaves, palm oil, and other articles. Quitted the trade from conscientious principles, and not to receive a legacy in the West Indies. Was first offered the command of an African ship in

P. 527. Antigua, by Mr. Taylor in 1782; and from Mr. Cox in 1781 and 1782.

P. 528. He saw at Calabar in the possession of the king's two brothers, their depositions taken at Bristol; and of William Floyd, who was mate of one of the ships when the transaction happened; he took no copy. The names of some of the ships there (i. e. 1767) at Calabar were the Duke of York, Beaven, of Liverpool; the Edgar, Lace, of Liverpool; the Indian Queen, Lewis, of Bristol; the Nancy, Maxwell, of Bristol; the Canterbury, Sparks, of London. Was told above 400 people from the old town came on board the ships, and most of them remained all night. Has said before the privy council that the English were as well received after the transaction, alluding to the time he went thither.

P. 530.

Believes it not general in Guineamen to put the first 8 or 10 negroes in irons; but after that, every man is put in irons when he comes on board, and so continued, unless in sickness, till they reached the West Indies. It was so in his ship.

Believes the boats he saw going from Calabar (in which many then were armed) went to trade.

Was told by Capt. Jeremiah Smith, that the voyage before, he (Capt. Hall) was with his brother (which was in 1772) a Capt. Fox had taken off some people from the windward coast.

P. 532.

Never knew a ship sail away without giving notice.

Believes the calamity of the seamen, mentioned in page 521, proceeded in general from the scurvy oftener to be found in African ships than in any others; having never seen a man, in any ship that he

had

and sailed in, with the scurvy in a great degree. As 1790.
 having seen people in Barbadoes, with that calamity, that had not been in African ships, has seen people labouring under the black scurvy. Does not know whether the scurvy produces the effect mentioned on the toes and legs, but believes it does. Part II.

When on the windward coast they were two ships in company both voyages, and procured as much rice in addition to what they had, as they wanted. Has seen fields of rice. The most distant plantation from the sea he has seen, was from 3 to 4 miles: the rice was carried to the ships in baskets on persons on mules: does not know whether he could have got rice to load a ship of 200 tons. Saw but little ivory on the windward coast, which was brought on board in canoes: believes on the leeward coast they might have bought about 3 tons of ivory in each voyage. P. 534.

Has known a little bread given now and then to the sick; procured at the island of Annabona some coconuts and cassada flour, of which occasionally gave the slaves a little,—and the sick slaves sometimes had a dram in the morning—confined his supplies to his own ship. P. 535.

Supposes the armed canoes, seen in Del Rey river, were equipped for the protection of those on board them, and their goods; but believes they would take any opportunities that might offer of seizing and carrying off any persons whom they might be able to surprize, page 558.

At Calabar and Del Rey the slaves were always bought by the captain's; on the windward coast, they were in a great measure bought in boats by the mates. P. 536

Thinks many slaves are killed, and of course that this is a bloody trade, founded his opinion on having heard some traders say the slaves were taken in war; and from some of them in the W. Indies having told him they were kidnapt. Said before the privy council he did not believe wars were entered into on the sea-coast, to make slaves. P. 537.

Heard

1790. Heard that captains Fidler and Doyle, of Live
Part II. pool, in 1775, were poisoned; but believes by the
New Town people. His ship lay abreast of the
Old Town, the people of which always behaved

P. 539. very well to his ship. Heard that the natives of
the windward coast detained the officers of ship
a-shore, and extorted goods for their release, but
never saw one instance. Heard that they attempted
to seize and boarded his majesty's ship *Chesterfield*
capt. Barton, off cape Palmas. Has heard, but
does not know, that they attacked trading shallops
and boats, murdered the crew, and plundered the
goods on board them: and such actions may in
some instances be the probable cause of the caution
stated, when they came on board our ships. Bring
P. 540. the journal of his second voyage. The evidence of
his first voyage was from memory, having lost his
journal.

Continued second mate till the ship arrived at
Dominique, and came home chief mate; the second
voyage he was second mate, and came home chief
mate from Jamaica. His duty, as second mate, was
P. 541. in the hold, when provisions and water were to be
served, or goods wanted for trade; on every other
occasion he deemed his duty on deck and in the
boats necessary. In the middle passage to serve out
provisions and attend on the quarter deck and round
house when the slaves were messing. The necessary
duty consists in overhauling the rigging, going on
shore according to the captain's directions, and any
other requisite duty. When sent a-shore it was his
duty to bring on board fire-wood, and any thing else
that was wanted. Had been sent to Fernandipo as
officer of the boat to buy yams and eddoes. Never
bought slaves, it not being the mate's duty, but the
P. 542. captain's, at Del Rey and Calabar. Never slept on
shore in Africa. Was never absent from the ship
more than 8 or 9 days at a time, when he trusted
himself

himself with the natives; and gained his information 1790.
relating to the slave trade from the traders, who all Part II.
speak English.

On the different parts of the windward coast, P. 543.
as he had been, he landed with equal safety as at

St. Kitt's and Dominique. The surf does sometimes
run very high on the windward coast, and the sea, in
some places, breaks at some distance from the shore;
but he always went on shore without meeting with
any accident to the people or boat; and was there,
he thinks, from 16 days to 3 weeks each voyage;
not in the rainy season. He anchored at a distance,
and went on shore in a small boat on account of the
surf. Had they had any bulky articles to take into
the large boat they could have effected it in the same
manner as at Dominique and St. Kitt's, which is by
anchoring near the shore, and having 2 skids from P. 544.

the boats stern to the shore, which is the way of
taking off sugars where there is a surf. Where they
were on the windward coast they could not have
landed always, but believes they could have landed
often as not; and they observe the same precau-
tions in landing at St. Kitt's and Dominique as upon
the windward coast. At Dominique he has been in
Moseau bay; and at St. Kitt's Basseterre. These
ports are at the leeward of the island, but he had
frequently known the sea breeze blow very strong
at both these ports, so as to do mischief, and make
landing difficult. The trade wind generally blows P. 545.

from E.N.E to E.S.E. and continues from April to
July, at times in each of those months. When
goods were to be shipped on the windward coast he
never anchored in the large boat above 50 fathoms
from shore; and used the same precautions at Domi-
nique, about 30 feet distance, because he had bulky
articles to take in. Saw the same precautions used P. 546.
at St. Kitt's, and could have gone as near between
Cape Mesurado and Cape Three Points.

The

1790. The ivory bought on the windward coast, was a Part II. small; he bought each voyage about 5 tons rice on the windward coast, which was got in from 16 days to about 3 weeks. Another ship, company both voyages, bought about as much.

The rice is sometimes wet with salt water, when brought in the little canoe. Believes oftner dry

P. 547. It is reddish, and is a very hearty food.

Thinks exercise necessary for the slaves health in the middle passage.

He never knew the slaves complain of being cold in the ship he belonged to, which had grating, but no air-ports. Has often met with African ships without air-ports, but since he left the trade has seen more with air-ports coming to the West-Indies than without.

Most of those who died on board the Neptune were able seamen, had no landsmen on board in one voyage, but the cooper, armourer, and carpenter's mate; and never an apprentice, but boys each voyage.

P. 549. Thinks the Venus lost all her officers the first voyage, except the chief mate and captain. At Annabona some cocoa nuts and cassada flour were all the refreshments they got. He saw some live stock, plantains and bananas brought along-side his ship; the captain bought some of them for the cabin, but the sick slaves had no refreshments of that sort. In that voyage they had a dysentery, so that the captain was afraid to give them plantains and bananas; and they had no room on deck for fowl-coops, nor any where except in one of the small boats, coops might have been lashed on the ship's quarters, but were not.

P. 550. It is very high land at Fernandipo, and much rain falls there in the rainy season. The yams are much better than at Calabar, he thinks from the difference of the soil, and the people of Fernandipo, not having any slave trade, give all their attention to cultivation.

At Fernandipo in his 2d voyage, a boat of the 1790. genus. Smith, which had been sent there for yams Part II. from Calabar, enticed a canoe to come along-side with about 10 men in her; as soon as she got very near, the men fired into her from the ship's boat, on which they jumped over-board; some of them were wounded, one was taken out of the water, and died in less than an hour in the boat; 2 others were taken up unhurt, and carried to Calabar to the ship. Captain Smith was angry at the officer, and sent another officer in the boat to land the two men in the bay, whence they were taken. Immediately after the boat had brought off these two persons, the witnesses went into the bay in their own long-boat, and sending on shore two men to the water, they were surrounded by the natives, who drove three spears into one of the men, and wounded the other with a large stick, in consequence of taking away the two men just mentioned. Knows of no other instance. It was said P. 551. they had disputed with the people on shore when trading with them for yams, but they had not done any of the boat's crew any injury.

Never was more than 2 miles from the ship; kept in the long boat to Farnandipo. When he spoke of 15 leagues up the river, said the ship lay anchor thereabouts.

He never saw any slaves in the country of Delany and Calabar, except the women and canoe-men. First entered into the West-India trade, as P. 552. commander of a vessel from London in 1780; between 1777 and 1780, was on board the Tartar privateer. As to the property acquired on board a private ship of war being a traffic founded in blood, does not think himself competent to speak to it. The Tartar carried 34 guns, 230 men; he was first lieutenant.

Knows the surf to be less at Woodbridge's bay, P. 544. than at Roseau, and has heard that to be the general

1790. place where all Guineamen in particular bring u
 Part II. on their arrival, and where they take on board the
 ——— homeward-bound cargo. The large boats come
 anchor at some distance from the shore at Basseterre
 P. 555. St. Kitt's, which is open to the south. Has n
 seen much sugar taken off from St. Kitt's. Do
 not know Half-moon bay.

Is not competent to speak of the treatment of th
 slaves in West-Indies: wishes to decline it: has oft
 heard that the surf at Basseterre is often so high
 to prevent the boats from taking off sugar for da
 together.

When he saw the Benson in the West-Indies,
 heard that she had lost 31 persons.

Has seen the slaves in Africa eating with th
 masters.

Disputes were the causes he generally heard assign
 for the natives of Africa detaining the officers a
 crews of ships' boats, and requiring a ransom a
 retaliation.

Rutter told him, that the king of the Old To
 gave his daughter for a wife to the chief trader of t
 New Town, but the two king's brothers said she wa
 a favorite woman.

P. 558. Capt. Smith was particularly attentive to the f
 sailors and slaves. He remembered an instance o
 woman being bought, with her child about fix wees
 old; the child was very cross from sickness, a
 made much noise at night. The boatswain wist
 much to throw it overboard, and solicited the capt
 for permission to do it, alledging it would not li
 and, if it did, would fetch nothing; which requ
 the captain received with horror and detestation.

P. 559. It was always necessary for the person to have a
 who attended the slaves, in messing, and taking th
 exercise; they sometimes received a few strokes w
 they refused: he attended by the captain's order,
 used the cat at his discretion.

Remem

Remembers at Dominique they could not land with 1790.
 ther of the ship's boats for 48 hours. Part II.

One of the captains at Calabar did not combine
 ith the people of New Calabar, to surprize the Old
 own people; but knows not the captain's or ship's
 me.

Knew a slave jump overboard in the river Del
 ey, and another in Antigua,

Witness examined — ISAAC WILSON,

Surgeon in his Majesty's navy, made 1 voyage to
 Africa, in the Elizabeth of 370 tons, John Smith, from
 London, sailed 10th May, 1788, and returned 6th Dec.
 1789, the crew and slaves were as well treated as in
 any other ship; took on board 602 slaves, who were P. 562.

all confined, and crowded between decks at night,
 during the voyage; (a few women excepted) when
 brought on board, a gloomy pensiveness seemed to
 ever cast their countenance, and continued in a great
 many. They lost in the voyage 155 slaves, of whom
 there were, in his opinion, two-thirds; the primary
 cause of whose death might be deemed melancholy;
 the symptoms of their disorders generally the same,
 and he does not recollect ever to have cured any of
 them: Another reason for believing that their deaths
 might be ascribed to melancholy from their situation
 was, that some taken ill, who had not the melancholy,
 took medicines with very good effect. He heard them P. 563.
 say, in their language, that they wished to die, and was
 told by captain Smith, the mortality of the slaves, was
 owing to their thinking so much of their situation.
 The flux prevailed in their ship, which he conceived in
 great measure owing to the same cause, and to their
 refusing sustenance, by which they became debilitated,
 that the slaves had no other very fatal disorder. Has
 heard the slaves complain of heat; the ill effects which

1790. resulted from this, and their confinement, was weakness, and fainting; which he believed had been the cause of the death of slaves, having seen some die a few minutes after being brought up, which proceeded from corrupted air, and heat, jointly. Has seen them go down apparently quite well at night, and four

P. 564. dead in the morning. They had an hospital, but the sick slaves lay on the bare planks, which by the motion of the vessel, often caused excoriations from the prominent parts of the body. The loss of men was greater than that of women. The men were generally kept in irons, the sickly excepted. Thinking this trade could not be pursued safely, if the men were not in general in irons. They attempted to rise on them at Bonny; a few of them jumped over-board and were picked up. The slaves on being brought

P. 565. on deck, are placed close to each other, and on each of their irons there is a ring, through which a chain is rolled, and fastened with ring-boits to the deck, by a hook, in which situation they are compelled to dance by the cat often. It is very common for the slaves to refuse sustenance; with such, gentle means are used, but if without success, the cat is generally applied. Slaves appeared much crowded below. He generally took off his shoes before going down, and was very cautious how he walked, lest he should tread on them. Three vessels belonging to the same house as theirs sailed to the coast for slaves — Elizabeth, Wallis, and the Favourite, Bamfield, both of London; and the Elizabeth, Marshall. The Elizabeth, Wallis, the first

P. 566. voyage bought about 450 slaves, and buried above 200 before her arrival in the river Plate, as he was told by the Commissioner of the Royal Phillippine Company of Spain. The Favourite bought 466 in Africa; her mortality 73, and delivery 393 in the river Plate, as he was told by her chief mate and surgeon. The Elizabeth, Marshall, bought 546; mortality 150, and delivery 388, as told by Mr. Duffin. There were 1 or 3 in captain Marshall's ship in the small pox, which

he arrived in the river Plate; and after delivery of the 1790.
surgoes of the 3 ships, 220 slaves died by this disorder, Part II.
which he knows, by being appointed, with the Spanish
surgeon, to take care of the negroes on shore. His
ship's company were 55 in all; of which they lost 18, P. 567.
viz. 16 by sickness, and 2 drowned. Of the crew of
the Elizabeth, Marshall, he was told by the surgeon,
the mortality was 27, (a woman found means to get
rope-yarn, the night preceding, which she tied to the
head of the armourer's vice, then in the woman's
room; she fastened it round her neck, and in the
morning was found dead, whence it appeared, she must
have used great exertions to accomplish her end. A
young woman also hanged herself, by tying rope-yarn
to a batten, near her usual sleeping place, and slipping
off the platform; the next morning she was found
warm, and he used the proper means for her recovery,
but in vain. Among many cases where force was
necessary to oblige the slaves to take food, he would
relate that of a young man, who, he conceived,
starved himself; he had not been very long on board
before he perceived him get thin; they found he had
not taken his food, and refused taking any; mild
means were used to divert him from his resolution;
they endeavoured to make him understand that he
should have any thing he wished for; but he still
refused to eat; they then used the cat with as little
success; he always kept his teeth so fast, that it was
impossible to get any thing down; they endeavoured
to introduce a *speculum oris*; but the points were too
obtuse to enter; and next tried a bolus knife without
effect. In this state he was 4 or 5 days, when he
was brought up as dead, to be thrown overboard;
but he, agreeable to his general express directions,
was called and used endeavours to recover him,
tho' in vain; two days afterwards he was brought
up in the same state as before; he then seemed to
wish to get up, they assisted him and brought him aft
to the fire place, when in a feeble voice, in his own
tongue

1790. tongue, he asked for water, which was given him
 Part II. and he drank; they began to have hopes of dissuading
 him, but he again shut his teeth as fast as ever, and
 resolved to die, which on the 9th day from his per-
 ceivable refusal, he did: has known slaves jump
 P. 569. overboard, he believes to drown themselves; could
 relate two instances in their own ship; the first, when
 off Annabona, a slave on the sick list, jumped over-
 board, and was picked up by the natives; the
 second, when at sea; the captain and officers, at
 dinner, heard the alarm of a slave being overboard,
 and perceived him making every exertion to drown
 himself, by putting his head under water, and lifting
 his hands up, and thus went down, as if exulting
 that he got away; the person picked up in the
 former instance, died soon after: the ship is fitted
 up in a way to prevent such attempts, by high
 nettings round the quarter deck, main deck and
 poop. A man who came on board apparently well,
 shortly after looked melancholy; a certain wildness
 appeared in his countenance; he began to eat his
 food voraciously, and sometimes as if insensible what
 it was, at other times refused it entirely; at length
 he became noisy, and called out, "armourer," when
 generally took the slaves out of irons when necessary,
 he at length died insane.

An instance on board, induced him to believe
 they were as affectionate as most other people.

P. 670. Bonny, one of the people called Breeches, of the
 higher class, was brought on board. He seemed to
 take his situation to heart, and got ill; but from
 indulgencies, which none of the rest had, he partly
 recovered. When he was convalescent, a young
 woman, was also brought on board, who proved to
 be his sister. On their first meeting, they stood in
 silence, and looked at each other apparently with
 the greatest affection;—they rushed into each other's
 arms—embraced—separated themselves again—an
 aga

gain embraced. The witness perceived the tears to 1790.
 run down the females cheeks. The man had a Part II.
 return of his former complaint, and his sister attended
 him with the greatest care: the first thing she did of
 morning, was to come to the witness, and ask how
 her brother did.—He at length died—on the news
 of which, the sister wept bitterly, tore her hair, and
 shewed other signs of distraction. They carried her
 wife to South America, and there delivered her.

They generally found more females than males
 for sale on the coast, and the males he believed sold
 at the highest price. There were 80 slaves sick and
 on recovery, when they arrived in the river Plate.

He quitted the trade because it did not perfectly
 coincide with his ideas, and being obliged to use
 means for the preservation of the cargo contrary to
 his feelings, which was the frequent use of the cat P. 571.
 to oblige them to take their food; and even in the
 act of chastisement he has seen the slaves look up at
 him with a smile, and, in their own language, say,
 ‘presently we shall be no more.’ There never was
 a man of greater feelings, of more humanity, or who
 paid more attention to the preservation of the slaves
 for the sake of his employers, &c. than the capt. of
 their ship. He never allowed any one to chastise the
 slaves except himself and the surgeon. Has been
 told by the surgeon of the Elizabeth, Marshall, that
 while they lay at the island of St. Thomas, the Hero,
 Withers, was there, and had lost 159 slaves of the
 small pox. In the river Bonny he was on board a
 Spanish vessel, under American colours, the St. An-
 tonio. The captain had buried the surgeon, and all
 the officers (the boatswain excepted) and most of the
 crew, he himself was taken ill, and begged the wit-
 ness might attend him. He did so, but he died going
 over the bar; by which means a Spanish gentleman
 (supercargo of their ship) went down to this vessel:
 finding Spanish papers on board, he put officers in
 her from their vessel, and the two others which were
 there

1790. there in the same employ. Before the death of cap
 Part II. Daniel, of the St. Antonio, he told the witness
 came from Carthagena in North America, went in
 some port in Holland with the cargo, got goods there
 to buy slaves in Africa, and carry them to Carthage-
 gena or some other Spanish settlement. This infor-
 mation he desired him to give the Spanish gentleman
 Believes, for her size, the said Spanish vessel suf-
 fered more loss than any English vessel he ever knew.

They bought the slaves at Bonny, which being
 an island, he believes they were brought from the
 inland country. Had three in the Elizabeth in the
 P. 574. medical line. He was head surgeon; is 25 years of
 age.

Never took any on board, but what were appar-
 ently in good health; and believes two or more
 males died to one female. The slaves oft com-
 plained of heat, and he was induced to believe they
 were dissatisfied with their situation, from their
 refusing food and endeavouring to kill themselves.

P. 575. Recollects something of the ship being very near
 on shore in going out of harbour; believes there
 were one day in that situation, and the men slaves
 were kept below, but the women were on deck. At
 intervals he believes, and that their health was visibly
 affected, while they were kept below by the distress
 of the ship. Believes fixed melancholy to be the
 cause of the loss of slaves; the symptoms, lowness of
 spirits and despondency: refusing nourishment en-
 creases them, the stomach gets weak, fluxes ensue
 and, from debilitated state, soon carry them off.

The ship hoisted Spanish colours after they left
 Africa, and were someway to the south of the line.
 He understood Messrs. Firmin de Taftet and Co
 were the owners, and believes they were British sub-
 jects. The ship came home under English colours
 which he believes were hoisted shortly after they left

P. 577. the river Plate. Believes the two ships in comparison
 with them were bound to Cadiz. After it was taken

ed that he should go with capt. Smith, he under- 1790.
 stood they were to sail to Africa to take in slaves, Part II.
 and deliver them to commissioners of the Philippine
 company of Spain at Montevideo on the river Plate.
 They had a Spanish supercargo, surgeon, boatswain,
 and mate in their ship. The slaves attempting to
 rise, was a reason for keeping a stricter guard over
 them than they otherwise should have done. Their
 ship had proper gratings and air-ports, though the
 negroes complained of heat. He also heard the
 negroes complain of cold, and desire the air ports to
 be shut, when they got near the mouth of the river
 Plate. They sometimes stationed a white man at
 night in the men's room. Has not heard melan- P. 579.
 cholic habit ascribed by medical men as a cause of
 dysentery. Believes the melancholy of the slaves was
 the reason of their not eating, they became weak,
 and incapable of digesting their food; the conse-
 quences were belly-ach, and a dysentery generally
 ensued. Debility is often the cause of indigestion.
 This is his opinion. Melancholy or grief has been
 used by physicians to produce a costive habit. The
 dysentery in their ship, he believes, was in some
 measure contagious. Debility of stomach increases
 the melancholy: are obliged to give medicines, which
 their weak state is scarcely able to bear. Melancholy,
 therefore, the remote cause of dysentery.

AFRICA. - Witness ex^d. ALEX FALCONBRIDGE

Is a Surgeon, has been four voyages to Africa, in P. 581.
 of them to West Indies, from 1780 or 1781 to
 1787, first in the Tartar, Frazer, second and fourth
 Emilia, Frazer, third Alexander, Mc Taggart,
 was taken in first voyage at C Mount, in the
 and went to windward and Grain Coast, in 3d and P. 582.
 4th to Bight of Benin, supposes Slave Trade chiefly
 F f supplied

1790. supplied by kidnapping and crimes; believes Part II. because on second voyage at C. Mount, a man was brought on board well known to Frazer and officers, by name of Cape Mount-Jack, then spoke a little English, was very tractable and learned more. He said he was invited one evening to drink with his neighbours. When about to depart, two of them got up to seize him; would have escaped, but was stopped by a large dog; said that was a common practice in his country; told the story often, (607) never varied. From his behaviour thinks his veracity might be relied on; was entrusted by witnesses with various articles, of which he lost none, also by the sailors. Has seen several dogs, large enough to hold a man at Cape Mount, on Windward Coast. Tucker has seen mastiffs. Africans there will always give a good price for such dogs; (606) has seen many small ones at Bonny not large enough to hold a man (ibid) was told by Cape-Mount-Jack this was common practice. (607)

P. 583. In 3d voyage at Bonny, a woman was brought on board big with child; asked her by the interpreter how she came to be sold; said that returning from a visit was seized, passed through several hands before brought on board. Same voyage an elderly man brought on board said, (thru' interpreter) that he and his son planting yams were seized by professed kidnappers, by which he means persons who make kidnapping their constant practice. (604) (605)

On last voyage at Bonny, saw a canoe came along side belonging to Blundell Foubre, a trader saw no slaves in the canoe; two traders on board handed up a fine stout fellow, desired he might be put in irons, which was directly done, and he was paid for: witness enquiring why he was sold, he said that he came to Bonny to the Trader's house who asked if he had ever seen a ship? replying no

; the Trader said he would treat him with the 1796.
 ht, and he was sold; was induced to be the more Part II.
 rious about this man, from his appearing amaz-
 when brought on deck. Cannot tell whether
 azer knew the man was thus trepanned, but he
 s paid for on board the ship. (625)

Capt. Gould of the Alert, told witness he had
 en a man from little C. Mount. He was turned
 t of the brig Alert, perhaps for this.

On last voyage landing some slaves at Grenada,
 e, when on shore, conversed with a Black called
 verpool, captain of a sloop. Witness asking the P. 584.
 oject of conversation, he said the slave knew his
 rents in Africa; and told him that being con-
 rned in kidnapping some neighbours, their
 ends had kidnapped him, or caused it to be
 ne, said this was a common practice in his
 untry: thinks he can depend on the authenticity
 these instances. Neither the slaves nor himself
 ad any interest in misrepresentation. Does not
 mediately recollect any others within his own
 owledge; has heard an hundred other ac-
 unts.

In the second voyage, two black traders came
 a canoe, and informed the Captain there was
 de a little lower down. The Captain went there
 d finding no trade, said he would not be made
 fool, and detained one of the canoe-men. In
 out two hours a very fine man was brought on
 ard and sold, and the canoe-man was released.
 as informed by a Black pilot that this man had
 mitted no crime, but was surrounded and seized
 the beech, and brought on board.

Is induced to think the people on the Grain
 ast are sometimes carried off by the Europeans.
 ey shew great suspicion when in ships, always
 ad as near the gangway as they can, and on the
 ast alarm jump overboard.

F f 2 Thinks

1790. Thinks crimes are falsely imputed for the sale
 Part II. of selling the accused. On the 2d voyage at
 Ambris, among the slaves brought on board was
 P. 585. one who had the craw-craw, a kind of itch. Was
 told by one of the sailors, that this man was fishing
 in the river, a king's officer called Mambooko
 wanted brandy and other goods in the boat, but
 having no slave to buy them with, accused the
 man with extortion in the sale of his fish, and after
 some kind of trial on the beach, condemned him
 to be sold. Was told this by the boat's crew who
 were ashore when it happened, who told it as
 their own knowledge, (618)

In last voyage was assured by the Rev. Mr.
 Philip Quackoo, chaplain to C. Egaitcaute, that
 the greatest number of slaves were made by kid-
 napping.

Has heard that the great men dress up and em-
 ploy women to entice young men, that they may
 be convicted of adultery and sold.

Children were brought to the vessel to be sold
 almost every day. Never recollects their parents
 coming with them, or relations known to be such.

Does not believe many slaves are prisoners of
 war, as we understand the word *war*. In Africa
 a piratical expedition for making slaves is termed

P. 586. *war*. Blundell Foubres before-mentioned, and
 Bonny said white men went to war like fools when
 they knew their enemies were prepared. They
 went in the night, set fire to the town, and caught
 the people as they fled from the flames. The
 Trader said this practice was very common. 608

Does not recollect ever seeing a slave with a
 fresh wound, has seen their wrists and arms excoriated
 by the country ropes they were tied with.

Has never heard of slaves being bred in Africa
 for sale.

Believes violent means are used by Europeans to
 force trade for slaves. Heard the Captain of the
 Bristle

ristol ship lay at Bonny when his traders were 1790.
 ck, he fired a gun into or over the town, to Part II.
 then their way. Capt. Vickers told this to him
 and other people of the ship. Has seen no instance
 it himself (609)

Few guns kept in Africa for shew; has seen
 great numbers lying in a heap with other goods;
 ways understood they were for trade, particularly
 Bonny. Many black people said these ordinary
 trade guns kill more out of the butt than the
 uzzle.

Five to ten slaves, more or less generally bought P. 587.
 every day, greatest numbers come from fairs.
 large canoes, some having a 3 or 4 pounder lashed
 in their bows, go to the up-country, in 8 or 10
 days return with great numbers of slaves; heard
 once to the amount of 1200. The ship that has
 been longest in the river has first choice, and gene-
 rally sails in a few days. People in these canoes
 have generally cutlasses; a quantity of musquets is
 ways in the canoes, cannot tell for what use.

Slaves examined generally by the surgeon. All
 he has seen appear dejected when brought on board. P. 588.
 Some are so the whole voyage, others till they die.
 Has known several refuse sustenance with a design
 to starve themselves; compulsion used in every
 ship he has been in to induce slaves to take their
 food. Has known many instances of their refusing
 to take medicines when sick, because they wish to
 die. A woman on board the Alexander, was de-
 jected, taken ill of a dysentery, and refused both
 food and medicine. Being asked by the interpreter
 what she wanted, she replied, nothing but to die—
 and she did die. Many other slaves expressed the
 same.

A great mistake in his evidence before the Privy
 Council respecting the tonnage of the ship he sail'd
 on, being there stated twice the real size, were as
 near as he can guess, from 200 to 250 tons. On
 second

1790. second voyage purchased about 300 slaves, at Part II. lost between 30 and 40. In the Alexander, purchased 380, lost 105: In last voyage, purchased P. 589. about 420, and lost 51 or 52.

When employed in stowing slaves made the most of the room and wedged them in, they had not so much room as a man in his coffin either in length or breadth impossible for them to turn or shift with any degree of ease, had often occasion to go from one side of their rooms to the other always took off his shoes, but could not avoid pinching them; has the marks on his feet where they bit and scratched him. In every voyage when the ship was full they complained of heat and want of air. Confinement in this situation so injurious that has known them go down apparently in good health at night and found dead in the morning: On last voyage opened a stout man who so died, found the contents of the thorax and abdomen healthy, concludes he died for want of fresh air; thinks it possible he might have died of an apoplexy, but thinks that was not the case in this instance. (610) (626)

The surgeon goes below the first thing every morning, was never among them 10 minutes, but his shirt was wet as if dipt in water. The Alexander coming out of Bonny, got a-ground on the bar, was detained there 6 or 7 days, with a great swell and heavy rain; air ports obliged to be shut and part of gratings on weather-side covered; almost all the men slaves taken ill with the flux; P. 590. last time he went down so hot, he took off his shirt, more than 20 had fainted or were fainting, got several hauled on deck, 2 or 3 died, and most of the rest, before they reached the W. Indies; was down about 15 minutes, and made so ill that could not get up without help, was taken of a dysentery and disabled from doing duty the rest of the passage.

A place in every ship for sick slaves, no accommodations for them, lie on the bare planks, has 1790.
 frequently the prominent part of the bones of Part II.
 emaciated about shoulder blade and knees,
 e. If plaister or bandage applied they gene-
 rally remove them.

Most prevalent disorders in Negro-ships are
 fluxes and dysenteries; consequences of numbers
 being ill of the latter extremely noxious; cannot
 conceive any situation so dreadful and disgusting.
 The Alexander, deck was covered with blood
 mucus, resembled a slaughter-house; the
 stench and foul air were intolerable, from being
 in a short time in the Alexander is persuaded
 that a night's confinement in that situation would have
 destroyed him (630) thinks as the tradesmen stand
 many of these inconveniencies cannot be prevented.
 never could recover a slave from a bad dysen-
 tery, thinks it cannot be done while the cause re-
 mains, has known some few slaves recover who P. 591.
 had not to reflect much on their situation.
 Applies this observation to ship-board (625) prin-
 cipal causes, a diseased mind, sudden transitions
 from heat to cold, a putrid atmosphere, wallowing
 in their own excrement, and being shackled toge-
 ther; men die in twice the number of women, who
 not shackled, believes no man would attempt
 to carry them without shackling. Slaves shackled
 together frequently quarrel; believes in all slave
 ships: In each apartment are 3 or 4 tubs, slaves
 at distance find it difficult to get over other
 slaves to them; sometimes if one wants, his com-
 mon refuses to go; if relaxed, one exonerates,
 while disputing over their neighbours, this causes
 great disturbance. In the Alexander, has known
 3 instances of a dead and living slave found in
 the morning shackled together.
 In last voyage purchased 18 male negroes, who
 part of a cargo which had rose on the whites,
 killed

1790. killed all but 3 or 4, run the ship on shore; n
 Part II. were taken again. Has heard of insurrections
 ~~~~~ board the Vulture of Liverpool, and the Wasp  
 Bristol.

Slave ships are fitted up with a view to prevent  
 slaves jumping over-board, particularly at Bonny  
 these precautions there necessary.

Has known instances of slaves jumping over-  
 board. In the Alexander one forced his way  
 thro' the netting when brought on board, and  
 drowned or devoured by the sharks. Same voyage  
 age, near 20 jumped overboard out of the En-  
 prize, Wilton, as did a number out of a late  
 Frenchman; remembers missing a sick man in  
 Alexander, whom he saw over-night, must have  
 got over-board. On last voyage, a fine young  
 woman brought on board, cried continually,  
 refused her food, and wasted much in 3 or 4 days  
 was sent on shore to Bonny for her recovery, finally  
 became chearful, but hearing she was to be  
 again on board ship, hung herself, as was informed  
 by Billy Frazer. (She had not the venereal  
 case, would have known it if she had, 611)

P. 593.

On first voyage, saw at Bonny, on board  
 Emilia, a woman chained on deck, who the com-  
 mate said was mad. On second voyage, had  
 woman on board whom they were forced to chain  
 at certain times, in a lucid interval, was sold  
 Jamaica. Ascribes this insanity to their be-  
 torn from their connections and their country.

While on the coast, the irons of male slaves  
 examined as they come up in the morning  
 large chain is reeved through a ring on the shoul-  
 ders of each, thro' ringbolts on deck and lock

They are made to jump in their irons;  
 called dancing by slave-dealers, has been ob-  
 served in every ship to flog such as would  
 jump; had generally a cat in his hand among

P. 594.

women

men; the chief mate had also, he believes, a cat 1790.  
among the men. Part II.

Being asked if in case of ships striking or blowing up, slaves could be dis-engaged from fetters to swim on shore; says every man looks first to his own safety. On second voyage, a ship under imperial colours, Capt. Bell, was blown-up on river Galenas. Was informed by people of Galenas and Cape Mount, most of men slaves were drowned; had one woman on board their ship who had saved herself by swimming, but much burnt; believes others were saved: Was informed the ship was English.

Horse-beans and rice principal food of slaves on Windward and Gold Coast, at Bonny one meal of yam a day, sometimes a little bread and beef.

In the first part of middle passage each slave is P. 595.  
allowed a pint and  $\frac{1}{2}$  of water daily, on approaching the islands as much as they chuse; has frequently known slaves call out for water in the night, owing to the heat of the rooms.

Has heard slaves sing on board, the subjects always lamentations for loss of country and friends. Had refused slaves in every voyage, most in the Alexander, 16 fold by auction, 1 or 2 as low as 5 dollars each; was informed by some of the purchasers that they all died before they sailed.

The slaves in the Emilia and Alexander were sold by scramble. The Emilia was darkened by sails, and covered round; men slaves placed on main deck, women on quarter deck. Purchasers P. 596.  
on shore were informed by a gun when sale was opened. A great number with cards or tallies in their hands, inscribed with their names, came on board and rushed thro' the barricado door with the ferocity of brutes; some had 3 or 4 handkerchiefs tied together to encircle those they thought fit for their purpose. At Grenada the women

G g were



1790. were so terrified that several got out of the yard Part II. and ran about the town as if mad.

In the second voyage, saw a scramble on board the Trial, Macdonald, 40 or 50 slaves leaped into the sea, believes were all taken up again.

Were not divided in lots, but placed promiscuously; the purchasers put cards or tallies about the necks of those they chose. The separation of parents from children, &c. very little attended to.—Frazer, however always advised the planters never to part relations or friends. No precautions used in the scramble to prevent it: slaves used to be that such a friend or relation might be bought and sent with them.

Has heard of a person's refusing to purchase a man's wife, and was next day informed the man had hanged himself.

- P. 597. Did not always meet with a ready market for slaves, particularly last voyage; stopt some time at Barbadoes, went thence to Tobago; no demand there; thence to Grenada, and sold them on the Merchant's own terms for bills at very long date. Bill for his own privilege (the slaves allowed the officers by the owners) was at 12 months.

Was on shore on all the W. India islands he was at, except Tobago; used to think the general treatment of slaves very cruel. Saw a man in goal at Jamaica, who had been so severely flogged as to have a sack of straw between his back and the board he lay on; the lacerations were shocking. did not inquire whether it was in consequence of legal sentence, or by his master's order. Was told by the black gaol-keeper that the slaves he saw in prison were runaways. (612) Saw great numbers of slaves at Grenada; hardly ever saw one whose back had not scars. They often complained to him (particularly the wharfingers) of being hard worked and poorly fed.

Seame

Seamen in the African Slave Trade are treated 1790.  
 with the greatest barbarity. Have no lodging at all Part II.  
 except in frigate-built ships, in which they may  
 creep under the fore-castle or aft-deck. There is  
 a tarpauling over the booms; always preferred  
 being in the rain to getting under it, on account of  
 the noxious effluvia which continually rises thro'  
 the gratings.

As soon as the slaves were sold, the seamen re-  
 ceived half that was due to them in currency. P. 598.

In Frazer's ship they were well treated, allowed  
 a dram in the morning, and grog in the evening;  
 had victuals from his table when sick: he always  
 inquired after them daily, allowed surgeon to give  
 them wine when proper. Believes Frazer one of  
 the best men in the trade. Saw very different  
 treatment in another ship. Sailors were knocked  
 with the first thing that came to hand, for trifling  
 or imaginary faults; were tied up and flogged  
 with the cat frequently. The boatswain a quiet  
 inoffensive old man, having some words with the  
 mate was severely beat, had one or two teeth  
 knocked out, said he would jump overboard, was  
 tied to the rail of quarter-deck, and a pump-bolt  
 put in his mouth as a gag; being untied was put  
 under the aft-deck and a centinel placed over him  
 all night; released next morning. Same voyage a  
 black boy beat every day; once after being beaten  
 jumped thro' a cabin gun-port into the river, was  
 picked up by a canoe; witness gave him a shirt,  
 asked him if he did not expect to be devoured by  
 the sharks; said he did, but that it was better to  
 be killed at once than to be so cruelly treated  
 daily. Same voyage a man beaten severely, never  
 heard the cause. Heard one Sullivan a seaman  
 grumbling, asked what he muttered about having  
 been never ill used in the ship, Replied, "If I am  
 not, I cannot bear to see my ship-mates so cruelly  
 used." Same night the man who had been beaten



1790. and 10 others ran away in a long-boat, at Part II, intended going to Old Calabar, got into the wrong river, were seized and stripped by the natives, a P. 599. marched to Old Calabar; was informed that 2 died on the march, the remainder went on board the Lyon, Burrows: Had this information from one of them named Sermon, whom he saw Bristol infirmary. The treatment was the same during the whole voyage, Captain did not get again in this ship or any other that he has heard of; does not know that he was dismissed. (612) Made another since with Frazer whose behaviour was as before described. Every man in the Alexander was beat except himself, the chief mate and Sullivan. Has mentioned the barbarous treatment of sailors on board that ship to Mr. Frazer, and many others in Bristol, and to Mr. Norris at Liverpool.

On last voyage to Bonny, was told by the King and black men on shore, that the steward of the Vulture then in the river, had been cruelly treated, chained in a boat along side the ship, and found dead in the morning; has had this account confirmed by two sailors named Ormond and Murray at Liverpool, both belonging to the Vulture.

P. 600. In the second voyage had 42 or 43 persons altogether on board, buried 3. In the Alexander had 50 and buried 9. In the last, had 44 or 45, and buried 3. Is an inaccuracy in his evidence in the Privy Council Report relative to the loss of seamen.

In last voyage stop'd at Mesurado, and assail'd, came on board, and said most of their crew were dead. Does not recollect the ship's name; was told she belonged to Mr. Barber.

Was a pupil 12 months in the Bristol Infirmary. a great many seamen were brought there; greatest number of the diseased were Guinea seamen, the others were generally for accidents. The Guinea seamen

men generally went out better than they came 1790.  
 but thinks their health so far destroyed as never Part II.  
 be perfectly restored.

The productions observed on the coast of Africa  
 are cotton, wax, ivory, gold, a variety of woods,  
 different kinds of spices, wild cinnamon, all the  
 tropical fruits, the best rice in the world, tobacco,  
 and many other articles. The largest quantity of  
 manufactured cotton he saw on the coast was  
 but 4 or 5 pounds. (614)

Rice is cultivated all over the country, has seen P.601.  
 with his glass, plantations of rice on very high  
 ground, particularly at Cape Mount.

In second voyage saw the people at work on a  
 plantation belonging to a black man called Tucker,  
 Manna, between Cape Mount and the river  
 Benue. Never saw or heard of a driver there,  
 they seemed to work with great willingness and  
 seeming satisfaction. These were all men, (605)  
 never saw women at work in Africa out of doors  
 (id.) This the only plantation he was on in  
 Africa. (606) Tucker was born at Sherbro', spoke  
 exceedingly good English. (606)

In same voyage purchased about 40 or 50 tons  
 of rice at Junk. This the largest quantity he saw;  
 believes might have loaded the ship at Junk and  
 Cape Mesurado; the natives of those places said  
 they had plenty, does not speak with preci-  
 sion as to the quantity, has no journal to produce of  
 the ship's transactions (610) Never heard of any (614.)  
 being lost in the surf; believes it was not at a time  
 when the surf was very high; it was the rainy sea-  
 son; has landed at Cape Coast in a canoe belong-  
 ing to the Castle 3 puncheons of goods and a hogi-  
 head of tobacco; lost no bulky articles in attempt-  
 ing to land them; thinks he has seen as great a surf (619.)  
 at St. Christopher's as he ever did on the coast of  
 Africa.

Has



1790. Has bought several pieces of cotton cloth  
Part II. by the natives at river Galenas and Bonny, (607)  
the cotton grew in the country, has some dyed by  
the natives with a beautiful and permanent blue.  
Never saw the indigo or cotton grow in Africa  
having been far up the country. (608)

Has seen many trinkets made in metal by the  
Africans on the coast; has been surprised to see  
some of the work in iron, particularly spears and  
cutlasses. Is convinced their capacities are equal  
to those of Europeans.

The natives of Windward and Gold Coast more  
better tempered than those of Bonny; their dispositions  
P. 603. very good. Was landed sick at St. Thomas  
and would have died, but for the care of a black  
man there, to whom when better he offered money  
—which he refused, saying, he had done no more  
than his duty.

The Africans in general attached to their native  
country; are as much attached to their near relations  
as the natives of other countries.

At Cape Coast Castle, on purchasing 18 slaves  
objected to one who was meagre, observed him  
weep, which he endeavoured to conceal, on inquiry  
found it was because he was to be parted from  
his brother, this induced witness to take him.

Is persuaded the natives would work if properly  
encouraged by Europeans (613) they have  
contracts of performing contracts in a given time. The  
rice before mentioned was contracted for, and when  
thinks, part of the money paid, it was ready at the  
time, natives appear to have a turn for conducting  
trade. Believes, some of the natives now employed  
in the slave trade, if that were abolished would  
cultivate the soil. Billy Frazer before mentioned  
said at Bonny when they had no trade they were  
forced to plant yams.

Thinks the females more prolific than those of  
other countries; out of 4 or 5 deliveries on this  
board two had twins.

ever saw any person in Africa, when by their 1790.  
ment he knew to be slaves; has been told by Part II.  
persons themselves they were slaves.

As to the cause of quitting his employment  
surgeon of a Guinea-man, answered, that in his  
and 2nd voyages reflected little on the justice  
of the trade. On the last reflected more, and the  
more he did the more he was convinced that it is  
unnatural, iniquitous and villainous trade, and  
could not reconcile it to his conscience.

He would have continued his employment he be-  
comes with Captain Frazer, was afterwards solici-  
tated repeatedly to go to the gold coast by Captain  
Tomson. If Clarkson applied for employment for  
at Liverpool, it was without his knowledge

(3)  
Was on the shore many times at Augola, saw P. 608.

Numbers of people at the river Ambris with beads  
and crucifixes about their necks, they appeared to  
be Roman Catholics; Mangova one of the King's  
Officers told him they were priests in the Country.

Always understood ships cannot begin to trade P. 609.  
without leave of the King, thinks if King refused,  
the firing a gun into or over the town would force  
a trade; dashes are given to keep the King in  
temper, trade might be carried on by English and  
French without the King's consent if they chose  
all times in their power to batter his town about  
the ears in Bonny River.

Slaves at Bonny purchased with iron bars, brandy,  
india and manchester cotton, cloths, guns, gun-  
powder, brass pans, beads, and other articles.  
Never saw or heard of gold dust at Bonny.

He stated otherwise in report of Privy Council,  
his mistake and not his. Gold an article of ex-  
change on gold coast.

The care and cleanliness of negroes generally at- P. 610.  
tended to by the mates. In Frazer's ships mates  
always caused the slaves rooms to be washed and  
dried



Part II. dried with fire pans. In many ships this not permitted; but they scrape the filth off the deck: use to attend to the cleanliness of the negroes, has often washed them with a sponge and warm water from head to foot. Believes the mate is responsible for the cleanliness of the men. The surgeon and his mate for that of the women. The case thus divided in the ships he was in. In the Alexandria having a flux himself during the whole middle passage, cannot say how the slaves were managed. From the number who had the flux on that voyage the apartments very disagreeable, the discharge being involuntary, impossible to keep them comfortable. Believes the apartments generally kept as clean as the nature of the disorder permits, unless as often happens greatest parts of the white are ill.

P. 611. Conjectures some slaves come from a distance, as he has talked to by means of interpreters said were stolen; does not recollect any confessed they were sold for crimes, apprehends if criminals were not purchased by the ships they would be set to work in their own country.

P. 613. Europeans have always power to get what they please done by holding out their commodities. Blacks at Bonny always wooed and watered the ships on being paid. Thinks the manners of the Africans may be changed by means of trade with this country. Is going to try the experiment.

P. 614. Does not understand Portuguese. Traders at St. Thomas's all speak English enough to be understood, conversed with the men who took notice of him there in corrupt English. Has been on board a French African ship at Bonny, officers said a good quantity of wine given to the slaves every day when on board English ships, but not enough.

Offered voluntarily to give the Rev. Mr. Clarkford at Bristol, all assistance and information in his power. Knows not that Mr. C. has any church preferment.

preferment, has employed himself in gaining in- 1790.  
formation about the slave trade, went with him Part II.  
from Bristol to Liverpool in (1787) or (1788)         
believes his travelling expences were paid by the P.616.  
committee in London, is out of pocket, spent more  
than he received, was at Liverpool 8 or 9 weeks,  
returned from thence to Bristol. Has since gene-  
rally resided with his father in Bristol, to whom is  
considerably in debt. His emoluments when he  
quitted the trade nearly the same as when he en-  
tered into it, Captain Thompson in 1787 offered  
him any thing in reason to go with him.

Cannot converse in the African languages; the P.617.  
knowledge he has obtained of their laws and cus-  
toms, has been from persons employed in the ship  
as interpreters, watermen, or pilots: At Bonny  
talked with the King, Blundel Foubre, a prin-  
cipal trader, down to the canoe boys. On wind-  
ward coast has talked with some of the first men.  
As Tucker and Robin Gray, King of cape Mount,  
but not on the manner of making slaves, they not  
troubling themselves on that head. Never pro-  
fessed to know the history of the windward coast;  
believes the natives are little acquainted with any  
thing out of their own towns: Has been often on  
shore on the windward coast. Believes the King  
at Bonny never does any thing of consequence  
without consulting the parliament men; knows  
not how far their power extends; believes a book P.619.  
which was produced is Capt. Frazer's journal or  
trade book. Cannot speak with certainty as to  
the quantity of the rice, or the time in which it  
was shipped; was always on board the ship while  
the rice was taking in. There was no apparent  
difficulty in getting this quantity (630) thinks the  
time agreed was 6 weeks, if wrong, not so inten-  
tionally. Rice was brought along-side in a canoe  
in baskets; has seen small quantities brought on  
board in boxes or old liquor-cases: Never weigh-



1790. ed a basket. When Frazer made the agreement  
 Part II. with Jose Will, heard the word tons mentioned  
 several times; knows not whether 20 hundred  
 weight was meant, understood it so, but does not  
 pretend to be accurate, speaks from conjecture.  
 (see 631)

Extract from Capt. Frazer's journal, by which  
 it appears that from Sept. 19 to Oct. 15, 1783,  
 Jose Will, King Will and Jos. West had several  
 articles, to pay 240 baskets of rice in 40 days, and  
 left a girl as security. Tom Wilfon had fundries,  
 P. 622, to pay 120 baskets rice, left one of his people as  
 pawn. Jose Campbell had fundries, to pay 45  
 baskets rice, left a boy in pawn. Robin Campbell  
 had fundries, to pay 140 crews rice, left a man in  
 pawn. Robin Gray had fundries, to pay 120  
 crews rice. Sold fundries in barter for about 60  
 cwt. rice and other articles; total 405 baskets,  
 P. 623, 260 crews, and 60 cwt. rice, and that from No. 5  
 to 10. Received all the rice, &c. and discharged  
 the pawns; but Frazer, put down all the rice he  
 bought at Junk-witness to purchase rice at dif-  
 ferent places on the grain coast, of which he be-  
 lieves no account was taken. (631)

Does not recollect that the rice was damaged in  
 its passage from the shore to the ship, or by the  
 surf. Believes it was often wetted by the rain,  
 which is violent at times.

Believes Allan and Campbell were Guinea-fac-  
 tors, who sold the slaves in Jamaica, in the voy-  
 age of 1783 and 4. An account of sales exhibited  
 signed by those gentlemen, and inserted page 637,  
 638, 639, and 640.

Never saw at any one time on the coast in Africa  
 a sufficient quantity of rice, cotton or indigo to  
 load a vessel of 200 tons; but does not know what  
 there may be inland; was scarce a mile from the  
 sea. Remembers to have slept a-shore at Bonny  
 once or twice.

Never

Never knew Frazer refuse any likely good fe- 1790.  
male slaves; knows little of the African laws; Part II.  
understood from the natives that kidnapping was an  
an avowed practice, i. e. a very common practice. P. 625.  
Believes all the captains on the trade would pur-  
chase slaves, knowing them to be kidnapped.

Has been at Grenada and Jamaica, and touched  
at St. Christopher's, but was not on shore, standing P. 626.  
off and on at St. Kitt's, saw as he thought a great  
surf, boats seemed to have some difficulty in get-  
ting thro' it; thinks he has seen the surf on the P. 627.  
windward coast of Africa as high as that in the road  
of Basseterre.

Never a slave flogged in the British Islands; saw  
one who had been severely flogged; did not en-  
quire by whose authority it was done.

Never saw a soldier flogged, has seen a sailor; P. 628.  
never heard of a soldier dying in consequence of  
flogging. Has been informed slaves are flogged  
on the back in Grenada.

Is going to induce the Africans to cultivate their  
country, and raise such articles as will sell in this  
country in exchange for our manufactures—the  
plan not yet entirely settled—has no fortune—ex-  
pects to be paid by his employers. The Commit-  
tee for the abolition of the Slave Trade not con-  
cerned; two or three members are subscribers. P. 629.

Slaves so crowded in all his voyages as not to  
have more room to lie on than a man in his  
coffin, told the privy council that the ship on the  
second voyage was not much crowded because they  
had not the same number as in the last.

Has not heard that the Europeans go up the  
country to the places from whence the slaves are  
brought, their information on the manner in which  
slaves are made is from the black traders and pur- P. 630.  
chased negroes. Has every reason to believe from  
the concurrent testimony of others that the practice  
of firing villages for the purpose of making slaves  
does really exist. H h 2 On



1790. On board the *Alexander* the black cook having  
 Part II. one day broken a plate had a fish-gig darted at him,  
 which would have destroyed him if he had not  
 P. 631. stooped or dropped down. The carpenter's mate  
 having let his pitch-pot catch fire, he and the cook  
 were both tied up, shipp'd and flogg'd, the cook  
 with greatest severity, and had salt water and  
 Cayenne pepper rubbed on his back. A man who  
 came on board in a convalescent state, being se-  
 verely beaten for he knows not what cause, asked  
 the witness for something to rub his back with,  
 was ordered by the captain not to give him any  
 thing; the man went and lay under the fore-castle;  
 visited him often when he complained of his  
 bruises; had a return of his flux, and died in 3  
 weeks from the time he was beaten; his last words  
 P. 632. were, "I cannot punish him (the captain) but  
 God will"—The boiling over of the pitch pot at-  
 tended with danger, was the fault of the carpen-  
 ter's mate, not of the cook, who deserved no pu-  
 nishment for it.

Attends by desire of the committee for the abo-  
 lition of slave trade, it is at their option to give him  
 any thing or not, but having attended on their bu-  
 sines expects to have his expences paid.

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Witness examined—Captain AMBROSE LACE.

P. 633. Has been in the African trade; was at Old  
 Calabar, in 1767, captain of the *Edgar*. Nine  
 English ships were then there, all in the African  
 Trade. To end a dispute which had subsisted some  
 time between the people of the Old and New Town,  
 both parties agreed to meet on ship-board.

When first there, in 1748, there were no inhabi-  
 tants at Old Town. Some time after disputes arose  
 between those now called Old Town people and New  
 Town people.

Were

Were not invited on board insidiously, to be made slaves. The chief people of Old Town came on board the Edgar; the duke (chief man of Old Town) was to have met them. Came on board at half past 7 in the morning. About 8 witness was going to breakfast with a man calling himself king of Old Town, 4 of whose large canoes were along side; cannot tell where the others were; was just pouring out coffee when he heard a firing; king said Imo, a brother of his, was firing. Went on deck with the king, and was told his gunner was killed. King went into his canoe, left his son with witness on board. Firing lasted 10 or 15 minutes, but cannot be certain. The canoes were then most of them got a-stern of his ship, within 300 or 400 yards. Had not time to make observations of the two parties; wanted to defend himself; was no further molested; the canoes were gone. The small arms are always loaden; they were locked up; the chest was broke open; key afterwards found in the gunner's pocket. None of his people concerned in the affray; no guns, great or small, or even a pistol, fired from his ship; nor, that he knows, from any other.

The king killed no one on board his ship, nor was the king, that he knows, on board any other. No slaves were made on the occasion.

Went to Old Calabar the beginning of July, sailed first week in December; cannot exactly state when this happened.

Never heard the English entered into this business with an improper view; they reaped no benefit from it; it was against the trade. Knows of no consultation of the English captains about this difference.

Never stopt to windward but twice. Rice crews hold from 2 to 3 gallons; differ in different parts of the coast; largest he saw three gallons.

Breakfasted with the Rev. Mr. Clarkson and Mr. Rathbone at Mr. Chaffers's, Liverpool. Mr. Clarkson



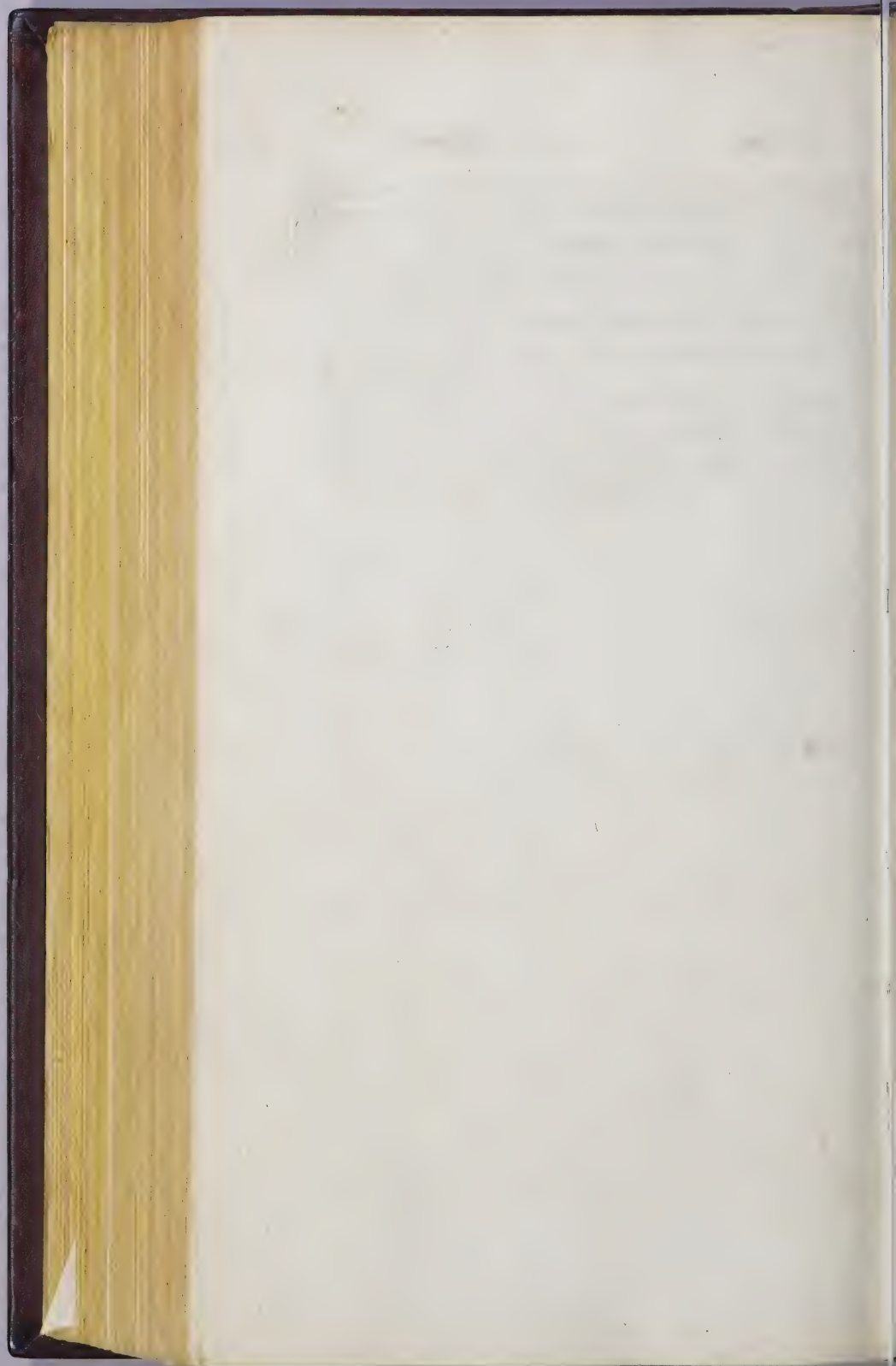
Clarkson asked him some questions about the produce of Africa. The Calabar business was mentioned. Told Mr. Chaffers (who asked him) he could not tell how many blacks were killed that day; that his ship was fired into, his gunner killed, and that he did not know whether they did not mean to sacrifice him. Gave no advice to any of the captains at that time.

Knows not who killed his gunner; it must have been done from some of the canoes at a distance: thinks from the New Town people, because the Old Town people were along side his ship.

F I N I S.







# Number III.

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A B R I D G M E N T

OF THE

MINUTES OF THE EVIDENCE,

TAKEN BEFORE A

COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE HOUSE,

TO WHOM IT WAS REFERRED TO CONSIDER OF THE

S L A V E - T R A D E,

1790.



RPJCB

# ABRIDGMENT

OF THE

MINUTES OF THE EVIDENCE,

TAKEN BEFORE A

SELECT COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE HOUSE,

WHOM IT WAS REFERRED TO CONSIDER OF THE

SLAVE-TRADE, 1790.

NUMBER III.

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Witness examined—Captain WILSON.

Was between five and six months in Africa, be- 1790.  
en Cape Blanco and the River Gambia, in 1783 Part II.  
1784, as commander of the ship Racehorse, and ~~~~~  
ded chiefly at Goree, where he learnt how slaves P. 3.  
e generally procured for the trade, as matter of P. 4.  
lick notoriety, from frequent conversations with  
y respectable inhabitants, themselves traders in  
es, (p. 13.) who spoke the French, English, and  
ro languages; and who were frequently at his  
e.  
laves are principally procured for the slave-trade  
ntestine wars; kings breaking up villages; crimes,  
mputed crimes; and kidnapping.  
villages are broken up by the king's troops sur-  
nding them in the night, and seizing such of the  
Numb. 3. A inhabitants



1790. inhabitants as suit their purpose. This practice much common when there is no war with another state.

It is universally acknowledged, and he firmly believes, that free persons are sold for real or imputed crimes, for the benefit of their judges.

Soon after his arrival at Goree, the king of Danl sent a free man to him for sale, and was to have the price himself. A king's guard being asked whether the man was guilty of the crime imputed to him, answered, that was of no consequence, or ever inquired into. Captain W. returned the man.

Kidnapping was acknowledged by all he conversed with to be generally prevalent. It is the first principle of the natives, the principle of self-preservation, (p. 17.) who never go unarmed while a slave-vessel is on the coast; and on being asked the reason, alledge their fears. A courier of Captain Lacy, a predecessor, though a Moor, a Mussulman, a free man, a native of Senegal, spoke the French language fluently, and had dispatches in his pocket on the Britannick Majesty's service, (for particulars see the Minutes) was kidnapped, sold to a French vessel, and his release with difficulty obtained by the weakness. The French captain endangered the man's life by his inhumanity.

Never heard of slaves being bred for sale. Never heard of the practice of eating human flesh in Africa, and is morally certain that it did not exist on the part of the coast where he was.

Was informed, that the governments near Goree were absolute, but more or less so according to the strength of the princes. King's dues seem to be very regularly collected in every village: they were always paid by the ship commanded by witnesses, and he doubts not are required from others. Has heard that when payment has been refused, boats and men have been seized, (p. 17.)

Fully believes Africans to be equal to Europeans in capacity. They have various manufactures, chiefly for home consumption. They make cotton cloth

both beautifully fine, under every want of machinery; also very curious ornaments of gold, and Part II. apons, and tools of iron, which their experience makes them prefer to those sent from hence, which P. 141. are made for them. On this account, unmanufactured iron is preferred by them in their barter with

They have several manufactures in cane and P. 10. ether. They supplied the ships and Goree with every thing they could raise, produce, or with safety teach, and entirely found them with provisions. received no indisposition to labour or commerce in the Africans.

According to his experience, the Africans are grateful and affectionate. They treated him most kindly when many miles up their country, and unprotected, and numbers shed tears on his departure. The natives dare not explore Africa during the continuance of the slave-trade, which subjects them to the risk of being kidnapped.

Has boarded slave-ships when a midshipman—the P. 11. French intolerable—such a stench proceeded from two (he believes French) which anchored to windward of his ship, that he ordered them to leeward for fear of infection, and also ordered that no part of their crews should be suffered to board her.

Believes the slave-ships are not a source of supply P. 12. to the Royal navy. He never would recruit his ship from them, even when short of his complement, to which he attributes not having lost a man while on the coast, out of a crew of about 100. The Guinea sailors, who offered themselves to him, besides their dauntless looks, were the most filthy vagabonds he ever saw. Rather than take into his ship seven men who were wrecked in a Guinea-man, he fed them on shore, and sent them home in some transports.

When he presided in a court at Goree, a Maraboo P. 13. spoke, with an energy which evinced the truth of his evidence, that his brother, another Maraboo, had been kidnapped in the act of drinking, sacred by their religion, at the instigation of a former gover-



1790. nor, who had taken a dislike to him: and two  
 Part II. more slaves being offered for his release, declar-  
 ~~~~~ that he would not liberate him for any consideration.  
 This was a matter notorious at Goree.

The natives would enter a king's ship on his arrival off any part of the coast, and traverse him with as much ease and confidence as if they had been on shore, but he never saw a canoe board a slave-ship, and concludes this arose from the reasonable fears of the Africans.

P. 14. The slaves employed by the Africans live with the masters, and are so treated as scarcely to be distinguishable from them.

Guinea sailors frequently applied to be taken as witnesses, and do not seem attached to their ships or in other trades.

Has been in most of the West India islands, in 1762, 1781, and 1782. The new-imported slaves appeared dejected, and very different from those in Africa. The country slaves appeared more dejected and bore stronger marks of slavery than the town

P. 15. slaves, many of whom (the domestic ones) were fat and saucy. A great proportion of the slaves were indelibly marked with the lash. Has seen runaway working in clogs and pothooks. Has relieved negroes placed by the road-side, in the most abject state, and from inquiries on the spot, fully believes that, being unfit for labour, they are turned off by their masters to subsist on charity. It was generally understood, that where planters resided, the slaves were better treated than when under overseers. Heard from respectable merchants at Kingston, that importing slaves was preferable to breeding them, but does not know the general opinion of the resident planters. So far from the slaves appearing as happy as

P. 16. the lower orders in Britain, &c. he never saw any signs of happiness among the imported slaves, except at their funerals, when they shew extravagant joy from a persuasion that the deceased is escaped from slavery.

his native country. In Africa their funerals are 1790.
attended with the most mournful cries. Part II.

Has been great part of his life in America, and
ways thought the slaves better treated and clothed,
more domestic and happy, marriages among them
more frequent, and fewer imported in proportion
than in the West India islands.

Has seen some branded with letters, which he
thought were not made in Africa, but these were
not common.

Has long entertained a most decided opinion
against the justice and humanity of the slave-trade.

In 1762 he was a midshipman, in 1781, 1782, a P. 17.

First lieutenant in the navy. Never resided on shore

lodged on a sugar-plantation, but made his obser-
vations wherever he occasionally visited. Was fre-P. 18.

Presently on shore at several plantations in 1781, 1782,

where he was a few days at Antigua, and five or six
months at Jamaica.

Witness examined—WADSTROM.

Mr. Wadstrom is a native of Sweden, and the P. 18.

Chief Director of the Assay Office there. Was in

Africa near 3 months, in 1787, 1788, (p. 37) with Dr. P. 19.

Charman, engaged by the King of Sweden to make

discoveries. The department allotted to witness was

mineralogy, antiquities, and what regards the state

of the man. They had the protection of the Senegal P. 20.

Company, obtained through the French minister, at

the request of the Swedish Ambassador, as appears

from letters produced.

Witness visited the coast from Senegal almost to P. 21.

Gambia, those parts being then in the hands of the

French. Was on shore at different times several

days, and once or twice seven or eight days, and was

on the river Joal. He made it his business to obtain

information, and could always converse with the

natives

1790. natives by means of the English, French, and Dutch
 Part II. languages, which are generally spoken by the chief
 negroes. He offered to produce a journal kept at
 P. 22. the time, in which the facts he should deliver
 evidence were noted down.

He thinks he knows perfectly how slaves are obtained, between Senegal and Gambia, viz. by the general pillage, robbery by individuals, stratagem, or deceit.

The general pillage is executed by the king's troops, armed and on horseback, who seize the unwary. Parties were sent out for this purpose by king Barbossin almost every day during the week. He was at Joal, accompanying one of those embassies, which the French Governor used to send every year, with presents to the black kings, to keep up the

P. 23. commerce. It is customary for the king to make return for these presents, by a gift of slaves; and though unwilling to pillage, he was excited to it by means of a constant intoxication, kept up by the French and Mulattoes of the embassy, who generally agreed every morning on taking this method to effect their purpose. When sober, he always expressed reluctance to harass his people; thought it hard that he should be obliged continually to do so. He complained that the inhabitants of Goree, continually coming under pretence of trade, took occasion to make him insignificant presents, which he neither liked nor wished for: that they then came upon him with long accounts, debts said to be due, and pretensions without end: that the Governor of Goree

P. 24. living among them listened too readily to their tale and complaints, and thought little of the suffering of the negroes; and that he must have been imposed upon to suffer his name to be used on such occasions. This speech was interpreted on the spot, and put in a journal by witness, who also heard the king hold the same language on different days, and yet he afterwards ordered the pillage to be executed. Witness has no doubt but that he also pillages in other parts

his dominions, since it is the custom of the Mu- 1790.
to merchants (as both they and the French officers Part II.
elare) when they want slaves, to go to the kings, ~~~~~
and excite them to pillages, which are usually prac-
tised in all that part of the coast.

King of Sallum practises the pillage. Witness
w 27 slaves from Sallum, 23 of whom were wo-
men and children, thus taken. Was told by captains P. 25.
and merchants that this was the usual practice.

Was told by merchants at Goree, that the king of
amel practises the pillage.

Robbery, in which individuals seize on each other, P. 25.
is a general way of taking single slaves. Mentions P. 26.

woman whom he saw in the Captiveries, and a
y, who belonged to a French officer. The latter
is taken in the interior part above Cape Rouge by
ralth from his parents, and declared that such rob-
beries are very frequent in his country. The former
is taken at Rufisque, from her husband and chil-
ren. The children are themselves articles of mer-
chandize, if not so far from the shore as to be inca-
ble of walking to it. Could state several instances

of this robbery: very often saw negroes thus taken
brought to Goree. Ganna of Dacard was a noted
man-stealer, and employed as such by the slave
merchants at Goree. Witness was very near being
in danger of being taken by this man to the king of
amel, then at war with the French, who would
have demanded a high ransom for his release; he
having agreed to travel to Senegal with Ganna, but
the great Maraboo of the village cautioned him to
beware, and on his return to Goree, he was congratu-
lated on his escape by several of the inhabitants.

As instances of stratagem being a way of obtain-
ing slaves, witness mentions a negro whom he saw
brought from Dacard, where he was on a visit. A
French merchant taking a fancy to him, persuaded
the village to seize him. He was taken from his P. 27.
house, who wished to accompany him, but the mer-
chant had not merchandize enough to buy both.

The

1790. The village agreed with the merchant about h
Part II. price. Witness saw him at Goree on the day of h
arrival, chained, and lying on the ground, exceed
ingly distressed. The king of Sallum prevailed on
a woman to come into his kingdom, and sell him
some millet. On her arrival, he seized and sold her
to a French officer, with whom witness saw the
woman every day during his stay at Goree.

Was on the island of St. Louis in the Senegal, and
on the Continent near the river.

All the slaves sold at Senegal are brought down
the river, except those taken by the robbery of the
Moors in the neighbourhood, which is sometime
conducted by large parties in what are called petty
wars. These wars are promoted by presents given
to the Moorish kings regularly every year by the
Senegal Company, to engage them to procure a
P. 28. many negroes as possible, and to prevent gum-arabic
from being carried to the English at Portandick.
Witness heard this from the inhabitants and French
officers at Senegal, and from the Moors, even in the
presence of the Director of the Company.

King Dalmanny having been brought up as
Grand Maraboo, prohibited strong liquors, and also
the slave-trade, so as not even to suffer the passage
of slaves through his dominions; nor would he re-
ceive some valuable presents sent by the Company
to induce him to alter his resolution. Witness was
P. 29. shewn the presents by the Director, on their return.
The king's dominions, including both sides of the
Senegal, his prohibition stopped the whole trade
with Galam, and prevented the Company from re-
ceiving 800 slaves, which they had purchased there.
In order to obtain their complement of slaves they
had recourse to their usual method on similar occa-
sions, bribing the Moors, and supplying them with
arms and ammunition, to seize king Dalmanny's
subjects. By January 12th, 1788, when witness
arrived at Senegal, 50 were taken, whom the king
desired to ransom, but they were already sent to
Cayenne.

enne. Some were brought in every day after- 1790.
 ds, and put in the Company's slave-hole, in a Part II.
 erable state, the greater part being very much
 und by sabres and balls. The Director conducted P. 30.
 witness thither, with Dr. Spaarman, whom he
 sulted as a medical man in their behalf. Witness
 particularly remembers one, lying in his blood,
 ch flowed from a wound made by a ball in his
 oulder.

Mentions an instance of a slave-taker being him-
 taken.

Though the Company, for many reasons, seldom
 chafed Moors, being now pressed for slaves, to
 fill their agreement, according to their charter
 Government, they took all of whatever qua-
 li. This witness heard from the Director, and im-
 mediately noted it down in his journal.

Was told by the French officers, that European P. 31.
 s, particularly Dutch and English, frequently
 y off natives, by treachery, from the coast.

Was informed at Goree, by Captain Wignie, from
 helle, who was just arrived from the Gambia,
 a little before his departure from that river,
 the English vessels were cut off by the natives,
 ng to the captain of one of them, who had his
 go, being tempted by a fair wind to sail away
 with several of the free negroes, then drinking with
 the crew. Soon afterwards the wind changed, and
 he was driven back, seized, and killed, with all his
 crew, and two other vessels. Witness has by acci-
 dent met with the insurer of two of these vessels, in
 London, who confirmed the above facts.

Witness has very often seen the merchants defraud
 the negroes in their dealings with them. There are
 many methods of deceiving the negroes in almost
 every article.

Thinks the negroes understandings capable of P. 32.
 equal improvement with whites.

Thinks the Africans very honest and hospitable;
 in passed days and nights alone with them, with-
 out
 Lamb. 3. B

1790. out the least fear, and was treated with all civi
Part II. and kindness; he never was deceived by them.

Is clearly convinced, that the negroes surpass Europeans as he has known, in affection, and are capable of being soon brought into the state of society enjoyed by Europeans.

Has been surprised at their industry in manufacturing cotton, indigo, iron, soap, wood, pottery, leather, and other articles. They work gold so well that witness never saw better wrought trinkets and ornaments in Europe. They manufacture cloth and leather with uncommon neatness. The latter they tan and work into saddles, sandals, and a variety of useful and ornamental articles. The former they dye blue, yellow, brown and orange. The blue is produced from indigo. The indigo grows abundantly all over the country, so as to spoil their ground for millet and rice plantations; and equal, in the opinion of merchants, &c. who have been in Africa, to the best in Carolina. The yellow and brown dyes are produced from vegetable productions practiced by Dr. Spaarmat. Witness has in his collection, a kind of bean used in dying, and carried in great quantities on camels to Morocco. The whole army of the king of Damel, is clothed in cloth dyed orange, and brown. They forge iron very dextrously, on anvils of a remarkably hard and heavy wood, when they cannot get stone for the purpose.

Witness offered to shew specimens of the productions of Africa, raw and manufactured, which he brought with him.

P. 34. The canoes are generally made by negroes near the shore; but wood of a sufficiently close texture being seldom found there; this is brought with the bark being hollowed, from the interior parts, being drawn by a great number of negroes (for weeks together) each village generally undertaking to drag it to the next, and receiving in return, partly European merchandise, and partly fish and salt. Salt is prepared from sea-water by the negroes. The ropes are made

kind of aloe, and when well made, are exceed- 1790.
ly strong, this aloe grows abundantly on the Part II.
c. f.

The Africans have an extraordinary genius for
commerce and industry, fully equal to the supply of
their wants. They would extend their cultivation P. 35.
manufactures, if in some degree civilized (which
could be easy to effect, were not the slave trade
the only means of commerce; and it would be
greatly promoted by European settlers not going thi-
ther as at present, with the sole view of making a
fortune shortly, and then returning home) and if the
slave trade did not occupy the minds of the natives,
who are continually incited, and the merchants to
engage in it, and have no encouragement to culti-
vate their country.

Slaves are kept by the natives at Goree and Sene-
gal, but scarcely any on the continent. They are
very well treated, and never sold, lest there should be
a insurrection among their fellow slaves. Even the
French officers at Goree and Senegal, generally ob-
serve the rule of not selling them, very strictly.

The island of Goree is supplied by free negroes
with provisions, from the continent.

Rice of an excellent quality, with a brownish husk, P. 35.
but very white kernel, is cultivated in great quan- P. 36.
ties, south of Sallum, as far as Gambia, and espe-
cially at the River Caramanza; but there is but lit-
tle north of Sallum. Witness has seen many small
vessels and boats, loaded with it, for the supply not
only of Goree and Senegal, but of the shipping
there; has samples of it.

Doctor Spaarman declared, he found a great part,
not the whole, of the materia medica in Africa,
and drugs for various manufacturing uses.

The slave trade makes it dangerous for the ne-
groes to pass from one part of their country to ano-
ther, and is the chief hindrance to the improvement
of their cultivation, since they never venture into
the fields, unless very well armed.

1790. The negroes print their cotton cloths with wooden stamps; has patterns of cloths so printed.

He resided in all about three weeks on the continent. At Joal he was his greatest distance from the shore, about six miles. When there, he visited several villages, Dacard, Bain, &c. When on shore, he visited the interior, as far as he could in one or two days (as his time permitted) and at Dacard and Bain he was quite alone for several days, and went with the negroes five or six miles up the country. He was about a week at Senegal, and went sometimes to the continent.

P. 38. His evidence is the result of observation and information on the spot, except as to the names of the vessels and their captains, which were cut off in the Gambia; particulars which he learnt in England.

Kidnapping is not allowed by the laws in Africa, but it can scarcely be discovered by the kings, and he never heard of an instance of its being punished; if discovered it would be punished, he believes, and particularly if some European trader were present at the trial. He was present at a trial for some offence at Joal, when the king was incited to condemn the Mulattoes of Goree, who wished to purchase the man when convicted; but the king acquitted him.

There are some slaves by birth on the coast, particularly at Sallum, but few higher up the coast; and on the continent opposite Goree, very few. The wealth of great men is not estimated from the number of slaves they possess, but at Sallum from the silver and European merchandize; and higher up the coast, from the quantity of millet, and of the cattle, camels and horses. The king of Sallum generally takes silver for his slaves, and generally kidnaps his neighbours; but higher up the coast, the kings kidnap their own subjects.

P. 39. Was informed by the mulattoes at Goree, that 1200 slaves were procured at Joal, but he believed the real number is not so great. He was informed that more than 1000 slaves were procured at Senegal.

The manufactures specified are carried on from 1790. Part II.
Legal down to Goree. The negroes are particu-
ly skilful in manufacturing iron and gold. They
probably derived their art, with regard to the latter, P. 39.
from the Moors, but now are themselves the artists; P. 40.
Witness seeing but one Moor work in that branch.
They are equal to any European goldsmith in filla-
ge, and even other articles, as buckles, except the
cases, tongues, and anchors. The best manufac-
ture of cotton cloths is at Sallum, which is probably
chiefly owing to the goodness of the cotton, this be-
coming better and better lower down the coast.
Witness has samples manufactured from the principal
ports of the coast where he was.

The Maraboos in some parts deal in slaves, but
generally not. They support themselves in the same
way as other negroes.

The French excite not only petty wars, but man- P. 43.
slaving, in order to obtain slaves. Witness has heard
that the English and Dutch frequently do so. The
English possessed the coast he visited, previously to P. 44.
it belonging to the French. He never heard that
the practices he has mentioned in his evidence, were
newly introduced.

As far as he knows, all the fabres on the coast are P. 43.
from Europe.

Except working in gold, the Moors are known
for no industry, except seizing on negroes, and col-
lecting gum arabic.

At Joal the king has a certain interest in the trade,
but no particular taxes; king Damel has some taxes,
but no regular system of taxation: what they receive
is in cattle and millet, which they sell in great quan-
tities at Goree.

Never heard of any instance of the king's sending
parties to enforce the payment of taxes in arrear.
At Sallum the trade in slaves is almost entirely in
the hands of the king. At Sin the king has the
principal

1790. principal share, but suffers his subjects to trade all
Part II. King Damel has no prerogative in this trade.

Was told by two French captains, and French
P. 44. merchant, that the French Guinea ships are provided
with poison, with which they may destroy their ne-
groes, if subjected to a calm, short provisions, and
contagious sickness; and captain Le Loup instance
a vessel from Brest, the commander of which was
obliged to poison his slaves, in a passage of two or
three months; but 20 reaching the Cape out of
cargo of 500.

Witness Examined—GEORGE ROOKE.

P. 45. Was at Goree from May 6th to August 16th
1779.

Never saw the pillage executed by the king
Damel on his villages, or wounded people brought
from thence; he always understood that when he
wanted slaves for sale, he made war to procure them,
and does not know whether this war was of the na-
ture of a marauding expedition or not.

He knew that kidnapping took place in the neigh-
bourhood of Goree. It was spoken of as a common
P. 46. practice. It was reckoned disgraceful there, but
cannot speak as to the opinion on the continent. In
instances of kidnapping, he remembers two or three
negroes being brought to Goree, but he could not
discover by whom. At their request he immediately
sent them back.

P. 46, It was proposed to him by three captains of Eng-
lish slave ships lying under the fort of Goree to kid-
nap 100 or 150 men, women, and children, the king
of Damel's subjects, (some of whom were Maraboos,
who came to Goree in consequence of the friendly
intercourse between him and Damel. He refused
and was much shocked by the proposition. The
sa

if such things had been done by a former governor, 1790.
 that the chief Maraboo at Rufisque did not recollect Part II.
 of such event.

As to the natives being fraudulently taken off, P. 46.
 collects being informed by a Maraboo, that four or
 five of the king of Damel's subjects were on board a
 merchant ship. He had them brought on shore, and
 presented to the king. The captain said in excuse, that
 they came on board drunk, and that he meant to
 send them ashore.

Witness examined—ROBERT NORRIS, Esq.

Says, that the evidence delivered by him before P. 50.
 the Privy Council (in their Report to the House of
 Commons) is, he thinks, to the best of his recollec-
 tion, a correct account of the information he then
 gave: cannot speak with precision, but supposes that
 the printed account of the evidence delivered by him
 at the bar of the House of Commons, on the Bill
 for regulating the transportation of Slaves, is a cor-
 rect statement of the information he then gave.

Had several interviews with the Rev. Mr. Clark-P. 51.
 at Liverpool, latter part of 1787, who expressing
 a wish to have the slave-trade abolished, told him of
 the part of his plan; which was, to encourage by
 bounties a trade with Africa for its natural produce;
 and to subject vessels in the slave-trade to a license
 fee, from which to defray the said bounty: also
 spoke of making a settlement on the coast, and thinks
 that he (Mr. Norris) proposed Caramansa river, as
 a proper place: that slave ships should be restricted
 from bringing home West India produce was also
 part of Mr. Clarkson's plan; of which he has now
 given the substance. Believes he said in reply, that
 confining slave-ships entirely to the slave-trade, P. 52.
 would give greater latitude to ships trading in Afri-
 ca produce. Thinks he could not suppose the plan
 proposed

1790. proposed, could abolish the slave-trade, but encouraged a trade in the productions of the country. Mr. Clarkson appeared to have two objects, viz. to confirm his good opinion of the trade for the natural products of Africa, and to discover the abuses in the slave-trade. He discovered an anxious solicitude to effect the abolition of the slave-trade, but Mr. C. could not conceive that he could accomplish it, and it was not an immediate but a gradual abolition, which he understood him as aiming at; for he collects, that he (Mr. C.) wished him to get a particular friend (Mr. Falconbridge) recommended to the command of a slave ship.

Understood abolition of the slave-trade to be an avowed object of Mr. C. but by a gradual operation. Really does not recollect what he then thought the propositions from that gentleman would effect; presumes he thought they tended to a gradual abolition.

P. 53. He gave his opinion of them at the time to Mr. C. who is, he dares say, more able than himself, at the distance of time, to recollect what he stated his impressions to be; but as well as he recollects, it was that they tended to a gradual abolition; and he gave him every information that he possessed frankly on this subject, Mr. C. will, he dares say, do him the justice to say, he heard him with temper; and though he could not think an immediate abolition practicable or politick, yet he withheld no advice on the subject from him.

He did express his concurrence with Mr. C. in the object as stated of gradual abolition, and still entertains the same opinion, that the slave-trade will gradually come to the abolition he wished for.

As to the propositions above alluded to, believe he suggested one of them himself, and the others thought conducive to the end proposed.

He could approve of no abolition of the slave-trade that was not compatible with the situation of the West India islands; and when the necessities of the planters there no longer required the aid of labour from

from Africa, he has always reckoned that the trade 1790.
 will cease of itself.

Part II.

Is not casuist enough to decide on the merits or
 merits of the slave-trade on any other ground,
 than that of political and commercial necessity.

Previous to the period referred to, he had formed P. 54.

own private opinion; which was, that the subjects
 that trade are in general more happily situated in
 the colonies, than at home; and when conducted with
 propriety, thinks it consistent with his notions of hu-
 manity: conceived the necessities of the West India
 islands ought to prescribe the continuance of the
 slave-trade; for, he considered slavery as a condition
 of mankind in every age, and in every country; and
 whilst the necessities of the West India islands require
 a supply of African slaves (convinced that their state
 here, is in general as happy as it was at home) and
 whilst those necessities exist, he does not discover that
 the cause of humanity is violated by continuing that
 trade.

Did not think the necessities of the West Indies
 would prescribe the extent to which the slave trade
 should be carried on, as well as the continuance of
 it; for, whilst the colonies of other states require a
 similar supply (which they would endeavour to get
 for themselves) as a commercial man he considers we
 should relinquish an important share of our com-
 merce, were we to regulate it by the necessities of the
 British colonies alone. Declares, he does not recol-
 lect whether any thing passed in his intercourse with
 Mr. C. at Liverpool, about preventing our ships
 from supplying settlements of foreign powers with
 slaves; but if there did, is persuaded that Mr. C.
 would inform the Committee, but so far as his memory
 serves, believes they had no conversation on that
 point.

Really does not recollect, whether Mr. C. made
 at the time, any minutes of what passed in the con-
 versation.

Numb. 3.

C

As

1790. As to the necessities of the colonies for slaves, p
Part II. fumes his opinion then was the same as now; that t
islands want a supply of 10 or 12,000 annually, a
P. 55. as to the time such supply may be wanted, it was th
as impossible for him to define it as now. As to t
slave trade being carried on for the purpose only
keeping up the slaves then in the islands, he cann
recollect his opinion, in a conversation that he h
almost entirely forgotten; but it is his opinion, th
along with what is wanted to keep up the stock,
additional strength of labourers is requisite to exte
the cultivation of the islands.

Was informed by Mr. C. that he had been at Br
tol, to collect what he could, relative to the abu
said to have been committed in the slave-trade, wi
a view of bringing those officers and masters to just
who had treated their seamen harshly.

Understood the object of his journey was, to
dress the injuries said to be sustained by individual
and gave him credit for the attempt; but does
recollect his mentioning any other object of his
quiry there than to discover what violences had be
committed by the officers against the seamen.

Understood he had the same object in view
Liverpool, together with his plan for an establis
ment in Africa, and gradual abolition of the slav
trade.

P. 56. Conceived the redress of the injuries suffered
seamen, to be his immediate object, the other pa
of his plan he conceived to be a more distant co
sideration, as they could not be effected immediately.

Is not competent to answer what was his m
object.

The conversation before alluded to with Mr.
was at Liverpool in 1787, probably at his own hou
Was not before acquainted with Mr. C. had seen
book on the Commerce of the Human Species. N
C. was introduced to him by a Mr. Rathbone,
merchant, as desirous of some information respecti
the African slave-trade, in which he (Mr. N.) h
be

en long engaged: he replied that he would give 1790.
 on what information he knew, and shew him a ma-Part II.
 script respecting Africa.

Does not recollect if it was then mentioned that P. 57.

Mr. C. was pursuing the object of an abolition of the
 trade. Believes there was then no mention made of
 the Society instituted in London for that purpose, ei-
 ther by Mr. Rathbone or any other of the party.
 Does not recollect, whether the interview, in which
 the propositions for the gradual abolition of the
 slave-trade were discussed, was by appointment or
 not.

As to being supposed, from what he said before,
 to concur with Mr. C. in his design and wish for the
 abolition of the slave-trade, or only to declare his
 opinion that the propositions if adopted would tend
 to that effect. Says, that Mr. C. being introduced
 to him by a friend whom he respected, he wished to
 treat him with courtesy. He found him strongly
 impressed with the accomplishing of a particular
 object. Courtesy to a stranger induced him to ac-
 quiesce in, rather than discuss the merits of the ques-
 tion, and it was his opinion that the propositions if
 adopted, would tend to that effect. At that time he
 had no idea of ever seeing Mr. C. again, nor could he
 interest himself either in the abolition of the slave-
 trade, or the emancipation of the negroes in the
 West Indies, which was also one of his propositions;
 but the redress of abuses of seamen was an object that
 he desired as earnestly as Mr. C.

He acquiesced as well from complaisance to a P. 58.
 stranger, as from a conviction which he still enter-
 tained, that a day will come when the slave-trade will
 cease. Could not but approve of Mr. C's. philan-
 thropy, though he doubts of the policy of reducing
 his principles to practice; if he was to point at any
 thing reprehensible in Mr. C's. conduct, it is the
 having a private conversation, in the manner he
 suspects he has done, by making him stand here to
 sustain an examination upon it nearly three years

1791. after it passed; he little expected ever to have heard
Part II. any future mention of it.

Could not but condemn the measure if carried on with precipitation, as ruinous to the commerce of this country, and to the cultivation of the islands; but at same time courtesy to a stranger, whom he never expected to see again, prevented him from debating the merits or demerits of the measure.

As to whether he understood Mr. C's. object to be precipitate and immediate, or gradual abolition, does not recollect the whole of his object; their conversations on the subject were much too short for a full explanation of so important a measure; but believed a gradual abolition, to be precipitated by his plan. P. 59. was one object of his inquiries at Liverpool: he gave Mr. C's. heart full credit for the philanthropic measure which he pursued, without weighing (in his opinion) the political and commercial inconveniences annexed to it; and civility to a stranger induced him to acquiesce in the measure, rather than condemn it. Does not recollect that he used any arguments with Mr. C. to dissuade him from pursuing his object of gradual abolition, for he found him to cherish it so warmly, that any attempt would have been fruitless..

Cannot recollect when Mr. C. left Liverpool, nor after what interval he was appointed delegate, which was in his absence, and without his knowledge.— From his first seeing Mr. C. to his appearing before the Privy Council, might perhaps be six months.

Does not recollect the particular abuses in the conduct of the slave trade, the correction of which Mr. C. had in view, except as before intimated, too much severity said to be practised by the officers, and also the regulation of the price of slops, and the custom of paying half the wages in the currency of the West Indies. He gave him all the information on that head that he possessed. Differed from him

opinion as to the frequency of ill treatment. Mr. 1790.
 quoted more instances than had ever come within Part II.
 knowledge. Never heard of many instances in ~~~~~
 years experience. Some he has known.

Thinks one single instance would justify Mr. C's.
 deavours: conceives wanton severity always merits
 nishment; the instances he has heard of not oc-
 crring under his own eye, he cannot judge of the
 ovocation that might occasion them; but if they
 re, as represented, he should heartily embrace
 r C's. sentiments respecting them.

Does not recollect that he gave any opinion to
 r. C. as to the general practice of kidnapping in
 rica by natives, though he might have mentioned
 for, a few months after, he stated, in his evidence
 fore the Privy Council, that he suspected it was
 actised in some instances between the unconnected
 bes of the Windward Coast.

Does not recollect stating his opinion to Mr. C.
 on the utility of the slave-trade considered as the
 urce of supply to the marine of Great Britain;
 t if he did, he probably coincided on that as on
 her points to the opinions which that gentleman
 tertained, rather than harrafs his feelings, by dis-
 tinguishing opinions which he cherished.

The inhabitants of the vicinity of Cape Appolo-
 a, are subject to nearly a similarly oppressive
 ranny with the state of Dahomy. These are the P. 61.
 ly two arbitrary governments which he has visited;
 e other districts of the Gold Coast have a milder
 overnment.

Whether from the condition of the inhabitants of
 ahomy or Appolonia, any fair conclusions can be
 awn as to the people of Negroland in general,
 serves, that in drawing fair conclusions, they
 ould be taken from the particular countries, and
 t by general comparifon. These two countries
 e not a standard by which to judge of the adjoin-
 g nations on the sea coast, and he knows but little
 the interior country.

As

1790. As to the weight of a basket or crue of rice on the
 Part II. Windward Coast,—a basket is an indefinite weight
 when brought aboard in baskets, it is measured in
 crue, which is about 20 lb.

Has read the entries from Capt. Frazer's journal
 mentioned in the examination of Mr. Falconbridge
 before the former Select Committee on the Slave
 Trade.—The date of the first entry is 19th Sept. of
 the last 10th of November. The amount of the total
 rice mentioned in these two entries, is not quite 12
 tons, not quite 6 tons of which appears to have been
 gotten at Junk. The daily consumption of the
 ship's company, and of the few negroes on board
 during the period mentioned, was, he believes, not
 P. 62. included in the quantity stated in Captain Frazer's
 journal.

Whether the abolition, for which Mr. Clark for-
 wished, was an abolition to be accelerated by means
 to be used for that purpose, and not merely a dis-
 continuance of the trade, from the circumstance of
 the West India islands ceasing to want any further
 supply, he cannot at this distance of time take upon
 him to say; nor does he recollect more of it, (Mr.
 C's. plan) than a gradual abolition of the slave-trade,
 and the emancipation of the negroes now in the
 islands.

Might be led, from the perusal of Mr. C's. Essay
 on the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species,
 and from his conversation, that he had in view the
 accelerating of the abolition; but, with respect to
 the concurrence which he has stated to have expressed,
 with Mr. C. in his object, he calls his conduct in all
 his communications with that gentleman, rather an
 acquiescence from deference to a stranger of his
 character and functions, than a concurrence with his
 measures.

Even had he disapproved of that object, which he
 supposed Mr. C. to be in pursuit of at the time, he
 would have suggested means which, in his own
 opinion,

inion, conduced to the attainment of it; because 1790.
 r. C. could not reasonably suppose him totally Part II.
 ignorant of the trade which he was investigating, ~~~~~
 and if he had withheld every hint or communication,
 would have been charged with not treating a
 stranger, (introduced to him by a friend he respected)
 with that civility and hospitality which he wished to
 , during his visit to Liverpool. Besides, one part
 Mr. C.'s plan met his most sincere concurrence,
 that of redressing the abuses said to be practised to-
 wards seamen, and he found it impossible to converse
 with him on the one subject without being insensibly P. 63.
 led to the other.

He found Mr. C. so zealous on the subject, that
 his acquaintancè with him would not justify his pre-
 suming to reason with him against a system ruinous to
 the commerce of this country, and which he thought
 at the time he could not possibly effect. He con-
 sidered it to be a fine spun theory of humanity, and
 could not bring himself to think, that men and
 measures were so powerfully combined, as he has
 since found them, to promote his (Mr. C's.) views.
 I cannot say now, that he was of opinion that any
 of those propositions in which he concurred, and
 which he apprehended to tend to accelerate the
 abolition of the trade, would tend also to accelerate
 that period at which the West India Islands would
 cease to require any further supply of slaves. Does
 he recollect that at that time any such consideration
 occurred.

As to the period, he may be supposed to have
 fixed in his mind for the abolition, when he stated
 that such an event would gradually take place, it
 would have been presumption in him to have fixed
 any; for in all his conversations with Mr. C. on a
 subject, which he deemed equally imprudent and
 impolitic, he had scarcely one serious consideration,
 beyond being commonly civil to him.

The grounds upon which he entertained the opi-
 nion, that the African slave-trade will gradually come
 to

1791. to be abolished, are, the restrictions already laid
Part II. upon the trade, and the measures so ably and un-
mittingly pursued in this country to effect it.

P. 64. Whether, as a commercial man, he thinks
would be for the interest of this country to furnish
the colonies of other powers with slaves, after or
own have ceased to need further supply, this being
matter of opinion, should he live to see the day
when the British islands have ceased to require any
further supply, he will be more competent to form
a judgment on the question than at present.

But he fancies there is not a politician or merchant
in this country but will admit that such a commerce
would be to the advantage of this country; for
would be securing to the merchant that profit which
would otherwise center with other merchants and
manufacturers that continued it.

Whether "The African slave-trade is carried on
"as much to the ease and comfort of those that are
"the subjects of it, and also of those that conduct it
"as it is possible for human ingenuity to devise:
begs leave to object to the question, because it is
quotation from a pamphlet, which he does not think it
incumbent on him to support before the committee

P. 65. Has no reason to doubt, that all the ships in the
account from Liverpool, which he delivered to the
committee, stated to have been laid up in consequence
of the act, commonly called the Slave-carrying Act,
were actually driven out of the trade by the opera-
tion of that law.

Has recently received an account of a late rapid
increase in the French trade to and from the Coast
of Africa, which states, that there had sailed, or
were fitting out, between 1st June, 1789, and 18th
January, 1790, for the African trade, from Nante
42 vessels; Rochelle 12; Bourdeaux 32; St. Maloe
4; Harfleur 8; Marseilles 4; and from Havre 28
in all 130 vessels, in seven months and an half, or
thereabouts. His information does not specify whe-
ther any of these vessels are employed in trade for
the

the productions of the country, in contradiction to 1790.
 the slave-trade; which induces him to believe that Part II.
 the slave-trade only is meant.

Witness examined,—Rev. THOMAS CLARKSON.

Went, in company with Mr. Rathbone, of Liver-P. 66.
 to Mr. Norris's house, but not finding him, was
 introduced to him upon change, as the author of an
 Essay on "the Slavery and Commerce of the Human
 Species;" and as coming to Liverpool for infor-
 mation on the slave trade. Mr. Norris said, he had
 read his book with much satisfaction, adding, as near
 as he can recollect, that it contained the truth. He
 promised him also every information as to the object
 of his journey, and appointed Sunday following, for
 meeting at his own house.

Was afterwards at his house 6 times; and was wait-
 upon also by Mr. Norris, 3 or 4. Each time they
 had long conversations on the slave trade. On the
 first of these (Sunday) witness read a manuscript, in-
 titled, "An account of the wars and customs of the
 Dahomans," which Mr. Norris lent him. After-P. 67.
 words, on same day, in speaking of productions of
 Africa, Mr. Norris stated them such, as they were
 afterwards set down, in consequence of his evidence
 in the Privy Council report. He affirmed also, the
 most universal way in which such became slaves,
 as he had transported from the coast, was this, That
 they were kidnapped. (by the natives, p. 68) either
 as they were travelling on the roads, or fishing in
 the creeks, or cultivating their little spots, which
 history he had learnt from themselves. In future
 conversations also, as to this being an universal mode,
 his reply was, "Undoubtedly, no person can deny
 it."

At a future time, Mr. Norris gave him some black
 paper, brought with him from Whydah, as one
 of the arguments.

1790. argument of the impolicy of the slave trade. Being
 Part. II. shewn also copies of some muster-rolls of British
 Guineamen, which witness had collected, he said
 he would find nearly the same loss of seamen in those
 of Liverpool, as in those then shewn him.

At another time, when informed by witness, that
 he was on point of discovering a murder by captain
 Brown, on Peter Green, a seaman; he allowed great
 cruelties practised on seamen in slave trade. Called
 afterwards on witness with a journal of a voyage in
 that trade, to convince him he had not been deceived
 in information collected on that point; and to
 confirm witness more, of his being of the same mind
 P. 68. with himself, invited him to his house, to communi-
 cate on clauses for a bill, that would bring about
 abolition of slave trade. Witness went, and after
 some conversation, Mr. N. dictated, and witness
 wrote. He wrote the clauses with Mr. N's own pen
 and ink, and in his own room.

Witness had such confidence in Mr. N. as a man
 of veracity, and a zealous friend to the abolition of
 slave trade, that on making a second edition of his
 work, "On the Slavery and Commerce of the Human
 Species," he inserted the circumstance of
 kidnapping, as well as that of the king of Dahome
 breaking up a village when he wanted slaves, as be-
 fore communicated to him by Mr. Norris. As a
 farther proof, when he waited upon Mr. Pitt, to ex-
 press his hopes, that the committee of the Privy Coun-
 cil (then about to examine into the slave trade)
 would examine witnesses on both sides of the ques-
 tion. He mentioned Mr. Norris having material
 information on that side of the question, which re-
 lated to the abolition; repeating the substance of his
 different conversations with him on the produce of
 Africa; the new trade that could be established
 there; the loss of seamen, and cruelties exercised on
 them in the slave trade; mentioning, at the same
 time, the clauses which Mr. N. had given him for
 a bill for its abolition. Was afraid, however, that
 Mr

Mr. N. on being written to only by an individual 1790.
 ke himself, would not come to London, connected Part II.
 he was at Liverpool; though he knew his heart ~~~~~
 be engaged on that side; wished therefore an or- P. 69.
 er to be sent him by the committee, which would
 ke off the risk of disoblighing connections there.
 n being told by Mr. Pitt, that attendance to such
 der could not be enforced, witness wrote himself
 Mr. N. at Liverpool, but was answered by Mr.
 athbone, that he Mr. N. was then in London.
 On this information, witness wished much to find
 m out, to intreat him to persevere in the same line
 conduct, as manifested to him at Liverpool.
 ound his address, but before he could see him, was
 ld by the bishop of London, very greatly to his
 rprise, that Mr. Norris "had come up as a Liver-
 pool delegate, in support of the slave trade." Wit-
 ss upon this, tells his lordship, and afterwards states
 writing, how Mr. Norris had behaved, as above
 ated. Distressed at the time, and balancing be-
 een the thought of violating the rights of hospita-
 ty, by exposing Mr. Norris, and the duty due to
 e cause he had undertaken, he asked his lordship
 ow to act; who advising him to call personally on
 r. N. to explain the reasons of his conduct, he
 ent, but not finding him at home, left his card. P. 70.
 on after Mr. N. waited upon witness, who was
 it, and left the following letter, which the commit-
 e desired to be produced, and taken down.

" My dear Sir,

" The letter, which you did me the honour to
 address to me at Liverpool, missed me there, and
 reached me here only a few days ago; being
 brought to me by a gentleman from thence, who
 was so obliging as to charge himself with the care
 of it. It gave me the sincerest pleasure to receive
 this testimony of the regard of a gentleman, whom
 I shall ever respect and esteem, and whose phi-
 lanthropy claims the admiration of every person

D 2

" whose

1790. " whose bosom contains a spark of humanity. Upon
 Part. II. " my return to my lodgings last night, I was hon-
 ~~~~~ "oured with your card, announcing your address  
 " and resolved to wait upon you this morning; but  
 " the arrival of a packet from the West Indies  
 " which called on its way at Charleston, has brought  
 " me letters from my connections there, which  
 " oblige me to relinquish my intention, from avoc-  
 " cations which require my immediate attention  
 " elsewhere; and as I am under an engagement to  
 " visit a friend in the country to-morrow, and shall  
 " not return till Monday, I find I shall not be able  
 " to enjoy the pleasure of waiting on you until some  
 " day early in the ensuing week.

" Since we parted last, the subject of our conver-  
 " sation has frequently employed my thoughts  
 " and the force of your arguments, and the justice  
 " and humanity of your sentiments, have impressed  
 " on my mind a due deference for your opinions.  
 P. 71. " but we differ in some points: from commercial  
 " and political considerations, I am induced to  
 " think, that the benevolence of your plan cannot be  
 " acceded to in toto. If you will be pleased to turn  
 " to my favourite author, the Abbé Raynal, vol. 1,  
 " p. 9, you will see a strong argument against one  
 " part of it; and other objections occur to myself:  
 " but I assure you, that whatever my own private  
 " opinions may be, I should gladly have declined  
 " any publick interference in this business, could I  
 " have refused it with propriety. The present in-  
 " vestigation will, I hope, tend to correct whatever  
 " abuses exist in the African trade, as well as to im-  
 " prove the condition and situation of that unhappy  
 " part of our fellow-creatures, whose unfortunate  
 " lot it is, perhaps, for some wise, though inscrutable  
 " purpose of our Creator, to toil for their brethren;  
 " and every idea, tending to so desirable a purpose  
 " is, I trust, as dear to me as it can be to any  
 " person whatever.

" Your

Your kind remembrance of Mrs. Norris, claims 1790.  
 my warmest thanks, and I am, with every senti-Part II.  
 ment of respect and friendship,

" Dear Sir,

" Your obliged and most obedient servant,

Sopian, 29th Feb. 1788. " ROBERT NORRIS."

P. S. " I am so pressed for time, that I must beg  
 you will excuse this very incorrect letter, which I  
 assure you I have not leisure to copy."

The Rev. Thomas Clarkson, No. 10, Gerrard-Street,  
 Soho.

Witness says, that he stated this conduct of Mr. N.  
 Sir William Dolben, so early as the time of his re-  
 gulating bill: as also 2 or 3 times to Mr. Cruden, to  
 if Mr. Cruden, who was present at the first con-  
 vention at Mr. Norris's house, and knew Mr. Nor-  
 ris great pains to give him intelligence, perfectly  
 collected it, and if such conduct did not appear  
 really striking to him as to witness. Mr. Cruden's  
 duty to witness, in the presence of another person or  
 persons, was, " My opinion of Mr. Norris, whom I P. 72.  
 have known for years, is of the highest kind, but I  
 confess his conduct to you at Liverpool, and since  
 as a Liverpool delegate, embarrasses me much."  
 says, Mr. Norris could not but have known his  
 object at Liverpool to be abolition of slave trade,  
 even had he not heard it from himself. It was noto-  
 rious that witness went there with that view, he din-  
 ed daily in publick, and merchants pointing at him  
 as he passed the change, as a person of that descrip-  
 tion. I am sure the information he is now giving, is pre-  
 cisely what he received from Mr. Norris; for as to  
 the two facts relative " to kidnapping, and the king  
 " of



1790. "of Dahomy," before related, he put them down  
 Part II. a book, soon after the conversation, he kept for t  
 purpose; and as to the clauses given him by Mr.  
 for a bill for abolition, he put them down also, w  
 this difference, that he put down the latter with N  
 Norris's own pen and ink, and own room; has t  
 book to produce, if necessary.

The committee requesting the book to be pr  
 duced, the following clauses were taken from it.

P. 73.

1. "Make every slave vessel take out a licence  
 "and let the sum paid for such licence, be at le  
 £50.

2. "Let no slave vessel, under severe penalti  
 "be suffered to take a tooth, a puncheon of pal  
 "oil, or any of its productions, from the coast.

3. "Let no slave vessel be permitted to bring  
 "bale of cotton, a hoghead of sugar, or even a p  
 "senger, from the West Indies.

4. "£1000 fine for a vessel that supplies t  
 "Spaniards and French.

5. "Let every vessel that goes to Africa for t  
 "natural productions of the country, receive  
 "bounty. £500 for bounty would be adequate  
 "the wages of seamen, their provisions, and t  
 "stores of a vessel of 200 tons, for 8 months; £3  
 "to be paid at outset, £200 at her return.

6. "The Bananas to be head quarters and fi  
 "settlement; they belonged to one Cleland, a m  
 "latto; perhaps his family, who remain, wou  
 "fell it.

7. "That the De Lofs Islands be the seco  
 "from Sierra Leone to Cape Mount. To win  
 "ward of Sierra Leone there is a tract, where t  
 "blacks are descendants of the Portuguese; the  
 "people are industrious at present, more civilize  
 "than the natives, good boatmen, craftsmen, &  
 "They are free, and not dependant on the Port  
 "guese; a sort of mulattoes, and would easily b  
 "brought over.

8. "T

"The River Caramanca, on the Windward, 1790.  
 r Gold Coast, runs parallel to the sea, and would Part II.  
 e a most eligible situation, both in point of de- ~~~~~  
 ence and productions."

"These regulations will destroy the slave P. 74.  
 trade in a few years."

says, the clause relative to a licence for slave ships,  
 e from Mr. N. that relative to a bounty, from  
 h self; though Mr. N. calculated the sums annex-  
 o it; that relative to hindering slave ships from  
 ng off the produce of Africa, came from himself  
 al; but that for hindering them from taking West  
 In a produce, &c. from Mr. N. As to that rela-  
 ti to the trade carried on for the French and  
 S niards, cannot say who proposed it; but Mr. N.  
 mentioned the fine of £1000, saying, this branch of  
 ight immediately to be abolished, as supplying  
 eigners at the expence of the English marine.  
 The settlements also were mentioned by Mr. N. in  
 order in which they stand, though witness can-  
 say positively whether proposed as necessary by  
 M. N. or himself. Mr. N. however, gave his sanc-  
 ti to the whole, for witness put down no clause  
 approved of by Mr. N. after conversation on  
 the propriety of it.

recollects Mr. Norris stated the slave-trade to be  
 a losing trade, in presence of Messrs. Cruden and  
 Celand, the latter of whom had been a slave-  
 merchant.

Was introduced to Mr. N. he supposes, in the P. 75.  
 b nning of Septemb. left him the end of October,  
 ar in the February following was told that Mr. N.  
 h come up as a Liverpool Delegate.

Never asked Mr. N. to procure a slave-ship for  
 M. Falconbridge. Should have thought he would  
 h e suffered in Mr. N's. opinion from such a pro-  
 p. il. Besides, Mr. F. had previously declared to  
 wness at Bristol, before a gentleman, that he had  
 le the trade from principle. Adds that the object  
 of Mr. Falconbridge's journey to Liverpool, was to  
 aid



1790. aid him in procuring facts for abolition of the slave trade: nor did he make such a proposal to any other person. Thinks it not improbable he might have told Mr. N. that as the slave-trade could not immediately be abolished, it was a pity that humane men should not be selected to command slave-ships in the interim, but does not even recollect this.

P. 76. Says there were very few meetings of himself and Mr. N. at which Mr. F. was present. Does not recollect being at the Exchange with Mr. F. and Mr. N. or of seeing Mr. F. at the Exchange at a distance, when with Mr. N. though this might have happened. Was about six weeks at Liverpool.

P. 77. Thinks, in his calls on Mr. N. found him at home five or six times; dined with him twice; saw him a morning, when he shewed him copies of the Bristol muster-rolls; received from him another morning, at his house, the pepper from Whydah; saw him also when he went to tell him of the probability of proving the murder of Green, by Captain Brown: a sixth time was, when he received from him the clauses.

Was of opinion, that Mr. N. did not consider the abolition as an extraordinary plan, but as one which ought to be executed. His whole conduct to him (Mr. C.) at Liverpool, made him believe so.

Recollects Mr. N. shewed him some papers, and gave him one, viz. "An Invoice for a Cargo of 'Whydah,' but none about the loss of seamen. Must, however, do Mr. N. the justice to say, he heard him state the loss of seamen in his own ship to be little or nothing. This, however, he did not state, to shew Mr. C. had been deceived, but that there were ships that went to the coast without any material loss; and Mr. C. considered it as a proof of Mr. N's. own humanity.

Understood kidnapping, from Mr. N. to be the general practice, as far as he, Mr. N. could judge from his own experience, except only Dahomy, for that king was said by him not to kidnap, but to seize

ize on a village, when in want of slaves. Mr N. 1790.  
 ever discriminated between kidnapping by hostile Part II.  
 tions or by individuals. His words were, (which ~  
 itness will never forget) "that on inquiry into the P. 78.  
 story of those whom he had taken from Africa in  
 s own vessels, their almost universal answer was,  
 at they were kidnapped either as they were tra-  
 lling, or fishing, or cultivating their little spots."  
 n returning from Mr. Norris's he put down these  
 ords in his journal, produced yesterday. Says it P. 79.  
 impossible for him ever to have misunderstood Mr.  
 on this particular; was never clearer of any thing  
 his life. Says also, that though he inserted the  
 cumstance into the second edition of his "Essay on  
 e Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species,"  
 did not insert it as the basis upon which he built  
 e assertion there, that kidnapping was a general  
 actice, but only to corroborate other circumstances  
 entioned in the former edition of that book.

Does not recollect that Mr. N. alluded to any  
 rticular period, when he stated the slave-trade to  
 a losing one.

Never heard Mr. N. express any approbation or  
 approbation of his, (witness's) measures to redress  
 ases of Guinea seamen. Knows only Mr. N.  
 curred with him, that such enormities were prac-  
 d, and the seamen were worse used in that than  
 other trade, which Mr. N. not only expressed at  
 own house, but when he lent him the journal  
 ore described, (p. 67.)

As to any plan said to have been communicated  
 him to Mr. N. for freeing of the negroes, says he  
 s never so absurd as to think of such a plan. His  
 e object at Liverpool was to collect facts for the  
 alition of the slave-trade. This distinction between  
 alition and emancipation he set out with as a first  
 pinciple, and has preserved till now.

As to the supposition that Mr. N. could not be P. 80.  
 ous in condemning a trade he had long pursued,  
 nefs believes he sincerely meant the abolition of  
 Numb. 3. E the



1790. the trade in many branches, as neither justifiable  
 Part II. the principles of humanity nor policy; and witness  
 conduct, as explained yesterday, proves he thought  
 so; for he not only mentioned him to Mr. Pitt, as  
 then stated, as a proper evidence for abolition, but  
 even wrote him to come to London in that capacity.

On being asked the character of Mr. Rathbone, witness replied, that he was recommended to him by a very worthy man, and found him so; and being asked again, if civility to a stranger, recommended by Mr. Rathbone, might not prevent Mr. N. from controverting opinions, which he, witness, warmly espoused, replied, in his opinion, civility to a stranger ought not to prevent any man from telling the truth; neither does he believe it did him, because Mr. N. repeatedly told witness Mr. N. condemned the trade.

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Witness examined—Dr. THOMAS TROTTER,

A Surgeon in the Royal Navy.

- P. 80. Was a voyage in the African slave-trade, from Liverpool, in 1783, surgeon of the *Brookes*, *Clement Noble*, master. Ten months on the coast, from the time they reached Cape Palmas, till the cargo was completed at Anamaboe. Made many inquiries into the mode of procuring slaves, of slaves themselves, of traders, and particularly of *Accra*, a trader at Cape la How, who was a most intelligent man, of uncommon modesty and gentleness, and well known as a man of great integrity. The information received was, that the natives were sometimes slaves from crimes, but the greater part of slaves were what they called prisoners of war. Of their whole cargo recollects only three criminals, one sold for adultery, and one for witchcraft, whose whole family shared his fate. One of the first said he had been decoyed by a woman, who told her husband, and he was sentenced

sentenced to pay a slave; but being poor, was sold 1790.  
himself. Such stratagems are frequent: the fourth Part II.  
ate of the Brookes was so decoyed, and obliged to  
y a slave, under threat of stopping trade.

Of the family sold for witchcraft, consisting, he P. 82.

inks, of the man, his mother, wife, and two  
ughters; the women shewed the deepest affliction,  
e man a fullen melancholy: said, that having  
arrelled with the Cabbotheer of Salt-pan, he, in  
venge, had accused him of witchcraft: he refused  
od: early next morning it was found he had at-  
tempted to cut his throat; the wound was sewed up,  
at the following night he had not only torn out  
e futures, but had made a similar attempt on the  
her side: from the ragged edges of the wound,  
d the blood upon his finger ends it appeared to  
ve been done with his nails, for though strict  
urch was made through all the rooms, no instru-  
ent was found. He declared he never would go  
th white men, uttered incoherent sentences, and  
oked wishfully at the skies. His hands were se-  
red, but persisting to refuse all sustenance, he died  
hunger in eight or ten days.

Has often asked Accra, what he meant by pri-  
ners of war. Found they were such as had been  
ried off by a set of marauders, who ravage the  
untry for that purpose. The bush-men making  
tr to make trade, (meaning it seemed to make  
ves) was a common way of speaking among the  
iders. The practice was also confirmed by the  
ves who shewed by gestures how the robbers had  
me upon them; and in the Brookes, during the  
ffage, some of the boy (slaves) played a game, P. 83.  
which they called slave-taking, or bush-fighting;  
ewing the different manœuvres thereof in leaping,  
lying, and retreating. Inquiries of this nature  
t to the women, were answered only by violent  
rists of sorrow. Upon asking Accra, what they  
ade of their slaves when the English and French



1790. were at war, he simply answered, "Suppose ship Part II. " come, massa, no take slave."

Had many boys and girls on board, who had relations in the ship; many of them told him they had been kidnapped in the neighbourhood of Anamaboe, particularly a girl of about 8 years, who said she had been carried off from her mother, by the man who sold her to the ship.

Once saw fat Sam, their gold taker, send his canoe to take 3 fishermen, employed in the offing, which were immediately brought on board, and put in irons; and about a week after, he was paid for them. Remembered another man taken in the same way from a board a canoe along side. Fat Sam very frequently sent slaves on board in the night, which, from their own information, he found, were every one of them taken in the neighbourhood of Anamaboe: he remarked, that slaves sent off in the night, were not paid for till they had been some time on board, lest he thinks, they should be claimed; for some were really restored; one in particular, a boy, was carried on shore by some near relations; which boy told him, he had lived in the neighbourhood of Anamaboe, and was kidnapped (p. 90.)

As to kidnapping by Europeans, has only heard of it; but the master of the Brookes, urged his gold takers daily, to get him slaves by any means.

P. 84. Slaves in the passage are so crowded below, that it is impossible to walk through them, without treading on them; those who are out of irons, are locked spoonways (in the technical phrase) to one another; it is the first mate's duty to see them stowed in the way every morning; those who do not get quickly into their places, are compelled by the cat. In this situation, when the ship had much motion, they were often miserably bruised. In the passage, when the scuttles must be shut, the gratings are not sufficient for airing the rooms; he never himself could breathe freely, unless immediately under the hatchway. Never saw ventilators used in these ships; a wind-  
fai

I was often tried on the coast, but he remembers 1790.  
he used in the passage. Has seen the slaves draw-Part II.  
their breath with all those laborious and anxious  
efforts for life, which is observed in expiring animals,  
subjected by experiment to foul air, or in the ex-  
hausted receiver of an air pump; has also seen them,  
when the tarpawlings have inadvertently been thrown  
over the gratings, attempting to heave them up,  
saying out, "Kickeraboo, kickeraboo," i. e. "We  
are dying;" on removing the tarpawlings and  
gratings, they would fly to the hatchway with all the  
signs of terror, and dread of suffocation; many whom  
he has seen in a dying state, have recovered, by be- P. 85:  
ing brought thither, or on the deck; others were  
recoverably lost, by suffocation, having had no pre-  
vious signs of indisposition.

Slaves, on being brought on board, shew signs of  
extreme distress and despair, from a feeling of their  
situation, and regret at being torn from friends and  
connections; many retain those impressions for a  
long time; in proof of which, the slaves being often  
heard in the night, making an howling melancholy  
noise, expressive of extreme anguish; he repeatedly  
asked the woman, who had been his interpreter, to  
inquire the cause; she discovered it to be owing to  
their having dreamed they were in their own coun-  
try, and finding themselves when awake, in the hold  
of a slave ship. This exquisite sensibility was parti-  
cularly observable among the women, many of whom,  
on such occasions, he found in hysterical fits.

They sailed after dark in the night, when the slaves P. 86:  
were secured below, to prevent their shewing signs  
of discontent at leaving the coast; he thinks this the  
reason, because every ship that left the road while  
the Brooks was there, left it in the night; has heard  
the custom is general.

Thinks they bought upwards of 600 slaves, and  
lost about 70 in the voyage.

As to insurrections among the slaves; a number  
of the strongest men in their ship had one night  
fawed



1790. sawed off their irons with an old knife, notched for Part II. the purpose, furnished by a woman from the cabin but were detected by the information of another slave.

A man jumped overboard at Anamabœ, and was drowned; another, in the Middle Passage, who was taken up; a woman was, for some time, chained to the mainmast, after being taken up; being let loose made a second attempt; was taken up and died under the floggings given her in consequence.

Believes the practice of dancing them is general in the trade; in the Brookes it was not used till exercise became absolutely necessary for their health; those in irons were ordered to stand up, and make what motions they could, leaving a passage for such as were out of irons, to dance round the deck. Such as did not relish the exercise of dancing, were compelled to it by the cat; but many still refused, though urged in this way to a severe degree.

P. 87. Besides the instance already given, of a slave starving himself to death—remembers another. A woman was repeatedly flogged, and victuals forced into her mouth; no means however could make her swallow, and she lived the 4 last days in a state of torpid insensibility.

The cargo was disposed of in Jamaica, p. 94, by what is called the scramble. The buyers stand ready, when the signal is given for opening the sale to rush all at once upon the slaves, and affix their tallies to those they wish to have; this unexpected manœuvre, had an astonishing effect; the slaves were heard crying out for their friends, in language expressive of the deepest affliction. Some husbands and wives were parted, and many other relations.

The seamen lay, in the Middle Passage, under the booms, according to custom, and, when the weather was bad, were certainly exposed very much.

During the Middle Passage, some of the seamen were most cruelly flogged by the master, so much so that on one occasion he saw from the quarter deck, some

me of the sailors coming aft from the fore-castle, to 1790.  
[scue a man, upon which the master let him go, and Part II.  
ver afterwards punished any of them in that man- ~

r. Same master was carrying, in a former voyage,  
paraquets to the West Indies; they died, and suf-  
fering a sailor of having killed them, ordered the  
man to be lashed to one of the topmasts for 12 days,  
which time he had no other food but one of those  
breads, and a pint of water a day; though wonderful,  
the man survived this. He was a native of Phila-  
delphia, and was discharged in the West Indies. Has  
heard the master who perpetrated this wanton barba-  
ry, relate it in a publick company, with triumph.

From what he has seen, he should suppose the P. 88.  
kinds of Africans very capable of cultivation; some-  
part of his evidence shews them susceptible of all the  
social virtues; has seen no bad habits, but among  
those engaged in trade with white men; of those,  
scarcely an exception.

Food of the slaves on the passage was, rice, horse-  
beans, and unclean corn, with usual condiments of  
olive-oil, salt and pepper: the beans from England,  
the rice was got to windward, and the Indian corn at  
Anamaboe: they had abundance of cheese: a quan-  
tity of the Indian corn was sold in the West Indies.  
At Anamaboe it was in such plenty, that many canoes  
were sent away after their corn room was full.  
The rice was a very wholesome food; had a red  
skin, but white within.

Does not remember the surf was too high, during  
the whole time they were on the coast, for canoes to  
come off (nearly 10 months) except two or three  
days.

The 3 fishermen, before-mentioned to have been P. 89.  
seized, said they were free men. Another case is  
mentioned of a man taken out of a canoe along-side:  
done with so much indifference, that he thinks  
the practice was frequent, of seizing and selling  
free men.

As



1790. As to the 3 fishermen complaining of the illegal Part II. of their capture; all communication is prevented

between the slaves on board and the traders; and canoe-men who come to sell slaves; hence it could not be supposed that any of their connections were informed of their situation. Traders are not allowed to go forward after the barricado, and they cannot, from its height, look over it; nor are they permitted to look over the ship's side.

As to the case of the child reclaimed, before mentioned, it is probable that the trader who sold him perhaps not being the kidnapper, had informed the boy's relations.

P. 91. The man who attempted to cut his own throat had all the appearance of a fullen melancholy, but was by no means insane; believes a degree of delirium might come on before death; but when he came on board, believes him to have been in his perfect senses.

P. 92. Cannot be positive as to the particular amount of the mortality on board the Brookes.

P. 93. Engaged to go as surgeon in the Brookes, in the spring of 1783, at the close of the war.

P. 96. Is at present surgeon to the Edgar M. W. Has his medical education at the University of Edinburgh, and also his doctor's degree.

Many slaves died of the scurvy; thinks only a very quiet passage saved half the cargo; for between 2 and 300 were tainted with this disease on their arrival at Antigua. Does not think their food was such as would have produced this disease, independent of other causes, viz. their peculiar confinement; the contaminated atmosphere of the ship with all those depressing passions, inseparable from the state of a human being, torn from all that is to be valued in life.

P. 98. Was often thwarted (by the master) in his prescriptions for the sick, who in violent bursts of anger, swore they fell victims to his medicines: his (the master's) contradictions, were particularly observable

valuable when the scurvy broke out; he treated with 1790.  
 attempt the proposal of carrying out a great quan- Part II.  
 ty of fresh fruits; of which not a 20th part of what  
 was necessary, was in the ship at leaving the coast;  
 the event justified the proposal, for when a liberal  
 supply of fruits was had at Antigua, the recovery of  
 the slaves was rapid beyond example.

Among the slaves, were many related in different  
 degrees; remembers two or three husbands and  
 wives; one of these had a child, which he often car-  
 ried from the mother to the father, who always re-  
 ceived it with much affection: it died on the pas-  
 sage.

Any intercourse between husbands and wives on  
 board, is carried on by the boys which run about,  
 and are allowed occasionally to go ast: other rela-  
 tions, of the same sex, commonly wished to mess to- P. 99.  
 gether, and their affection to each other was cer-  
 tainly very conspicuous, particularly when diseased;  
 in some instances their feelings were such, as would  
 bear a comparison with those of any civilized people.  
 Boys and girls, under the age of puberty, gene-  
 rally kept separate; boys with the men, girls with  
 the women.

First heard the master relate the story of his punish-  
 ing the Philadelphia seaman (by having him tied to  
 the topmast, and fed on a paroquet a day, as already  
 mentioned) on a Saturday night, when he had com-  
 pany, in the Road of Anamaboe; does not recollect  
 who were present; the fact itself, as related, struck  
 him so forcibly, that he thought of nothing else at P. 100.  
 the time; he was so shocked, that he immediately  
 went to the cabin, and told the story to one of the mates;  
 will never forget the impression it left upon his  
 mind at the time, and he has since mentioned it a-  
 mong his friends, as a piece of unparalleled cruelty  
 (p. 98.)



1790.  
Part II.

Witness examined—WILLIAM DOVE.

P. 100. Mr. William Dove, of Plymouth, was 1769 of the coast of Africa, from Sierra Leone down to Phippini Sisters on board the Lily, Captain Saltcraig from Liverpool.

P. 101. Respecting the mode of getting slaves, he observed an instance of a girl that was kidnapped being brought on board by one Ben Johnson, a black trader, who had scarcely left the ship in his canoe with the price of her, when another canoe with two black men came in a hurry to the ship, and inquired concerning the girl. Having been allowed to see her, they hurried down to their canoe and hastily paddled off. Overtaking Ben Johnson, they brought him back to the ship, got him on the quarter deck and calling him "teeffee" (which implies thief), to the captain, offered him to sale. Ben Johnson remonstrated, asking the captain, if he would buy his grand trading man; to which the captain answered if they would sell him he would buy him, be it what he would, which he accordingly did, and put him into irons immediately with another man. Was led to think from that instance, that slaves were kidnapped, and as well as from having seen children brought separately on board, and men and women without fresh wounds, or marks of old ones on them.

P. 102. They had on board between 30 and 40 children boys and girls, some on their mothers breasts; four or five were born during the passage.

The slaves in his ship were in general very well treated, as well as any ship on the coast, two or three instances of great cruelty excepted.

Captain Saltcraig coming on board one evening somewhat intoxicated, scolded the officers for not manning the sides to receive him, then with a rope end beat many white people on deck; he then stretched a rope across, and ordering a negro, a stout fellow, out of irons, made him stand on or

le of the rope, while he stood on the other, and 1790.  
 tting his foot to the black man's, squared as if to Part II.  
 ox him, saying, that he would learn him how to  
 ght, and signified to the black fellow to make a  
 ow at him again, which, though at first he knew  
 ot how to do, at last he did, and gave the captain a  
 rible blow; the captain turned about, went to the  
 bin, brought up a horse-whip, and beat him most  
 mercifully, first with the lash, then with a full  
 eep with the but end, till the black man evacuated  
 oth by urine and excrement, infomuch that the  
 ip's company thought he could not survive it.

The other instance; the black men between decks  
 ad drawn the staple of the fore lazaretto where the  
 orse-beans were kept, and taken as witness supposes  
 ough hunger, two or three gallons; at night they P. 103.  
 ere overheard eating them; five were severely  
 shipped by the captain's order, two of the ringleaders  
 umb-screwed; a punishment so severe, that while  
 nder it, the sweat ran down their faces, and they  
 embled as under a violent ague fit.

The men slaves were fettered all the Middle Passage  
 l in sight of Desida, a West India island, except a  
 w sick slaves who were let to walk the deck, and  
 king great care to recover them. This confine-  
 ent may be necessary from their great superiority  
 numbers. Has known men fettered together quar-  
 l in the night; but this was put to rights by the  
 cond mate or boatswain's going down.

As to capacity among the negroes, he observed  
 me that seemed apt at taking any thing. Two  
 oys from a little oakum given to them, would very  
 xterously work a curious fishing-line, twisting it  
 ly on their knees; it was used often to catch cat  
 h; there were others not so apt. In the West  
 dies he has seen them at different handicrafts, make  
 good workmen as white people.

Was not on shore in Africa to observe their dispo- P. 104.  
 tion either to agriculture or trade, but in the West  
 dies he has seen some diligent and attentive to the  
 duties



1790. duties required of them; others there are of a late  
 Part II. cast, just as our common people at home. He has  
 no doubt but that a trade might be cultivated with  
 them in Africa. Sierra Leone afforded rice to the  
 ship; they took about two tons. Pine apples, plantains,  
 bananas, and yams, were brought to them in great  
 abundance; some honey also, and a few bottles of  
 the juice of the sugar-cane. Both natives and the  
 ship's boats brought them off, but chiefly the natives.

The African rice is in quality equal to the Carolina; is thought to go farther; it has a redness to  
 it, which, when the husk is taken off, does not penetrate  
 the grain, but lies as a little dust upon the  
 surface.

The tarpaulins are only put on in case of rain,  
 when taken off there is a steam comes up between  
 the gratings, by which means the air is communicated  
 to them below, and has relieved them when  
 they have been panting for breath.

P. 105. Treatment of sailors on board with him was in general  
 oppressive, particularly in one or two instances. The  
 chief mate finding a leak in a barrel of tar, told  
 the captain, who called the boatswain to account for  
 it; the boatswain saying it was not his fault, for the  
 tar would run in that warm climate; the captain told  
 him he would make him prevent it, and then took  
 an end of a rope, and beat him in so unmerciful  
 manner, that he did not recover for some weeks.

Another instance; John Coffee, assistant surgeon,  
 was taken ill of a disorder prevalent among the whites,  
 which first seizes them with a sleepy heaviness and  
 disinclination to move. A swelling of the legs soon  
 takes place, which makes it painful even to stand or  
 walk; this the captain said was idleness, and that  
 they would exert themselves, they would soon get  
 well, and to make them do so, repeatedly beat them  
 with a rope's end. In this manner he treated Coffee,  
 and when at last he could not stand, insisting on it  
 that he would make him, he ordered one of the  
 hands

ends to seize him up to the shrouds, where, after a 1790.  
minutes in that position, Coffee begged him for Part II.  
God's sake to shoot him and put him out of pain; to  
which, in a most brutish manner the captain answered,  
"No, no, do you think I'll be hanged for you?"  
Coffee repeatedly begged him either to let him down  
or shoot him, yet still he kept him there for near  
three hours. When loosed he lay down on his bed  
on the deck, and in about two hours he expired.  
In the outward bound passage they were tolerably  
well off in point of provisions: they had 4 lb. of  
beef a week, 1 lb. of salt beef a day, with a pro-  
portion of potatoes, which being out when they ar-  
rived on the coast, they felt it a little sharp, but  
bought cat-fish to supply their place; this however  
the captain forbid, and refused also to add half a P. 106.  
pound of bread to the week's allowance. Once a  
week they had stock-fish, with only a little vinegar,  
chiefly on the Middle Passage. On the most part  
of the outward bound passage they had a breakfast  
of oatmeal boiled thick, called Burgou, which  
is very comfortable.

From the year 1774 to 1783, he resided at Boston  
and New-York. There are there many negro slaves  
and free blacks; half the inhabitants may be black.  
In general the slaves were treated very well there, as  
servants here. There was not a single importa-  
tion of slaves while he resided in either of those  
places. Thinks the numbers did not decrease, and  
from the great multitude of black children running  
about the streets, he infers that population was kept  
up. He never saw nor heard of a driver in America. P. 107.  
Negroes are not punished ordinarily there with whip-  
ping; beating was never found to answer the pur-  
pose; they are transferred to other masters, such as  
they like themselves, for they have liberty to choose.  
He was paid two months advance-money on the  
ship's sailing from Liverpool, which was accounted  
for in West India currency, on his arrival in West  
Indies.

Having



1790. Having soon left Liverpool, he does not know whether captain Saltcraig was discharged for drunkenness and misconduct. He was repeatedly requested by Mr. Rice, one of the owners, to remain in the service and promised promotion in it, but objected because of the ill treatment of the ship's company, and not only so, but because he did not like the traffick. He had an assurance afterwards, from Mr. Rice, that Saltcraig should be prevented in future from using the ship's company as before. Mr. Dove had made a point of stating it to the owner himself.

He does not know whether Piccinini, Sisters, and Wappoa, are distinct states, nor while there, did he hear of any hostility between them.

He never heard of families sold on account of witchcraft, nor heard of such a thing as witchcraft while on the coast.

Upwards of half the ship's crew were landmen.

He has often eaten horse-beans, and thought them an excellent mess.

He went to Boston as cooper of His Majesty's ship Preston, under Admiral Graves; at New-York he was cooper to the same ship under Com. Hotham.

At Boston white people cultivate the land as well as negroes; and they indiscriminately work together. Both at Boston and New-York he was appointed to offices on shore, where he accordingly resided during the whole war, till 1783, and that has afforded him an opportunity of being so particular in his observations.

He thinks an English constitution equal to sea-labour at Boston. He has not a doubt, that without there a sufficient number of white people there, the country could be cultivated without any negroes at all.

Witness examined—CLEMENT NOBLE.

Has been nine voyages to Africa, two as a mate, P. 108.  
and seven as a master.

Recollects the voyage when Mr. Thomas Trotter P. 109.  
was surgeon, they sailed 3d June, 1783, and arrived  
at Liverpool in August 1784. Had no previous  
knowledge of Doctor Trotter; who was recommend-  
ed by one of his friends, to one of the owners of the  
ship. Thought him often very remiss in his duty,  
and spent a great deal too much time in dress, which  
often reproved him for.

Vessel about 300 tons; bought 638 slaves; lost  
on the coast, 33 on the passage, and 6 in Kingf-  
ord harbour, in all 58. In preceding voyage, bought  
166, buried 26 in whole.

In the voyage with Mr. Trotter, had 49 seamen,  
one died in the small-pox ten days from Liverpool,  
another fell overboard from a boat and was drowned,  
another a natural death; total loss three, which he  
thinks might be the average of all his voyages. P. 110.

Does not remember a dead man and a living ever  
being found chained together, nor slaves suffocated  
in the tarpaulins laid over the gratings through  
negligence, which it is impossible can happen, for  
slaves are always ready enough to call to the people  
on deck to put the tarpaulin either up or down as  
they feel heat or cold. Rain is kept out of the  
rooms by a tarpaulin or awning spread 10 or 12 feet  
above the deck from mast to mast, like the roof of  
a house.

Has been often at Cape la Hou; trade is there  
chiefly carried on by the Dutch; English or French  
ships stop a day or two only, perhaps sometimes a  
week. Believes slaves cannot be taken off the coast,  
that have not been sold under the laws of the coun-  
try. Never knew an instance.

Really



1790. Really does not believe slaves could be kidnapped with impunity on the Gold coast.

Remembers a man slave on board his ship attempting to destroy himself, and believes the man was perfectly mad, is sure of it. Did not appear for the first, or he should not have bought him; it appeared some few days after; he stormed and made great noise, worked with his hands, &c. and shewed every sign of being mad. Believes he generally refused sustenance. Had no conversation with him, except at times when he seemed to be rather better than others. He gave no reason at all for his violent conduct; could seldom get him to speak (p. 113.)

Has known many slaves fall overboard by accident, but generally picked up. Remembers only in the voyage Dr. Trotter was with the ship who was subject to fits, and fell out of the fore chain in a fit and was drowned; also a woman who was insane and very troublesome, believes she did jump overboard once or oftener. Ordered her to be confined to prevent her from doing it again, but punished her no other way. Does not recollect whether she died or not.

Never had any slaves die on board in consequence of correction.

His officers and seamen were in general desirous to sail again with him.

Remembers, in the voyage Mr. Trotter was with him, flogging a sailor for abusing the slaves, and being insolent to himself. Believes it was the only time a seaman was flogged in the voyage; same man came home from Jamaica with the ship, and behaved well and offered to go again with Mr. N. in preference to any other ship (p. 112 and 120.)

Does not know Mr. Trotter ever expressed himself dissatisfied with any occurrence on the voyage, and has no reason to think he would not have gone with him, but the ship was laid up (p. 116.)

P. 112. Does remember a voyage, when he had a number of parquets on board, it was in 1774, they were all killed.

ed in one night, by a black man of the ship (not 1790.  
ave) who told some of the people he would do as Part II.

ch for him (Mr. N.) the next night; when asked ~~~~~

he said so, he said, yes, with all the insolence in the  
ld; he was ordered to be confined, and by advice

the officers of the ship, who judged it unsafe to  
p him below, he was sent to the mast head; at

days end he sent to say he was sorry for what he  
done, and hoped to be let come down; he was

mediately ordered to be brought down and let out  
irons; but for the remaining part of the voyage

(Mr. N.) took care to have the cabin door made  
f in the night: the man was very turbulent, and

a Kingston was caged almost every night till he went  
of the island: when so confined he sent every morn-

to Mr. N. for money to relieve him: he never  
ned Mr. N. for sending him to the mast head, but

many of the sailors it was very fortunate he was  
confined, otherwise he was sure he would have

ndered Mr. N. for his resolution was fixed.

Does not recollect he had ever any trouble with  
sailors, employing attornies, or any thing of that

Did not often receive slaves in the night; but every  
and then; that the other captains should not

them come on board, he judged was the cause, P. 113.

the traders wished to keep on good terms with  
the captains.

He was nine months and eight days on the coast. P. 114.

Does not remember receiving three men that were  
fishing in the offing, but has frequently seen them

ten out of canoes and sold: they were slaves to be  
f. The greater part of those that paddle the can-

ns, and go afishing, are slaves.

believes persons in the condition of slaves on the P. 115.

cost, may be sold to the ships, without being con-  
ved of any crime: always understood they had a

right by the laws of the country to do what they  
passed with their own property. Never made any

inquiry whether the slaves brought for sale, were the  
Numb. 3. G property



1790. property of the sellers; they being usually brok  
Part II. only; never enquired how these brokers came  
them, thinks there is no occasion; always suppos  
and did not doubt, but they had a right to sell the

Instances of slaves falling overboard in Gui  
ships are not very frequent; it happens every n  
and then.

Is not at present engaged in the African tra  
quitted the sea above four years since.

P. 116. Some of the slaves appear dejected when brou  
on board, but in general soon mend of that, and  
in very good spirits while on board.

Now and then met with sulky ones that would  
eat without force, then endeavoured to persuade the  
and if that would not do, to force them to it.

Has been often below when the slaves were all  
their rooms: they had room enough to lie down  
and were as comfortable as could be expected  
board a ship: could walk among them without trea  
ing upon them, it is done every night by the offic

P. 117. after they go to rest: all the ships he has had, h  
platforms. It was much hotter below at some time  
than at others; that depends chiefly on the weathe  
when calm it is sure to be very warm. Never fou  
any bad effects from the air: the air cannot surely  
so good as upon deck: it is rather foul and offe  
five, but more so in calm weather than at other time

Refers in what he has said of the state of the sh  
between decks, &c. to the voyage that Dr. Trott  
was with him.

Cannot say with certainty how many slaves we  
in the mens room in this voyage: from the numb  
on board thinks there must have been somethir  
short of 300; cannot say the exact proportion  
males in the cargo, but should suppose about two  
thirds males, and one-third females.

Cannot recollect number of boys; in general the  
reckon in their accounts, without distinguishing  
they had many of both boys and girls.

Does not remember the length of the mens room, 1790.  
 breadth about 26 feet: there were in the breadth 4 Part II.  
 rows of slaves on the deck, and one on each plat-  
 form: stowed on their backs or sides as they chose P. 118.  
 The chief mate and boatswain generally stow  
 men in the mens room: never measured, nor calcu-  
 lated what room they had; they had always plenty  
 of room to lie down in, and had they had 3 times as  
 much they would all lie close jammed together; they do  
 so before the room is half full: the space in the middle  
 between the two rows of slaves varies according to  
 the lengths of the slaves; in some places perhaps a  
 foot, in some more, in some less: sometimes when the  
 weather is cool they will lie as near the side as they  
 can, and when it is warm crowd more under the grat-  
 ings. Cannot recollect how they were distributed as  
 to numbers; are divided so as not to throng one  
 man more than another: they were he believes dis-  
 tributed as the cargo usually is on board of Guinea  
 ships, where he understood it the rule to distribute  
 men equally fore and aft: there were men stowed  
 in the boys room adjoining to the mens; which is ge-  
 nerally the case (p. 120.)

The slaves were sold in the West Indies after this  
 manner: the men are on the main, and the women  
 on the quarter deck; the buyers come in at the  
 gangway between, where they remain till the sale is  
 opened, when they rush in fore and aft, and suit  
 themselves as they can, clapping their tallies on  
 whatever they mean to take.

Believes this is the common way of selling a cargo P. 119.  
 of slaves by scramble in Jamaica; in other islands it  
 differs.

Remembers the slaves being in great distress, and  
 making grievous outcries on the sale by scramble in  
 the particular voyage; the cause of it is, because  
 they are parting; it is a general cry and a noise  
 throughout the whole ship; but more particularly so  
 with some that think they are going to be parted  
 from their husbands, wives, mothers, children, &c.



<sup>1790.</sup>  
Part II. but the purchasers are always very particular making exchanges, so that husbands, wives, mothers and children, and even acquaintances, shall go together. Never knew it otherwise.

The men slaves take exercise during the passage; a drum is beat, and they jump or dance to it, as well as their situation will admit; the stout men are all in irons, and a right leg and a left, and the hands the same: a chain fastens the greatest part of them to the deck, a few days before leaving the coast, and a few days after; then those chains are taken away, and many of the slaves let out of irons; they are always very ready and very fond of dancing, except a few sulky ones; but in general there are very few of them. As to the means used to compel them to dance when sulky, the master or people that are among them endeavour to persuade them, and if they will not, they let them do as they please.

P. 120. He was supplied with rice or corn by the natives while on the coast.

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Witness examined—ISAAC PARKER.

P. 122. Isaac Parker, Ship-keeper of the *Melampus* Frigate, failed in 1764 from Liverpool to the River Gambia in the *Black Joke*, Captain Pollard, who treated the slaves well, but who dying off St. Jago, was succeeded by Capt. Marshall, who did not behave so well to them, but pinched them in provisions and water, while there was plenty in the ship. One exception to Captain Pollard's good treatment was, a child of nine months old which refused to eat, to which the captain took it up in his hand, and flogged it with a cat, saying at the same time, "Damn you, I'll make you eat, or I'll kill you."

The same child having swelled feet, the captain ordered them to be put into water, though the ship's cook told him it was too hot. This brought off the

in and nails. He then ordered sweet oil and cloths, 1790.  
which Isaac Parker himself applied to the feet; and Part II.  
the child at mess time again refused to eat, the  
captain again took it up and flogged it, and tied a P. 123.  
a piece of mango-wood 18 or 20 inches long, and of 12  
lb. weight round its neck as a punishment.  
He repeated the flogging for four days together at P. 127.  
mess time; the last time after flogging he let it drop  
out of his hand, with the same expressions as before,  
and accordingly in about three quarters of an hour,  
the child died. He then called its mother to heave  
it overboard, and beat her for refusing. He, how-  
ever, forced her to take it up, and go to the ship's  
side, where holding her head on one side to avoid  
the sight, she dropped her child overboard, after  
which she cried for many hours.

The crew consisted of 13 of whom only 5 survived. P. 126.  
In 1765, he sailed again from Liverpool, in the  
Hatham, captain Colly, to Old Calabar, and there,  
for want of provisions, left the ship, which, though  
bound for the West Indies, lay windbound then upon  
the bar. He went with the surgeon to buy slaves,  
with the goods that were left, to Newtown, where  
Dick Ebro, a king's son, who knew of the ill treat-  
ment given the crew by captain Colly, concealed  
him for three days in a room till the ship was gone.  
He then came out, and employed himself in fishing,  
cleaning their arms, &c. and remained there for five  
months.

When there, Dick Ebro' asking him to go to war P. 124.  
with him, he complied, and accordingly having  
armed out and armed the canoes, they went up the  
river, lying under the bushes in the day when they  
came near a village; and at night flying up to the  
village, and taking hold of every one they could see.  
These they handcuffed, brought down to the canoes,  
and so proceeded up the river, till they got to the  
point of 45, with whom they returned to New-  
town, where sending to the captains of the shipping,  
they divided them among the ships. About a fort-  
night



1790. night after they went again, and were out eight  
 } nine days, plundering other villages higher up the  
 P. 125. river. They seized on much the same number  
 before, brought them to Newtown, gave the same  
 notice, and disposed of them as before among the  
 P. 133. ships. They took man, woman, and child as they  
 could catch them in the houses, and except sucking  
 children, who went with their mothers, there was  
 no care taken to prevent the separation of the children  
 from the parents when sold. When sold to the  
 English merchants, they lamented, and cried that  
 they were taken away by force.
- P. 135. Dick Ebro' was certainly not at war with the people  
 up the river, nor had they made any attack upon  
 him. Slaves were very slack in the back country  
 at that time, and were wanted when he went on the  
 P. 135. expeditions. He took no goods with him in the  
 canoes. He was not at war with any body, nor did  
 J. P. hear that there had been any war before his  
 coming there. The old town and new town of Calabar  
 were at peace with one another.
- P. 133. Dick Ebro' had many slaves of his own, whom he  
 employed in cutting wood and fishing, &c. but he  
 treated them always very well.
- P. 132. The Guinea captains fixing on a certain price  
 agreed to lie under a £50 bond, if any one of them  
 should give more for slaves than another; in consequence  
 P. 133. of which, the natives did not readily bring  
 slaves on board, to sell at those prices; upon which  
 the captains used to row guard at night, to take the  
 canoes as they passed the ship, and so stopping the  
 slaves from getting to their towns prevent the trader  
 from getting them. These they took on board the  
 different ships, and kept them till the traders agreed  
 to slave at the old price.
- P. 133. He has known presents made by the captains to  
 P. 135. the black traders to induce them to bring slaves.  
 Captain Colly in particular gave them some pieces  
 of cannon, which he himself saw landed.
- P. 134. Captain Colly did not behave so well to the ship's  
 crew

after his arrival on the coast as during the voyage 1790.  
 He kept them on short provisions, giving them Part II.  
 only fish for four months, with nothing but palm oil  
 it, and sometimes not that. He gave also 4 lb. of  
 bread by the week. The quantity of fish, when  
 needed, was not sufficient for a meal, and the rest of  
 the day they were forced to go without victuals.  
 When up in the country, he took a yam from off  
 the coppers, for which the captain charged him a  
 shilling against his wages.

He has been more than once in the West Indies; P. 134.  
 as in Jamaica, Barbadoes, Antigua, and the Gre-  
 nadas, has seen seamen sick, with swelled feet, and  
 begging for want of food and employment; and  
 he informed him that the ships they came from  
 were Guineamen.

He did not know, when he went out with captain P. 135.  
 Marshall, that any part of his wages was to be paid  
 in West India currency, and accordingly objected to P. 136.  
 receiving it in that manner when there; declaring to  
 Captain Marshall, that "he would not go home with  
 the ship if he did not give full pay;" upon which  
 the captain threw him and some others of the crew  
 into prison, where they lay two or three days, and  
 then agreed to go with him, on the captain's paying  
 their gaol fees. The governor, though applied to,  
 gave the sailors no redress.

Since his return to England, in 1766, he has been P. 131.  
 some time in the coasting trade, and some time in  
 His Majesty's service, and in 1768, entered the En-  
 glish bark, in which he went round the world  
 with captain Cook, as boatswain's mate. He served  
 first in the Monarch, captain Joshua Rowley, and  
 then by appointment of the master-attendant of  
 the mouth dock, ship-keeper of the Melampus.

The slaves on board ships very often refuse to eat;  
 they take sick, and will not eat: blows make them  
 more sulky, and in general they seem very me- P. 136.  
 lancholy and dejected. P. 137.



Witness examined—Rev. JOHN NEWTON,

Rector of St. Mary, Woolnoth.

1790. Made five voyages to Africa, the last in 1754,  
Part II. master of a slave-ship. Lived ashore about a year  
and a half, chiefly at the island of Plantanes, at the  
P. 137. mouth of the river Sherbro.

The Purrow, the legislative and executive power  
there. A sort of free-masonry, to which the obedience  
paid may be a mixture of superstitious charm  
and submission to government.

P. 138. Always judged, that, with equal advantages, the  
natives capacities would be equal to ours. Has  
known many of real and decided capacity. The  
Sherbro people are in a degree civilized, often  
friendly, and may be trusted where not previously  
deceived by Europeans. Has lived in safety among  
them, when the only white man there. The best  
people he met with were on the R. Gaboon and  
C. Lopas. These had then the least intercourse  
with Europe. Believes they had then no slave  
P. 139. trade, and has heard them speak against it. They  
traded in ivory and wax. One great man said, “  
I was to be angry and sell my boy, how should I get  
my boy back when my anger was gone?”

Has known ships and boats cut off, but never  
Gaboon or C. Lopas. Sometimes at Sherbro, usual  
in retaliation.

Natives, having few wants, make fewer exertions  
but he does not think them naturally indolent.

P. 140. Many of them hired to work in our boats and ships.  
On the Windward Coast, they cultivate the land, not  
only to supply themselves, but the ships with rice.

Polygamy being practised, the affections may possibly  
not be so strong as in other countries; but he  
never heard of a mother selling her children.

The

They are generally worse in their conduct in pro- 1790.  
 portion to their acquaintance with us. Part II.

Believes the African trade very fatal to seamen,  
 in exposure to weather, intemperance, and ill  
 treatment. Thinks in a trade in African produce  
 they would not necessarily be exposed to weather so  
 much, and that the slave-trade is a great cause of  
 their hard treatment. The real or supposed necessity  
 of treating the negroes rigorously, gradually be-  
 comes the heart, and renders most of those engaged  
 too indifferent to their fellow creature's suffer-  
 ing. He has seen them when sick, beaten for laziness  
 till they have died under the blows.

P. 141.

Once when on shore, the traders suddenly put him  
 in his long-boat, telling him that a ship just  
 arrived, had carried off two people. Had it been  
 known in the town, he would have been detained.  
 He knows many other such instances, but after 36  
 years cannot specify them. It was a general opinion,  
 based on repeated and indisputable facts, that de-  
 gradations of this sort were frequently committed by  
 the Europeans. (p. 147.)

Shows little of punishments, except the selling  
 of slaves for slaves. Believes many were sold for  
 slaves, whose punishment otherwise would have been  
 more severe.

Many considered frauds as a necessary branch of P. 142.

Slave-trade. Has known them put false heads  
 in powder-casks, cut off two or three yards from  
 the middle of a piece of cloth, greatly adulterate  
 brandy, and sometimes steal back articles de-  
 livered.

The men slaves always fettered. He never put  
 them out of irons, till they saw the land in the W.  
 Thinks the ship would not otherwise have  
 been safe. Two or three plots, in his ship, were  
 discovered. He was mate of a ship where  
 a white man and three or four negroes were killed,  
 in a rebellion.

The slaves had more room in his ship, because he

3.

H

never



1790. never compleated his purchase; but their situation Part II. in a full ship is uncomfortable indeed, being kept constantly in irons, crowded in their lodging, and often, in bad weather, almost destitute of air to breathe; besides what they suffer from the ship's motion, in their irons, and the difficulty in the night of getting to their tubs, which are sometimes overfet.

P. 143. In plots or insurrections, they suffer most general severe floggings, to which the masters of some ships he has been on board of, added thumb-screws. The captain told him repeatedly, that he had put negroes to death, after an insurrection, by different cruel tortures. In many ships the sufferings of the women were aggravated by the brutality of the crews. He knew many women in Sherbro, whom he thought modest, but knows not how to compare their modesty with that of women in other countries.

The slaves are fettered in pairs, not chained. He has often, in the morning, seen one of the pair dead.

He has known pawns taken off the coast by European traders. Individual Europeans were thought well of by the natives, but they had no good opinion of them upon the whole, and sometimes when charged with a fraud or crime, would say, "What, do you think I am a white man?"

Small slaves, from 8 to 16 years of age, used to constitute about 1-4th of the cargo.

P. 144. He was at three slave sales in the West Indies, and at one in South Carolina. Relations were separated as sheep and lambs are separated by the butcher.

His concern in the slave-trade was not profitable to his employers. There were more losing than gainful voyages. The trade was generally considered as a sort of lottery.

He made three voyages as commander of a slave ship. He first went on board a slave-ship as a first-mate at Madeira, in 1745, having been discharged from a man of war; but was made steward for about six months. He was left by her when the ship

p failed with a person who was part owner, on 1790.  
 e coast, where he lived perhaps 18 months, as a  
 vant to white traders. He left the coast in the  
 d of 1747, as passenger in a ship which called at  
 boon, and arrived in England 1748. He counts  
 that time his first voyage. In that time, they  
 ded to R. de Nuna, about 40 leagues northward  
 S. Leone, but has no knowledge of the inter-  
 mediate country, and 20 leagues to the southward  
 that river, in the R. Sherbro.

He once went three days journey inland, which he P. 146.  
 supposes might be fifty miles from the head of the  
 river or creek Caramanca. Believes he did not stay  
 above two days. He never went so far at any other  
 time, seldom above 3, 4, or 5 miles from the coast.

He has sometimes found all trade stopped, and the P. 147.  
 depredations of European traders have been assigned  
 to the natives as the cause, and he has, more than  
 once or twice, made up breaches of this kind be-  
 tween the ships and the natives.

He believes several captains of slave-ships were  
 the best, humane men, but has good reason to think  
 they were not all so. The taking off slaves by force  
 has been thought most frequent in the last voyages P. 148.

captains. He has often heard masters and officers  
 express this opinion. Depredations and reprisals  
 made to get them were so frequent, that the Euro-  
 peans and Africans were in a spirit of mutual distrust:  
 it does not mean that there were no depredations,  
 except in their last voyage. Has known Liverpool  
 and Bristol ships materially injured from the conduct  
 of some ships, from the same ports, that had left  
 the coast. It is a fact that some captains have com-  
 mitted depredations in their last voyage, who have  
 never been known to have done it before.

He was, for most of his residence, in an abject P. 149.  
 state of servitude and sickness. He knew the natives  
 better, when a master to the same part.

He felt the trade very ineligible, but had no  
 scruple of its lawfulness while engaged in it.



Witness examined,—JAMES MORLEY, Gunner of the  
Medway.

1790. Made 6 voyages to Africa, the first in 1760, to  
Part II. last in 1776: ever since in the king's service. L

the African trade from the ill usage he himself re-  
P. 149. ceived, and saw towards others. He continued

P. 150. the trade from a promise of promotion, and to main-  
tain his family. In the first ship, being then 9  
10 years of age, he was a servant; also in the second  
in the third before the mast; in the fourth gunner  
in the fifth boatswain and mate; in the sixth mate.  
Has been much on the coast, and far up the  
country. Has been, by computation, 3 or 400 miles  
up the river Nazareth, and about 200 miles up the  
river Gaboon (above Parrot's Island, p. 164.)

P. 151. Has also been at Angola, Affenie, Cape Apollonia,  
Cape Coast, Anamaboe, and Old Calabar (at this last  
3 voyages—and at Commenda, Succundee, Dixcove,  
Amunda, Brandenburgh, and many other places  
p. 164.)

Africa produces cotton, gold, rice, peppers, palm  
oil, tobacco, and dye woods. He never was rice  
on the coast, but has bought some of it off the river  
Sisters, and different places on the Windward Coast.  
This rice was brought alongside in canoes, without  
any inquiry for it (in baskets holding about 2 gal-  
lons, p. 167.)

The natives were always willing to do any ser-  
vices, for which they had a prospect of being paid  
immediately. He has had much intercourse with  
P. 152. them, and apprehends they would raise produce,  
made to see that they could get as much by it as by  
selling slaves. They traffic only in provisions and  
ivory at their markets; also for slaves all through  
the country.

They

They treat their slaves with the greatest kindness, 1790.  
more so than our servants or slaves in the West Part II.  
Indies. They do not care to sell canoe-boys and  
house-servants, who raise provisions, fish, get palm-  
oil, and palm-wine, make grass and other cloths,  
build houses, go in the canoes, and do the house  
business. Is convinced it is a common practice for  
them to set slaves to work, who are refused by the  
Europeans. In Old Calabar he saw a slave that was  
brought to his ship, at work in the plantation.

He owns, with shame, that he has made the natives  
sunk, and has given an extra price for a good man  
or woman. He has seen this done by others. Cap-  
tain Hildebrand paid an extraordinary price for one  
of the wives of a man whom he had made drunk, and  
now wished to redeem her next day, as did the person  
(Mr. M.) bought the man of; but neither of  
them was given up. Supposes they would have  
given one-third more than their price to redeem  
them (knew of no other instance, p. 166.)

Most of the slaves, as far as he saw, were obtained  
by purchase. He knew and saw only one taken by  
force by the black traders. It was one that came  
down to get shell-fish, that he bought. Has been  
told by the natives at Calabar, (but never saw it, p.  
15.) that they took slaves in what they call war,  
which he found was putting the villages in confu-  
sion, and catching them as they could. A man on  
board the ship he was in, shewed how he was taken  
one night by surprise, and said his wife and children  
were taken with him, but they were not in the same  
ship. Had reason to think, from the man's words,  
that they took the whole village, those that could  
not get away.

In Old Calabar, persons are sold for slaves, for  
adultery and theft. On pretence of adultery, he  
saw a woman sold. He learnt that this was  
only a pretence from her own mouth, for she spoke  
good English, and from the respect with which her  
husband, king Ephraim, treated her, when he came



1790. on board; whereas, in real cases of adultery, the Part II. are very desperate.

He has seen children on board, without parents or relations.

P. 155. Off Taboo, two men came along-side in a canoe. One of them came up and sat on the netting, but would not come into the ship, on which the captain intoxicated him so with brandy and laudanum, that he fell in upon deck. (Does not know laudanum, but the captain ordered him to pour in laudanum, and he (Mr. M.) saw him pour out the liquid, which was of a very dark brown, p. 165.) The captain then ordered him to be put into the mess room, with a centry over him. The man in the canoe, after calling in vain for his companion, paddled off fast towards the shore. The captain fired several musket balls after him, which did not hit him. About 3 or 4 leagues farther down, 2 men came on board from another canoe. While they were on board, a drum was kept beating near the man who had been seized to prevent his hearing them, or they him.

P. 156. When they came into Gaboon, in the Tom, captain Matthews; desired the mate to call himself captain, while he hid himself. Two of the chiefs sons coming on board, told the mate that he lied, and that he was not the captain: on this the captain came up the scuttle, laughing. The chiefs sons asked him what he had done with their sons, and the boys he had carried off, and told him in English, that if he came on shore there to trade, they would have his head. They then went into their canoe, and left the vessel, calling to him and making motions to the same purpose. Is not positive as to any other instance.

When at Furnandipo, in the Marcus tender-sloop, in the height of trading with the natives for provisions, a man stole a few strings of beads. Bishop, the master, striking him, the natives flew up to the wood. Bishop fired among them, and ordered the boat's

boat's crew to do the same. A great shrieking was heard, and they immediately all disappeared. The boat's crew left the boat, and saw the track of blood for many yards; but they could never learn whether any of them were killed. Does not remember that any of the natives had offered violence to the boat's crew.

From Old-Town, Calabar, to the Duke's-Town, P. 157. 4 or 5 miles, by the creek; but by the mouth of Cross River, 16 or 18 miles, or more. New-Town is a long way from the shipping. Before the towns started, they always went by the creek.

When there has been a full purchase, the slaves are closely stowed; but, when a short purchase, and they have had mortality, they have more room. He has been employed in a full ship, in stowing them as close as he possibly could. In most ships he has been, the men were in irons all the passage. In full ships, he has seen them in great perspirations, especially when rains obliged them to keep the gratings covered. He has wiped them, and seen them perspire, in perspirations so violent, as to give reason to think, if they had been long kept so close, suffocation must have ensued; but this he never found. He has seen them under great difficulty of breathing. The women particularly, often get up on the beams, where the gratings are raised with bannisters, about 4 feet above the combings, to give air, but they are generally driven down, because they take the air from the rest.

He has known rice held in the mouths of sea-black slaves, until they were almost strangled. He has seen the surgeon's mates force the pannikin between their teeth, and throw the medicine over them, that not half of it went into their mouths, the poor wretches wallowing in their blood or excrements, hardly having life, and this with blows of the stick, driving them for sulky black bodies. He declares he has known the doctor's mate report a slave dead, and have him thrown overboard, when he has seen



1790. seen him struggle in the water; no one could imagine why, only to get clear of the trouble.

In his first voyage, in the Eagle Galley, 700 were taken on board; believes above 250 were lost.

P. 159. his second voyage, in the Amelia, about 200, or more, were taken in, 18 or 20, more or less, were lost. In his fourth voyage, in the Tom, about 150 or more taken in, 25, more or less, lost. In his fifth voyage, in the Venus, between 250 and 300 taken in, about 20 lost, but is not sure.

Some slaves sold on board, most commonly on shore. He never saw them sold by scramble, except in his last voyage, in the Whim. Refuse slaves are sold by vendue. He has seen refuse slaves, that came out of the ship he was in, lying about in St. Kitt's, in a very bad condition, and apparently deserted. He has known the poorer people buy slaves at vendue, for a trifle, not thinking of the expence of cure; when they find the raising of them will cost a good deal, let them go about any where. He has been on an inquest at Jamaica, where, from the appearance of the body, the verdict was, "Died for want." Upon inquiry, the person suspected to be the owner, has denied that it was his slave.

Some seamen enter voluntarily, but knows others are kept by landlords, till in debt, when they offer them a Guineaman or gaol. One Sullivan, a landlord in Bristol, got 2 or 3 young fellows in debt, and forced them, in his hearing, to go on board the Guineaman he belonged to, or to gaol. He helped to carry them on board himself; cannot positively say this is a common practice.

The seamen in the Guineaman he sailed in, were generally treated with great rigour, and many with cruelty. Recollects many instances. Matthews, the chief mate in the Venus, would knock a man down for any frivolous thing, with a cat, a piece of wood, or a cook's axe, with which he once cut a man down the shoulder. In the Amelia, captain Dixon, the men were tied up, and had 4 or 5 dozen lashes at a time,

ne, and then rubbing them with pickle, he told 1790.  
 em, "They should not stink, for he would saltPart II.  
 em well." He has heard him tell them so often. He

(Mr. Morley) when his cabin-boy, for accidentally  
 eaking a glass, was tied to the tiller by the hands,  
 gged with a cat, and kept hanging some time. He  
 s seen great severity in all the Bristol vessels he has  
 en in; but capt. Butler, in the Whim, from Liver-  
 ol, neither treated the slaves nor the men severe-

He has known him send the only bit of fresh  
 ovisions he had from his table, to the sick slaves.

The seamens provisions were usually scanty. Have  
 shelter. Has seen them lie and die upon deck.  
 all his first 5 voyages, he has seen seamen sick and  
 erated; for it was all to a sickly part of the coast  
 t he went. They are generally treated ill. He  
 known men ask to have their wounds or ulcers  
 ssed; and has heard the doctor, with oaths, tell  
 m to take their dung and dress them. Never  
 w the captain compel the doctor to do his duty;  
 n does he know that the doctor made this answer  
 he captain's hearing.

P. 162.

The seamen were paid in West India currency, in  
 ery ship he was in. There are more deserters  
 n Guineamen, than from any West Indiaman he  
 been in. He has frequently seen Guinea seamen  
 g about the wharfs, &c. in almost all the islands,  
 w ulcerated legs, and other disorders, almost dead.  
 Has often relieved them.

a Jamaica, he saw a man hoisted up taugt to a  
 e on a wharf, with 3 or 4 fifty-sixes to his feet,  
 flogged with a short whip, and the skin swelled  
 n great lumps: it was not broke, but bruised.  
 negro flogger then flogged him with ebony on  
 same parts, until the blood ran from most of his  
 e. He was told the slave's crime was running  
 ; and that the ebony was used to let out the  
 sed blood. Another time, he saw a woman  
 lly flogged at Kingston. He was told she was P. 163.  
 ay her mistress so much a month, which she had  
 mb. 3.

I

not



1790. not done. He knows many such instances. In J  
Part II. maica, he once (and only once) saw marking iron  
heated over the flame of rum, and applied to the  
thick of the thigh of the slaves, as they came through  
the barricado-door one by one.

Captain Briggs's chief mate, in Old Calabar river  
lying in ambush to stop the natives coming down the  
creek, pursued Oruk Robin John, who, jumping on  
shore, shot the mate through the head.

Mr. Walker, master of a sloop, was on board the  
Jolly Prince, captain Lambert, when the king of  
Nazareth stabbed the captain at his own table, took  
the vessel, putting all the whites to death, except the  
cook, a boy, and he believes one man. Captain  
Punter, of the Prince of Wales brig, asking Walker  
why the king of Nazareth took this step? he said  
"It was on account of the people that Matthew  
had carried off from Gaboon and Cape Lopas, the  
voyage before." Walker escaped, by knowing

P. 164. the language. The Jolly Prince belonged to the  
same owners as Matthews's ship.

He was sometimes a week, sometimes 2 or 3 days  
on shore at Gaboon. He saw a great quantity of  
ivory there, which comes from inland, on the shoulders  
or heads of the negroes.

By the water-side about Gaboon, the country is  
flat or marshy in some places, but the farther up the  
river, the better the land. It runs so high in the  
back country, as to be seen a great way off. The  
country was never overflowed while he was there,  
and he never heard that it was.

P. 165. There are great quantities of cotton at Calabar and  
Gaboon, but no rice that ever he saw. Never saw  
any cotton exported from thence; but he has made  
pillows of it. It is very fine, but very short in the  
pod.

Sailors in the West Indies are called wharfingers  
by seafaring people in general, because they have  
ulcerated legs, and are sickly, lying about the wharves  
and private places. The sailors call them so whether  
the

here are wharfs; but they call them beach horners, 1790.  
and other cant names, where there are no wharfs. Part II.

Very particular in most captains purchasing no  
aves but such as appeared to be in good health.

They had always an hospital forward, before the  
men's room.

Witness examined—Capt. THO. BOLTON THOMPSON,

Of the Royal Navy.

He was second lieutenant of the Grampus in 1784, P. 167.  
1785, and 1786, and commanded the Nautilus in  
1787, in carrying out the black poor to S. Leone,  
where he was from May to September.

The principal products are cotton, indigo, tobacco,  
gar-canes, cam-wood, gums, cardamums, rice,  
ory, and gold-dust.

Were the natives instructed and encouraged, he  
pposes they would cultivate those things. Several  
tives at S. Leone, assisted the blacks he carried  
it, in building their houses, at a small expense.

The natives did not appear inferior in capacity to P. 168.  
her uncivilized people. On the contrary they ap-  
peared possessed of great quickness and cunning.

Those of S. Leone appear harmless and inoffensive.  
He has heard that the word "panyar," which is  
ommon on the coast, means kidnapping, or seizing  
men.

From the many complaints which he received from  
em, he concludes that seamen are far from being  
ell treated in the slave-ships. One Bowden swam  
om the Fisher, of Liverpool, captain Kendal, to  
e Nautilus, amidst a number of sharks, to claim  
s protection. Kendal wrote for the man, who  
fused to go, saying that his life would be endan-  
ered. He therefore kept him in the Nautilus till P. 169.  
e was paid off. He was a diligent, willing, active



1790. seaman. Several of the crew of the Brothers of  
Part II. Liverpool, captain Clark, he thinks, swam towards

the Nautilus, passing by; two only reached her, the rest, he believes, regained their own ship. The majority of the crew had, the day before, come on board the Nautilus, in a boat, to complain of ill usage: but he had returned them, with an officer to inquire into and redress their complaints. This was in July, 1787. He received many letters from seamen in slave-ships, complaining of ill usage, and desiring him to protect them, or take them on board.

Is inclined to think the seamen in ships trading in produce are not so ill used as those in slave-ships. Several of his own officers gave him the best accounts of the treatment in the Iris, a ship trading in woods &c. and of the healthiness and good order of the

P. 170. ship. She was near him several weeks.

He should suppose the slave-trade is not a nursery for seamen, as those on board the slave-ships appear very sickly, from their being very much exposed to the sun, rains, and dews, in small craft. Thinks a trade in the produce of Africa would not be so unhealthy as the slave-trade. A crew may be kept as healthy in those parts of Africa he has been in as in any other tropical climate. Only one man was lost in the Nautilus, while there, and that was from neglect.

Thinks more are crowded in a slave-ship than can be carried with a due regard to their health or comfort. His ship was about 320 tons, and she had her full peace complement, 100 men. It would have been impossible to stow 4 or 500 people in her, with a due regard to their health and comfort. It was as much as he could do to stow his 100 men, with any comfort; but, on his return, by the West Indies, being ordered to take in 70 or 80 invalids for England, the ship was much crowded.

Thinks the S. Leone settlers were landed at the most improper season, the beginning of the rains.

At Barbadoes he has seen several seamen begging, apparently

apparently very sickly and destitute. He believes 1790.  
most of the Guinea seamen receive a great shock to Part II.  
their constitutions.

In the West Indies, he has very often seen the  
negroes backs bear indelible marks of the whip.

Believes there are several species of gum in and P. 172.  
about S. Leone; but the principal is gum copal.  
It is always understood there is a great demand for  
gum copal here.

Each man has from 18 to 24 inches for his hammock-P. 173.  
In a man of war, according to the room they  
occupy.

Believes about 380 free negroes were sent to Sierra  
Leone. Many more were embarked, but some got  
sick, and others died. Their behaviour was ge-  
nerally very bad: most of them were worthless,  
idle, and drunken. Some of them, he believes, P. 174.  
were mechanics; but most of them vagrants who  
infested London. Thinks a colony may certainly be  
established there, by people of a different character,  
under proper laws, with every prospect of success, as  
it is a very fine fertile country. The river is a good  
harbour.

At sea little more than half a man of war's crew  
sleep in their hammocks at a time, as they are generally  
on watch and watch. Height between decks from  
4 feet 4 or 5 inches, to 5 feet 10 inches.

He seldom or ever visited a Guineaman, as his  
disgust always overcame his curiosity. Certainly no P. 175.  
comparison can be formed between the situation of  
men in a man of war and slaves in a Guineaman.

Cardamum is in great plenty in Africa. He has  
seen some black pepper; red peppers of many species  
in abundance, and, he has been told, wild nutmegs.  
The island of St. Thomas abounds in wild cinnamon,  
(which he cannot distinguish from cassia) but he  
never saw any on the continent, though he thinks it  
is easily calculated to produce it. Wild grapes, tho'  
not very palatable, are in plenty at S. Leone, and  
he



1790. he planted some cuttings of Teneriffe vines, which Part II. thrived very well.



Witness examined—Captain JOHN HILLS,

Of the Royal Navy.

P. 176. Was at Goree and the Gambia as commander of his Majesty's sloop Wasp, he thinks, in the end of 1781 and beginning of 1782. (In all near 6 months in Africa, p. 181.)

Knew at Dacard, Moriel, a high priest, very intelligent.

He saw the natives, in an evening, often go out in war-dresses, as he found, to obtain slaves for the king of Damel, to be sold. Some pirates, who had obtained a slave improperly, brought him bound on board the Zephyr, to sell him to him. On his releasing him they desired he might stay till morning to be carried to governor Wall, who would take him. Next morning the man jumped out of the canoe, and was rescued by the Dacard people.

He has seen them tied back to back in several huts. P. 177. He was told by one person, that the king was very poor, not having received his usual present, and that parties were sent to get slaves for him on that account.

At Dacard, where the ship watered, Capt. Ganna received the king's dues. This Ganna brought the kidnapped man to him as aforesaid. Moriel, his brother, a respectable man, held this mode of selling the natives, in high indignation. They were both the king of Damel's subjects, and chiefs of villages. (Understood Ganna was not a Marabout p. 180.)

The natives all go armed: he imagines for fear of being taken.

When in the river Gambia, wanting servants on board

ard, he expressed a wish for some volunteers. A 1790.  
 black pilot in the boat, called two boys who were Part II.  
 ashore, carrying baskets of shallots, and asked  
 ptain H. if they would do, in which case he would P. 178.  
 ce them off, and bring them to him: this he de-  
 ned. From the ease with which he did it, con-  
 udes this was customary. Black pilot said the  
 merchantmen would not refuse such an offer.

He was advised not to go ashore at Gambia, by  
 the merchants there, for fear of being taken by the  
 natives, who owed the English a grudge, for some  
 injuries. A man at Gambia, who called himself a  
 prince's brother, had been carried to the W. Indies,  
 on an English ship, and was sent to Europe by the  
 governor.

A boy, whom he bought from the merchants,  
 had been carried in the night from his father's house,  
 where a skirmish had happened, in which, he believes,  
 said, both his parents, but he well remembers  
 e, were killed. The boy said many were killed,  
 and some taken.

Several natives spoke very good French and Eng-P. 179.

a. He had a letter from a man at Gambia very  
 well written in French. A man, whose child was  
 to be buried, could not stand the shock, and re-  
 fected to stay on board the Zephyr, till the cere-  
 mony was over, and he shewed much grief and  
 emotion.

He was often applied to by the merchants (Eng-  
 a, p. 180) for help, owing to deaths and sickness  
 among their seamen. He did not lose a man in his  
 ship.

Never saw the women working in the fields; but  
 often seen the men raising provisions near Dacard.  
 as seen them dress their corn in a large hole, by  
 cutting it to pieces with sharp instruments on staves.  
 as seen them working their common cloths in their  
 pots.

He apprehends the boys (aforesaid) were free peo-P. 180.  
 ple



1790. ple from the pilot's mode of speaking, and from Part II. winking, implying it was an illicit thing.

Was informed the person's brother who was brought to him bound, was a great man in the village he was taken from. He should apprehend the crime was alledged against him; because the next day he returned to his own village.

They always paid the king of Damel for wooding and watering. There was a fixed price for every boat landing.

P. 181. He attributes the healthiness of his crew in Africa to medical precautions, (which were used to guard against the noxious land-vapours, p. 181). Bar and Madeira wine were always given the men when they went on shore, and returned on board.

The natives in Damel appear very lazy and idle. In the Gambia, he had no opportunity of landing to see their industry. He does not think they could be very easily induced by any encouragement, to manufacture their produce so as to become articles of trade.

He had on board the Zephyr, on an average, about 90 men, which was her compliment. She was about 200 tons.

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Witness examined—GEORGE BAILLIE, Esq.

P. 182. Resided 25 years in South Carolina and Georgia. Commenced merchant in Charleston in 1756, (p. 193.) afterwards planter in 1767, (p. 194.) and as Commissary General of Georgia. Settled there in 1762, (p. 197.)

Many vessels arrived while he resided at Charleston and Savannah, with slaves from Africa. He saw many of the crews of those ships who had squalid countenances, and ulcerated limbs.

Notice of the sale having been given some days before, the slaves were ranged in a close yard, a great gun fired, and buyers rushed violently in, and seized

ized the best looking slaves, afterwards picking and 1790.  
 illing them to their minds. They were immedi-Part II.  
 ly purchased and hurried out of the yard; so that, ~  
 a few hours, only the refuse slaves remained;  
 whose health had suffered, generally, as he conceived,  
 from crowding and confined air on board, and who  
 were afterwards sold at a great under-price.

In America, the overseer roused the slaves and set P. 183;  
 them to work in the morning. They did not work  
 set hours, but by task-work, generally a rood of  
 land to each, when easily cultivated; if otherwise,  
 the overseer set the strongest to the hardest work,  
 and vice versa; and indeed it was usual to lessen the  
 quantity of land considerably when uncommonly foul.  
 The negroes generally helped those who could not  
 finish so soon as the rest; so that they left the field  
 at once, pretty early in the afternoon when their  
 work ceased, and they were at perfect liberty for  
 the rest of the day. They had no other time but  
 Sunday, and a few holidays at Christmas. Sunday  
 was intirely at their own disposal.

Each man and woman slave had weekly a peck of  
 Indian corn or clean rice, each about 14lb. or a  
 bushel of potatoes, near 40lb. and the children, in  
 proportion to their age. (A peck of Indian corn  
 about 7½d a peck of rice 10d. a bushel of potatoes  
 from 8d. to 10d. p. 196.) Besides they had gene-P. 184.  
 rally as much ground as they chose to cultivate, the  
 produce intirely at their own disposal.

Each man received, at the beginning of winter, a  
 coat, waistcoat, and breeches and boots of white  
 skins, also a milled worsted cap and a pair of strong  
 shoes. In summer they commonly have an Osnaburg's  
 shirt and trowsers. The women were clothed much  
 in the same way, except the boots. The children had  
 each a long warm gown down to the heels. They  
 had also every second year, a warm duffel blanket.  
 It was usual to have overseers to superintend every  
 plantation, and drivers under them. Generally from P. 185.  
 Numb. 3. K thirty-



1790. thirty-two to thirty-five workers were under  
Part II. overseer and one driver.

In America, he has seen marks on them, but very often, and seldom when they had humane masters. The drivers seldom or never whip the slaves through their day's work; because it was impossible to know, till towards the close of the day, whether a slave would or would not finish his task; and was thought time enough to punish, when the neglect deserved it. He has very rarely seen them in America, with clogs on their legs; but never with chains.

The rearing of children was very much attended to in America. Pregnant women did no work for considerable time before delivery. Coarse child-burthen linen was provided, and sufficient care taken of them when lying-in. The child was properly clothed, and taken care of. Believes they are raised in as great a proportion as children in Europe, when they are in healthy situations. Never heard of the tetanus in that country.

The chief produce was rice, indigo, and humboldt. Lands intended for rice, if swampy, are drained and banked to keep water from lodging on them. When perfectly dry, the rice is sown (about March—20th p. 195.) in straight trenches, weeded as it grows, and, when about three feet high, and quite clear, the sluices are opened, and the water admitted about June 20th, which stands about a foot deep, till towards the first week in September, when it is ripe. After the ground becomes a little dry, it is cut and cocked up in the field. Having stood there for a little time, it is stacked, in the barn-yard, like corn in Europe. It is thrashed like European grain, winnowed, put through wooden mills, to take off the external coat, and into mortars, worked by horse or water, to divest it of the inner skin. It is then sifted, and put up for exportation.

P. 187. In October or November 1777, he went to Jamaica and the Bahamas, having been forced from the continent

ment by the disputes there. Was several months in 1790.  
Jamaica, (viz. from about Dec. 1778 to February or Part II.  
March 1779, p. 198.)

Having then had little to do in Jamaica, he went  
in curiosity to various estates, and to compare  
their management with that of the continent. (He  
visited the island for the same reason, p. 198.) He  
did not confess, he differed in opinion with several  
planters in their way of working the slaves, as  
thinking it rather served to depress their spirits, and  
their general appearance was, by no means, favour-  
able. He observed that they worked, almost from  
sun-rise to sun-set, he might say; (they had almost  
an hour for breakfast, and nearly two hours for din-  
ner, p. 200) and that they were constantly followed  
by drivers, who forced the weak to keep up with the  
strong, as far as possible. Looking into the books  
of an estate (of Mr. Gray's, p. 199) under the di-  
rection of a friend, (Mr. Hugh Polson, who was  
their attorney, he believes, than manager, p. 199)  
to his utter surprize, he saw that the negroes were  
employed out on Sunday as regularly as on any other  
day, to work in their own grounds: but it appeared  
that the produce was appropriated to the negroes  
for subsistence, and not to their emolument, unless per-  
haps there was a surplus of food. How far that  
surplus was applied to their benefit, he is not per-  
fectly clear.

He thinks he could perceive a considerable difference P. 188.  
between the general appearance of the field  
of the town slaves; because the latter were much  
better fed and clothed, and not worked so hard.  
He believes that might be the reason.

The situation of married men-slaves on the conti-  
nent was generally very comfortable, as they had a  
house and ground where they could raise many little  
vegetables; and they took great pleasure in raising  
children, for whom they seemed to have the  
strongest attachment. He must confess, he did not  
think the W. India slaves seemed to enjoy the same



1790. comfort in that respect; as he apprehended it was  
Part. II. not so much the wish of planters there to increase  
slaves by births, as on the continent.

He has in companies in the West Indies (he does not think they were very serious neither—it is a very invidious thing) heard them say, that after giving a certain price for a negro, if he worked a certain time there would be no great loss sustained by his death, but believes they are too humane to wish a man to die. Does not think, that on the continent, a gentleman would have suggested such a matter. (These matters passed only in cursory conversation, probably at a table. Does not say this opinion was general, by any means, p. 200.)

Except their not being so much driven through the day, believes punishments, on the continent, as severe as in the West Indies.

P. 189. Planters in America resided almost entirely on their estates; but, from what he could observe, considerable Jamaica planters mostly lived in Europe. It appeared to him, that the slaves of a resident proprietor had a chance of better treatment.

Several of his slaves took every step in their power to be taught to read. On Sundays many of them went regularly to church (or meetings, p. 190) which he encouraged. In evenings they very often had a kind of regular worship, among themselves. They bought spelling books, with their own money, and with the help of other negroes that could read, some came to read tolerably.

When near a town, they regularly carried their produce to market. Some masters bought it of them, or little vessels bartered with them for their produce, poultry, and pigs.

P. 190. Has known several town-negroes buy their freedom; but the country ones never did, or could not come at property enough to do it. Free negroes in America may hold every kind of personal property, but, he thinks not land. Is not very clear.

The negroes in summer were much healthier than 1790.  
winter. Part. II.

The field-negroes in Jamaica appeared worn down  
with extreme labour, and being constantly pressed  
on, through the day, by the drivers.

He thinks the climate of Jamaica, in every respect,  
much more favourable to negroes than that of  
America, and hence they were subject to fewer dis-  
eases: is also of opinion, that many of their com-  
plaints arose from extreme fatigue, and that rest ge-  
nerally restored them, without medicine.

The negroes on the continent, in winter, were ex-P. 191.  
tremely subject to pleurifies and peripneumonies, and  
sometimes dysentery. In summer rarely so compara-  
tively.

Jamaica families had considerably more domesticks  
than those of Europe.

He thinks negroes perfectly capable of learning  
any trade. Has known many, and some of his own  
slaves, who almost without instruction, became good  
common house carpenters and coopers. He bought  
an African lad who, without instruction, but just see-  
ing carpenters work, and using tools at times, be-  
came so good a carpenter, that he could frame and  
build any common house, and also build boats for  
the estate. He has known many silversmiths, black-  
smiths, taylors, and ship-carpenters. A mercantile  
house, of his acquaintance, had a number of black  
ship-carpenters and blacksmiths, with the super-  
intendence of two or three whites, built ships of 400  
tons, which were sent with rice to the Thames, and  
sold for above 3000l.

There might be some few worthless fellows among  
the negroes; but, upon the whole, they were always  
very willing to work.

He has seen many instances of very affectionate P. 192.  
parents, and of their being possessed of every social  
idea. A slave of his, whose son was drowned, did  
not recover his spirits for many months. All his  
slaves shewed him a very firm attachment, and were  
fully



1790. fully grateful for every favour. During the siege Part II. Savannah, he and another had rice estates on Hutchinson's island opposite Savannah, where there was much grain and forage, to protect which, the command ordered the slaves on the island to be armed, and sent several whites to lead them on. A French gun frigate anchored to batter the town, and landed troops on the island, to destroy the barns. The slaves and others beat the French, who, he thinks, never made another attempt.

Is perfectly satisfied that the cultivation of cotton or coffee is much easier than that of sugar, but that of rice fully as laborious (p. 201.)

He bought a man about 35 years old, seemingly very steady. While the other slaves were cheerfully reaping, he shewed him how to manage the hook. He disappeared for several days, and at last he was discovered hanging to a tree, about which the birds hovered. As he had not been at all ill treated, and did not see the negroes at extremely hard work, he conceived he committed suicide, because he would not brook slavery. He was an imported African (p. 201.)

On almost every American estate there were great numbers of very thriving children, who soon became useful, and always made the best slaves.

A child, soon after birth, was valued in America at 5*l.* sterling.

Field-work on the continent was not held degrading to Mulattoes or free negroes, nor does he think it would in Jamaica. Both certainly worked in the field, for their own benefit, in America. Not positive whether they did so in Jamaica.

P. 194. He had various tracts of land, but planted from 120 to 130 acres of rice, chiefly on Hutchinson's island, where had between 200 and 300 acres of very

P. 195. valuable land, and about 40 working slaves. The land could produce any thing, and, at times, he planted (perhaps 40 acres of) indigo, with Indian corn, pease, &c. for the negroes.

In Georgia, light frosts usually set in about Oct. 1790. 5th, which generally checked vegetation. The Part II. greatest severity of winter seldom till Christmas; spring began about March 20th, when grain was sown. (The winter is about the same length in S. Carolina as in Georgia, p. 196.)

In winter, the negroes threshed and prepared the wheat, and a little before spring, repaired the banks.

£.110 Georgia currency; and 140l. Jamaica currency respectively equal to 100l. sterling.

Before the American disputes, he never knew the P. 197. least scarcity; but afterwards, when people were driven away, and much disturbed in planting, there was a considerable scarcity.

Mr. Whitfield had grants of land for a house and plantation. He erected an orphan-house, with collections chiefly from England, bought slaves, settled a plantation, and, with the produce, supported the house.

Does not think his residence in Jamaica was long P. 201. enough to give him a complete idea of the system. He only speaks of such things as he saw.

He has heard, and partly knows, that the Eboes P. 202. are very high spirited, and do not brook slavery so well as several other Africans.

He saw a small yellow Indian corn, on several estates, and believes it was for the horses, and perhaps for the negroes; also some very large plantane-walks, he believes for the slaves' use.

As it was customary in America, for free negroes P. 203. and Mulattoes to get leave to plant on parts of estates, or to rent a piece of land to plant, and as he conceived this might be the case in Jamaica, he does not think such labour would be held degrading;

but it was not common for these people to work among field-slaves. Is clear they do not in America, but not so positive respecting Jamaica.

His residence in Jamaica was not long: but must confess he did not think the negroes there so robust and good-looking, as in general in America. He does



1790. does think himself so far acquainted with negroes that Part II. the working them by task is far preferable to the Indian mode of working them constantly. Real believes the superiority in appearance just mentioned may be partly ascribed this different mode of working.

P. 204. In the upper parts of Georgia and S. Carolina where grain or Indian corn was cultivated by the plough, white men sometimes hired themselves servants.

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Witness examined,—SIR GEORGE YOUNG,

P. 205. A captain in the navy. Has been 4 voyages to Africa, in 1767 and 1768—1771 and 1772. From Cape Blanco to Cape Lopas, including every English settlement, and some Dutch.

His opinion (from information of natives and sellers) of the general modes of obtaining slaves on the Coast of Africa, was, that the greater part were prisoners of war; part for crimes real or imputed; kidnapping; but the term there is panyer; and a fourth mode was, the inhabitants of one village seizing those of another weaker village, and selling them to the ships.

When at Annamaboe, at Mr. Bruce's, a very great merchant there, Mr. B. had 2 hostages, kings sons for payment for arms, and all kinds of military stores which he had supplied to the 2 kings, who were at war with each other, to procure slaves for at least 10 or 12 ships, then lying in the road; prisoners on both sides were brought down to Mr. B. and sent to the ships.

Believes, from two instances, that kidnapping was frequently practised. One, that of a beautiful infant boy, which, after trying to sell at all the different trading ships, they came along side his (the Phoenix) and threatened to toss it overboard, if no one would buy.

it, saying, they had panyar'd it with many other 1790.  
ple, but could not sell it, though they had sold Part II.  
others; he purchased it for a quarter cask of ~

The second was, a captain of one of the Liverpool  
s had got, as a temporary mistress, a girl from  
Tom, of Sierra Leone, and instead of returning  
on shore at leaving the coast, as is usually done,  
took her away with him. Of this, the king com-  
mended to him (Sir G. Young) very heavily, and  
begged him to apply to his brother George (mean-  
our king) to get her restored to him. This, king  
called buchra, or white man's panyaring.

The term panyaring, seemed to be a word gene-  
rally used all along the coast where he was, not only  
among the English, but the Portuguese and Dutch.  
It was always heard, that the sovereign or chief of a  
district, generally derives a certain profit from the  
sale of slaves.

It was heard many instances of depredations on the P. 207.  
coast of Africa, by European traders. For one;  
going into the river St. Andrew, and making a pre-  
sent as usual to the king, of a case of gin, was oblig-  
ed to drink a dram out of each, of 12 bottles; upon  
inquiring the reason, the king said it was usual for tra-  
ders (but did not say whether black or white) to  
make use of poison; but that he should not have  
permitted him to drink, if he had known the ship had  
been a man of war, as he knew a man of war had no  
business of panyaring.

The natives all down the coast, were fearful of ap-  
proaching the ship, till convinced of its being a man  
of war, when they readily came on board.

Many negroes he met with, seemed to possess as  
much natural sense as any set of people whatever;  
their temper appeared to be very good-natured and  
gentle, unless where they suspected some injury; are  
never naturally vindictive, and revenge the injury  
done.

amb. 3. L He



1790. He verily believes; that the natives would cultivate the soil for natural productions, provided they had no other means of obtaining European commodities. He recollects some circumstances in proof of their industry. A number of people from Bullam shore, came over to Sierra Leone, and offered their services to work, at a very low price; accepted of a few (who worked very well) and might have had thousands of the same description. Further is of opinion, from observation, that Africa is capable of producing every thing of the East or West Indies, in equal perfection, with equal cultivation. Of spices, he met with two sorts of cardamoms, black pepper, same as in the East Indies; the bird pepper, Chili pepper, or Cayenne; also a species of ginger. Brought to England several plants of the cinnamon tree, from the island of St. Thomas, where it is in great abundance.
- P. 209. Has been several times on board a slave ship; they were all in a state of cleanliness; as clean indeed as their situation, with the number of men confined on board, would admit of. He attempted to go down the fore hatchway of one of them, but was deterred by the stench, which was intolerable, though there was then only 300 on board, and waited for 20 more. The men slaves were all chained, which he considered as a necessary precaution, as there were not quite 20 seamen on board at the time.

The African slave trade, not a nursery, rather a grave for seamen. Those of them which he saw on board the slave ships, complained of ill treatment, bad feeding, and cruel usage; all of them wanted to enter on board his ship. He asked some of them the reason why they were so treated, they answered it was the practice of the owners and masters of the vessels to treat them so, that they might run away in the West Indies, and so forfeit their wages. It was likewise the custom for the seamen of every ship in sight, to come by their boats on board his ship, most of them quite naked, and threatening to turn pirates.

ates, if the king's ship would not take them; this 1790.  
t y said openly, and is persuaded, if he had had a Part II.  
so of the line to have manned, he could have done ~~~~~  
in a very short time, for they would all have left P. 210.

os. Though he took particular notice, he could  
er see a boy on board any of these ships; in every  
er trade, there are always boys on board.

Has heard many instances of sailors escaping to  
woods; several he has received on board his ship  
in the woods, where they had no subsistence.

Has seen a great deal of very fine timber; in his  
opinion, useful for ship and house-building, as well  
a furniture; likewise dying woods of great variety;  
see of the wood he brought home, and turned into  
furniture. He is in possession of specimens of ebony,  
ir-wood, and other sorts, all very hard. When at  
Sierra Leone, he saw a vessel belonging to Mr. Pin-  
ta, built upon the rocks, of the woods of Sierra  
Leone.

Has been a great deal in the West Indies; at Bar-  
badoes, Antigua, St. Kitt's, Dominica, Grenada,  
St. Daloupe, Martinique, Port Rico, and lastly at  
Jamaica, from the years 1761, to 1763. Has been  
there several times in a man of war, and some-  
times a passenger in a merchant ship.

Was twice in the Phoenix, at Barbadoes, Antigua,  
St. Kitt's, Dominica and Jamaica, in 1767, and  
r 8.

farming, and the management of land, has in P. 211.

land been his amusement and pleasure, ever since  
the last peace. When in the West Indies, has re-  
turned to the gentlemen there, the great want of  
plough and spade; and considered the hoe as an  
employment much more laborious.

never saw, or heard of task-work practised in any  
of the West India islands.

Has remarked very bad effects from the absence  
of the proprietors, and the estate and slaves being left  
in the direction of managers, which greatly less-  
ened the value of West Indian estates; he will take



1790. upon him to say, to the amount of at least one-  
 Part II. part of the whole; for the overseers or managers  
 a little time, always became rich, and frequen-  
 more so than their masters. It is also injurious  
 the slave, because he was made to work harder, than  
 he is sure the owner would have allowed; their pro-  
 visions were not so good; generally salt provisions  
 sometimes dried fish, or stinking salt meat, which  
 their masters, he is sure, would not have allowed  
 for he has the honour to be acquainted with some  
 them. He was informed by the merchants of King-  
 ston, that it was not an uncommon practice for  
 overseers to buy sickly slaves at half price, or less,  
 and charge them to their masters as prime healthy  
 slaves; those frequently died, as it is said in the  
 reasoning, which he considers as a farce altogether.

Understood, that purchasing African slaves was  
 much the cheapest mode of keeping up the number  
 for, that the mother of a bred slave was taken from  
 the field labour for 3 years; which labour was  
 more value than the cost of a prime slave, or negro.

P. 212. The negroes work in gangs, and in regular rows  
 with hoes, with which they kept regular time  
 their work, the whole gang together, so that the weak  
 were obliged to keep up with the more robust. For  
 there were black drivers over them, with a whip com-  
 posed of a cowskin, with which he supposes, if they had  
 not kept up, they would have been punished.

Has been a great deal in the East Indies; never  
 saw or heard of any labourers working in the field  
 under the whip of a driver there, or in America.

Recollects a particular instance of the high spirit  
 of the negroes, which occurred at Accra. The go-  
 vernour had bought a slave (of a country, the natives  
 of which, when enslaved, are always known to kill  
 themselves) and was complaining to commodore  
 Collingwood and him, that he had been cheated by  
 the merchants, of whom he bought him; that he was  
 a very fine fellow; asking whether they would not

and see him, for that he had mortally wounded himself last night; when carried to him, they up-aided him with his rash conduct, by the interpretation, and his reply was, that no man of his country could live as a slave, but that he was very well inclined to serve the commodore in the man of war, not as a slave; he died the next night.

The negro women on the coast of Africa, appear to him as prolific, as any race of people he ever saw in any part of the world; the climate of the West Indies not less favourable to them than their own.

P. 213.

Was about 6 months on the coast of Africa each year. The crew of the ship he commanded, amounted to 100, of which lost 2, who were sickly when they went out, and 1 boy by an accident.

The stock of slaves might be kept up, or increased, without importations from Africa. At first indeed, the deficiencies would be felt for a few, perhaps 20 years; but after a while, they would double their numbers, as he sees no physical cause to prevent a black man and woman being equally prolific in the West Indies, as in Africa.

The land of Africa is mostly cultivated by the men; the women sometimes set fire to the grass, but that is very little; the men turn up the ground with pointed sticks, having no European implements there that he saw.

In the West Indies, he resided longer on shore at a time in Jamaica, than any other island; once so long as 6 weeks: never above a week on shore at any other island. At Jamaica, lived for above 3 weeks at Mr. Prevost's, Old Harbour; and Mr. P. 214. Thomas's, Sixteen Mile Walk, about 3 weeks more; with sugar estates.

In the arguments which he held with the planters, respecting the superiority of the plough and spade over the hoe, was never able to make a proselyte.

Under the present system, the slave trade is necessary to the cultivation of the West Indies; but if the



1790. the breeding of the negroes were promoted there, Part II. would be unnecessary. His reasons for thinking that due attention is not paid by the planters to the rearing of children, are, that when he was upon the above-mentioned, and some other estates, he found no encouragement given the blacks to marry; that they cohabited promiscuously, and that the women generally miscarried, as he was told by Mr. Prevost and Mr. Thomas, from their hard field labour; and that it was a rare thing for a negroess employed in field labour, to have a live child.

At the island of Cuba, after the capture of the Havana, he associated with the Spanish planters, and found they made it a serious point to marry their negroes, wherever they could, to make them Christians, and to keep them regularly together: they had them christened, and gave them little rewards, and according to the number of children they produced and reared; and the men used to boast of their being Christians, and wear a cross about their necks, though he inquired all he could, he remarked nothing of the kind done in Jamaica.

P. 215. The planters reasons against the use of the plough were, the hardness of the ground, the negroes ignorance, and that it had ever been the practice to make use of the hoe; such was the substance of their argument, which he thinks was saying nothing.

It seemed to be the universal system, to supply their estates with African negroes, rather than be at the trouble of breeding.

Conceives those parts of Dominica, and the other islands ceded by France (by the peace of 1763) yet in woods and uncleared, cannot be cleared, without the purchase of negroes from some part or other.

The cultivation of the West India islands, to the extent of which they are capable; certainly will increase the trade and navigation of Great Britain: was

P. 216. informed there is a great deal of land fit for cultivation still uncleared in Jamaica.

Does

Does not think, that the loss of seamen by the unfavourable circumstances of the slave trade, can be in competition with the increased number of seamen that must be consequent upon the increased cultivation of the islands; but at the same time he must serve, that the loss of seamen in the African slave trade, as now carried on, is annually greater than the increase in the West India trade.

From the observations he was able to make at Mr. Nevost's estate, he could not discover any distinction made between the weak and strong; but they were in gangs most certainly.

Where, in the Privy Council Report, he is stated to have said, that he could not get the men to work P. 217. for him, he meant, of some particular parts of the coast, not in general. And where, in the same report, he is stated to have said, that the field labours are usually performed by women, as to what part of the coast he meant to refer that assertion, says to no effect whatever; for he never saw the women do any thing but carry the corn home, and set fire to the stubble of last year.

He is of opinion, that by shewing the natives of Africa how to cultivate the land, it would call for the labour of ten times the number that are now transported to the West Indies as slaves; and require a greater quantity of shipping and seamen in the commerce, for the natural productions of that country, without any greater inconvenience in point of health to the seamen, than in the present West India trade.

He believes, if the slave trade were abolished, and every proper regulation adopted, to encourage the breeding of negroes in the West Indies, the stock of negroes would gradually increase, so as to be adequate to the clearing and cultivation of all the islands, to the full extent of which they are capable.

The regulations which he conceives to be still wanting, are, that marriage should be encouraged; that the man and woman should have a hut to themselves; that the woman should be taken wholly from the field



1790. field labour, and only put to such as she is capable of, as a woman bearing children. The man should be allowed one day in a week to work for himself and family; a reward should be given to the woman who had, and should rear, the greatest number of children. Under these regulations, he conceives, the course of 20 years, their present numbers may be doubled, and the trade in slaves from Africa, totally unnecessary.

P. 218. Is not competent to judge, how many additional negroes are now wanted, to clear and cultivate the present uncleared lands in the British islands. Does not know the specific number of negroes in each of these islands; nor the specific quantity of lands now uncleared and uncultivated; has not been in the West Indies since 1772.

The principle upon which he fixes the period of 20 years, for the purpose above-mentioned, is, the circumstance of the Americans doubling their numbers in less than 20 years.

Witness examined—ANTHONY PANTALEO HOW, Esq.

P. 219. Was in Africa in 1785 and 1786, chiefly on the Gold Coast, in the *Grampus* man of war, employed by government as a botanist. When at Secundee some order came from Cape Coast Castle; the same

P. 220. afternoon several parties went out armed, and returned the same night with a quantity of slaves, which were put into the repository of the factory. Next morning saw people who came to see the prisoners and requested Mr. Marsh the resident to release some of their children and relations. Some were released, part sent off to C. Coast Castle. Had every reason to believe they were obtained unfairly, as they came at an unreasonable time of the night, and from their parents and friends crying, and begging their release. Had been told as much from Mr. Marsh, who said

not mind how they got them, for he purchased them 1790.  
ly. Cannot tell whether this practice subsisted be- Part II.  
e; but when he has gone into the woods, has met  
or 40 natives, who fled always at his appearance  
ough they were armed. Mr. Marsh said, they  
re afraid of his taking them prisoners.

Concludes the slave trade obstructs industry and  
civilization of the Africans. Has been at almost all  
English settlements, and found the culture always in  
higher degree there where was less slave-trade, and  
e versa. Had been about 50 miles inland from Se-  
cdee, and about 15 or 16 from Apolonia, and found  
inland every where well cultivated, and hardly P. 221.

where on the shore. Most cultivation at Winne-  
H, Accra, and Goree. Beautiful cotton and in-  
do plantations at Goree. Saw no European com-  
modities in the interior parts; is sure no European  
fits were to be had there. The inhabitants there  
remarkably industrious, also hospitable and obliging.  
Village of several hundred houses on the Lake of  
Apolonia, whence in the rainy season they supply  
the sea coast with vegetables, grain, palm-wine, &c.  
Says they have but little capacity in regard to ma-  
nufactures, but quick in learning languages. No  
manufactures among them except at Goree, where  
they weave cloth, and have almost abolished the  
slave-trade in the part now belonging to the French.  
Abreast of Cape le Hou, several canoes came along P. 222.

One of the Grampus, desired her colours might be  
hoisted. Finding her an English man of war, they  
came on board without hesitation, which otherwise  
they would not have done (see p. 225.) Reason al-  
leged, that an English Guinea trader, a fortnight  
before, had taken off six canoes with men who came  
to trade with provisions. The next day about 10  
canoes off, several canoes approached, but finding  
it was a man of war, retreated. On coming to Ap-  
polonia were told by Mr. Buchanan, the resident  
there, that a Guineaman (belonging to one Griffiths,  
a notorious kidnapper) was in that latitude, the cap-  
tain



1790. tain brought on shore, tied to a tree, and flogged for four days, in revenge for a depredation which another had committed: thus accounting for the retreat of the canoes on finding the Grampus a ship of war, and fearing retaliation of the punishment.

Four children of the captives brought in to Secundee, sent in the same canoe with himself to Coast Castle.

The slaves kept in the Factories chained day and night, and driven to the sea side twice a day to be washed. In the factory saw different kinds of iron chains, also an instrument of wood, which Mr. Martin informed him was thrust into a man's mouth, to prevent him from crying out when transported at night along the country. From their mild behaviour of their attendants, in the inland country, conclude they had no domestick slaves; on the sea side their behaviour very different.

The natural productions of Africa consist of cotton in abundance, indigo of a fine quality, various dye roots and woods, yams, sweet potatoes, rice, millet, pulse, oranges, limes, bananas, plantains, cocoa-nuts, palm-trees, yielding wine and oil, black pepper, grains of paradise, cinnamon, cardamom, affaictida, cabinet-woods, and timber-trees. Of the latter, a species of the *Ficktonia grandis*, considered as the most eligible for ship-building, the worm neither touching nor the iron corroding it; grows in plenty at Appolonia, Secundee, and wherever he has been. Has specimens of most. Has no doubt but spices in general, and all other tropical productions might be cultivated with success there. The soil and climate adapted to produce the sandal wood. Has seen indigo at Appolonia in its raw state, and also manufactured, but not manufacturing. All cotton growing in great abundance, but knows not that any or either of these two articles were exported.

Was on the coast shortly after the rains, when the indigo began to decay, in November, December, and January. At places, at Appolonia and Winnebah

the surf runs high in these months. It is easy to 1790.  
 and a ton or two of goods; only performed by the Part II.  
 inhabitants in canoes built on purpose: though at  
 Apolonia these pretty frequently overset, seldom any  
 thing is lost in the surf.

Cinnamon plants at St. Thomas, at the sea side, P. 226.  
 about 20 feet high; from what he heard grew inland  
 to a higher size; those on the sea side he considered  
 only as shrubs. He saw a number of them, and  
 from the appearance of the bark brought down, con-  
 cludes there must be a great quantity inland. The  
 cinnamon and cassia tree of different genera; the one  
 belongs to the class Laurus, the other the Cassia; their  
 genera not quite established. Of the laurus, the  
 oblong, nerved, shining, simple. Of the cassia,  
 the leaves are bipennate; different from the laurus,  
 and not unlike the mimosa or sensitive plant. Is not P. 227.  
 sensitive that it is the same cinnamon which grows in  
 India, but the bark, leaves, and whole structure of  
 the tree, the same as those brought from thence to  
 the gardens. Had never been at Ceylon, but had  
 seen the tree both at Bombay and Cambay in private  
 gardens, brought as presents from Ceylon. The  
 African cassia not unlike that he had seen in East  
 Indies.

The soil on the Gold coast, within reach of the  
 surf, every where sandy (Goree islands also sandy) in  
 the rest of the settlements he had been at, a heavy  
 loam or clay: every where fertile. As far as eight  
 or ten miles inland, various woods produced, used  
 in building, several of which are exported.

At Winnebah and Accra rocky; also about Ap-  
 polonia within three miles of the coast, but the in-  
 lands 10 or 12 miles from the shore, very well culti-  
 vated with rice, yams, sweet potatoes, indigo, and  
 cotton; are fertile, and plentifully watered.

Within 5 miles up the country from Secundee, it is  
 mountainous and uncultivated; the roads therefore P. 228.  
 very bad; in parts about five feet broad, but where  
 the country is cultivated, in some parts they are cut



1790. through the woods from 15 to 20 feet broad.  
 Part II. derstood from Messrs. Buchanan and Marsh,  
 ~~~~~ the produce was brought down in the rainy season  
 canoes.

Knows of no navigable rivers on the Coast, except one at Accra, only navigable for small boats and canoes. The Lake at Appolonia runs inland about 20 miles. Has seen the produce, as the Lake extends at Appolonia, brought in small canoes, rowed by a single woman, but never saw them carry any thing in a basket.

Griffiths, the notorious kidnapper, was a white man and slave-trader, between Cape Le Hou and Appolonia. Understood from Captain Thompson (who offered him a reward of 100l. if he could catch him) that he was a native of England; but had no knowledge of him himself. P. 229. Knows neither name of the man or captain, who was flogged for four days by the natives, but understood she was an English slave-trader from Liverpool. Witness is a Polander, left Africa 15th February, 1786. Afterwards went with Captain Thompson in the Nautilus, commissioned by this Government on a private expedition. After his return staid several months in London, and was again commissioned to go to the inland countries of the E. Indies from whence he returned 19th of August last, and has been in England ever since.

Slave-trade on Gold Coast mostly carried on in the neighbourhood of Cape Le Hou, Secundee, Comenda, and Anamaboe. Has a quantity of indigo given him by the chief of the village, near Appolonia, who told him it was manufactured there, but he never himself seen it manufacturing. Never understood manufactured indigo was imported into the country as an article of trade,

Witness examined,—Mr. NINIAN JEFFERYS.

Mr. Ninian Jefferys, master in the Royal Navy, superintending ships in ordinary at Portsmouth, was at Jamaica in 1773, Tobago 1774, Jamaica 1775, Grenada 1776, Tortola 1779, Barbadoes and St. Lu-P. 231.
 (in the navy) 1782, Antigua and St. Kitt's 1783, and at Jamaica a few days in 1784. In Jamaica in 1773 and 75, and at Tobago in 1774, had several opportunities, being employed as second mate in landing goods and taking off sugars from the islands, chiefly at Tobago. Observed the field-negroes at work with one or two white men looking after them, and a black man or two, called drivers, constantly cracking the whip over them, and sometimes lashing them, which he thought very oppressive; sometimes a white man whipping them. Had frequent opportunities of observing the plantation-slaves in his visits to Jamaica. The greater part of them had marks of the whip, particularly the back. Says, they must have been the effect of severer punishments than he ever saw inflicted in a man of war, which last are not the least to be compared with them. Saw wheals P. 232.
 on their backs which no time can erase, never any of the kind at a man of war's gangway. Has seen slaves with their ears cut off, and understood it was done by order of their masters, though never saw it done; also some with one of their hands cut off, which he understood was for lifting it against or striking a white man (believes by the laws of the island, p. 239.) Has seen negroes sick or past their labour, apparently neglected and destitute. At Tobago, more than once, at an outhouse in a very miserable situation. In Jamaica, and about Kingston, has frequently seen negroes apparently past their labour, and in a distressed condition lying in the streets and roads. Observed a very great difference between the domestick and plantation-slaves; considered the former as a nuisance

1790. nuisance from their numbers, as generally over we
 Part II. fed, and saucy; the plantation slaves, as a poor de
 pressed part of the human race. Has frequent
 seen women with sucking infants working with the
 rest of the gang. Their lodging were little hut
 P. 233. with clayed walls, and the roof covered with can
 trash. Does not recollect any bedding. The black
 tradesmen, fishermen, boatmen, free negroes, and
 mulattoes, seemed in general to be in a much better
 condition than the plantation negroes. Appeared
 to him that no comparison could be formed between
 the situation of the labouring poor of this country
 and the plantation slaves; who are treated in many
 respects like cattle. Has seen slaves branded with
 initials. Has ever understood the picking of grass
 to be oppressive, as encroaching on the hours of rest
 and the most common cause of their desertion is ill
 treatment. Has seen them at work with logs of
 wood fastened to their legs; in the stocks; also with
 an iron collar round their necks, with a perpendicu
 lar hook on each side projecting from the upper part
 of the head, and understood for running away.

In conversations respecting the most desirable qua
 lifications of managers or overseers, always under
 stood he was considered the best manager who sent
 home the most sugar. At these conversations, white
 persons from the estates have been present, but does
 not recollect whether they were the managers.

Always considered the negroes as good mothers;
 as to their feelings and capacities, he never con
 sidered them, being young when among them. Knew
 an astonishing instance of high spirit and greatness
 of mind: was present at the execution of 7 slaves in
 Tobago in 1774, whose right arms were chopped
 off; they were then dragged to seven stakes, and a
 fire of trash and dry wood being lighted about them,
 they were burnt to death. Does not recollect hear
 ing one of them murmur, or their doing any thing
 which indicated fear. One of them, named Chubb,
 had been taken that morning, and was executed in
 the

evening. Witness stood close by him when his
 arm was cut off; he stretched it out on the block, ^{1790.}
 and pulled up his sleeve with more coolness than he ^{Part II.}
 (the witness) should have done to be let blood;
 could not be dragged, but walking to the stake,
 turned about and addressing himself to the witness,
 said "Buchra, you see me now, but to-morrow I shall
 be like that," kicking up the dust with his foot. P. 235.

Two other negroes were present at this execution,
 and shewed no marks of dismay. One of these,
 named Sampson, was hung alive in chains the next
 morning, and so lived (to the best of witness's recol-
 lection) seven days; believes the other was sent to
 the mines in South America. A stronger instance of
 human fortitude he never saw.

Observed a much greater number of children a-
 mong the domestic or free negroes, in proportion,
 than among the field negroes. P. 236.

Saw numbers of seamen, who came on shore from
 the Guinea ships in the W. Indies, in and about King-
 ston, in a very distressed state, ulcerated, apparently
 insupportable, and lying about on the wharfs, known by
 the name of wharfingers; has seen them in a dying
 state. Believes not usual for king's ships to take such
 men on board, especially in time of peace; lest
 they should bring contagious distempers with them.
 Believes they were not able to do the duty of a mer-
 chantman. Never saw instances of seamen discharged
 from other trades lying about in a similar situation.
 Thinks the slave trade is by no means a nursery for
 disease, and that the West India trade is not in any
 degree so destructive to the health and lives of the
 negroes, though not so much a nursery as other trades. P. 237.

Was about four months in Jamaica, in 1773: was
 then aged about 19 years. Resided on board the ship
 he belonged to; was on three or four plantations;
 but not more than a day and a night at a time. Was
 about 4 months in 1774 at Tobago, chiefly residing
 on board ship, though some time at a friend's house
 in the country, not a sugar plantation. Was at Ja-
 maica,

1790. maica, as second mate, about four months in 1777
 Part II. residing mostly on ship-board, and sometimes a d
 or two together on shore at Kingston where the sh
 loaded. Was not then, at above two or three sug
 plantations. nor above a night or two at a tin
 Received fugar's at water-side.

P. 239. What he said respecting the mode of working n
 groes, relates to Tobago only, where the greater pa
 of the plantation negroes were marked with the whi
 Travelled through a great part of Tobago, nev
 continuing but two or three nights on one estate, b
 sides that of his friend, which was not a sugar estat

Believes the field slaves to be more useful to t
 owner than the domestic ones. Cannot account f
 so many of the latter being kept, and better fe
 The conversation on the qualifications of a manag
 were held at Kingston, and on board the ship he b
 longed to; and the doctrine beforementioned, sup
 ported by gentlemen about Kingston, and white m
 from the estates, who he did not conceive to b
 planters.

P. 240. The crimes for which the men were burnt at T
 bago in 1774, were murder, and destroying the pro
 perty on the estate.

There may be an hospital at Kingston in Jamaica
 for the reception of sailors and transient poor, but I
 never saw it.

P. 242. Had been near a week at a time on Little Cour
 land estate, the proprietor, or chief gentleman where
 of was Stuart Macvie, Esq.; and frequently spent
 night in the boiling-house of different estates, waitin
 for sugar being carted down. Saw no punishment
 inflicted at Mr. Macvie's. Does not particularl
 know, but believes about 200 negroes on that estate
 Recollects no regular punishments; except of tho
 men who suffered death, as he believes, by the sen
 tence of the law. It was in Kingston market, i

P. 243. Jamaica, where he saw negroes with their ears cut off
 and understood it was done by their masters, or thei
 orders. In the year 1784, witness had not frequen
 opportunities of making observations in that island

Canno

cannot speak from his own personal knowledge as 1790.
 the conduct of planters and their slaves in the Part II.
 her islands mentioned. The negroes over which
 r. Macvie presided, seemed in a much more com-
 table state than any he had seen in the W. Indies.
 e seemed a father to his slaves. Had seen negroes P. 244.
 ipped on the wharfs in Jamaica on Monday morn-
 gs. The mode was to make fast their hands to
 the hook of a crane, and their feet to a weight or
 o. The crane was then hove up to stretch their
 nds, and prevent them from moving, while flog-
 d by a black man. Their backs afterwards prickled
 h a small bush. Does not recollect the number
 lashes, or know whether these punishments were
 icted by judicial sentence, or the private order of
 the master. In Jamaica, has seen one or two of the
 dressed seamen called wharfingers carried by the
 licks to a burying-place near Spring Path; the
 licks themselves telling him "It was poor Buchra
 nan." Believes the blacks performed this office
 of their own accord. P. 245.
 at Tobago has known the surf to run so high for
 or three days together, that they could not land
 o take off goods.
 The instrument with which negroes are whipped,
 is generally called a cow-skin; a piece of cow or
 b. lock's hide twisted or plaited together, which,
 w. n dry, becomes exceeding hard.
 He recollected seeing once a sailor in a man of war
 re. ive three dozen with the boatswain's cat, at the
 g. gway, and only once being on deck when a man
 w. flogged from ship to ship, his hands and feet
 ar. tied to prevent his moving. In this instance he
 fa. ed, but cannot describe other particulars. Be-
 lieves all hands are turned upon deck to see the pu-
 ni. nishment as the man comes alongside. His back P. 246.
 re. ves it.
 always understood that the usual punishment of
 ne. oes on the wharfs at Kingston on Monday mor-
 ni. were for crimes of the preceding week. Never
 umb. 3. N understood

1790. understood it was by order of the magistrates, but Part II. direction of their masters or mistresses. Never saw negroes punished on plantations in Jamaica. Heard there is at Kingston a jumper, a man who punishes the negroes, and is paid for it, but of no such person on the estates. Knows not by whom this jumper is employed, but only that he was employed to whip the negroes.

Witness Examined—REV. THOMAS GWYNN REES

- P. 247. Went to the W. Indies as Chaplain in the Prince of Amelia. Arrived at Barbadoes end of 1782. Made observations on the situation of slaves, in consequence of being informed in England how they were treated. Had opportunities by going ashore almost daily, and visiting such plantations as were within four or five miles of Bridge-Town. The negroes appeared generally to be in a very bad state. It struck him with the impression that they were not in general well fed. The clothing of the slaves was a small rag to cover their nakedness. Some had breeches or trowsers.
- P. 248. Their lodging, in small huts covered with cane leaves to appearance. Their furniture consisted of stools or benches. Saw no beds or bedding in the house he was in. They slept on a kind of board raised a little from the ground, and some on the ground. Saw three or four gangs or more at different times, working on the plantations. The first he saw, were working with hoes or mattocks in their hands, with a negro driver after them with a whip, all in a row making small holes to put corn in. A driver attended each gang, whom he observed more than once to use a whip on the negroes at work. One of the women appeared pregnant, and rather behind the rest. He called to her to come on, and going back, struck her with the whip up towards the shoulders. Saw the men working with iron collars in one gang, and one with a piece of chain to his leg. Asked a pregnant slave whether

whether she was forced to work like the rest, and she 1790.
 d, Yes. Saw sucking infants in baskets on the Part II.
 ground, just by where the women were at work, and one
 the latter suckling her infant. Recollects in a fu- P. 249.
 mill a young girl between 20 and 30 years old,
 chained to a large block, within reach of the mill,
 which she fed with sugar cane. She said she was to
 be chained there a twelvemonth, of which two months
 had elapsed, for running away from her master, who
 had used her badly, and that she was obliged to sleep
 where she was, on the ground, having very little but
 the juice to sustain her; which was confirmed by a
 few present. Says that about half a mile from Bridge-
 town, he heard the groans of a person at a small
 distance. On inquiring of her, she told him that she
 had been flogged for running away, to such a degree
 that she could hardly move. Saw the marks. Her
 side appeared to be in a mortifying state, almost
 covered with worms. On her saying she could eat if
 he had victuals, he sent for some to the town. On his
 return in a few hours, saw her again. Repeating his
 visit a day or two afterwards, was informed she was
 dead, and carried away to be buried. The observa- P. 250.
 tion made by him and Mr. Vivian, the purser of the
 Princess Amelia, (then in his company) was, whoever
 inflicted that punishment would have done a kindness
 to have killed her.

Supposes they remained on the station a fortnight P. 251.
 or three weeks afterwards. On shore every day, but
 did not hear of any public inquiry respecting the
 satisfaction. In saying that he saw 3 or 4 gangs or
 more at different times, he meant that number every
 time he went on shore. A great many more in the
 whole.

Often saw negroes returning from their work with
 bundles of grass; one of them said it was for his
 master's cattle, and that, if he did not procure it,
 he should be flogged; thinks picking grass must
 be a considerable addition to their labour, and to
 the length of time they were employed, as in the parts

1790. he saw grafts did not appear to be in plenty. Part II. whipping the negroes while at work, by the drive

was a common practice. Thinks it impossible P. 252. walk in the streets or roads about Bridge Town without seeing some of the negroes, apparently in great distress, some with the leprosy, some enfeebled through age, and others who have lost their limbs, begging

Observed very frequently the marks of former severe whippings on the backs of the plantation slaves. Has often seen seamen flogged on board a man of war, particularly in running the gauntlet, which is a violent flogging; but did not observe marks of equal severity on their bodies. Observed marks of former floggings on seamen's backs, but the wounds did not appear so deep, nor the wheals so high above the skin, nor were the scars so long as on the slaves.

Has seen the negro-dance, observed a difference in the dancers, some better dressed than others; was informed the well-dressed were domestic servants, and the others field slaves. In different companies, the well-dressed appeared better in their countenance and in spirits.

P. 253. The negroes appeared to be as reasonable as any other beings whatever (considering their education). Thinks no comparison can be drawn between the state of plantation slaves, and that of the labouring poor in England.

Was between two and three months at St. Lucia, where the condition of plantation slaves seemed much the same as in Barbadoes.

P. 254. Had no idea from what he heard in England before he left it, that the state of slaves in the W. Indies, was so bad as he found it to be.

Remembers a conversation at Mr. Prettyjohn's, the difference between breeding and buying slaves, which having asked if they had not enough born without sending to Africa for them, and if population was encouraged; Mr. P. answered, they could not encourage it more than they did, as it was not worth while

Do

does not recollect his mentioning any particular means 1790.
 that had been used to encourage population. Part II.

Was at Barbadoes about five or six weeks. Don't
 collect the names of the proprietors of any sugar
 estates in Barbadoes. Slept once or twice on shore, a-
 bout four miles from Bridge-Town, but don't re-
 member the name of the planter: thinks it was on a
 sugar estate: a boiling house on it. Supposes he was P. 255.
 got on 20 sugar estates. Knows not how many of them
 within four or five miles of Bridge-Town; nor how
 the lands in its vicinity are divided; the chief he saw
 were in corn and cane plots, and very little potatoes
 or cassada. Made very little inquiry respecting the
 food of plantation-slaves. Was told by one of them
 that it was chiefly of corn and cane juice. Respecting
 their clothing, huts, and manner of sleeping, his
 knowledge was got from his own observation. In-
 tended to be better informed by Mr. Prettyjohn, but
 their sudden departure prevented it. Mr. P. he thinks
 both merchant and planter, and that he was gene-
 rally at Bridge-Town while they were there. Dined P. 256.
 twice or thrice, or oftner with him. The first time
 with Admiral Hughes a week or nine days after their
 arrival.

Had conversation with him about ploughing the
 ground for corn; he said it had been tried, but would
 not answer. Did not talk to him of using the plough
 in the cultivation of sugar, thinking it impracticable,
 the canes being put down in holes. Mr. P. appeared
 to be an ingenuous sensible man, whose opinion would
 be taken as soon as any body's. Was no otherwise
 acquainted with the Rev. Dr. Wharton, than by pro-
 bably having dined with him at a public-house.

Never asked the name of the proprietor of the plan-
 tation on which he saw a woman chained to a block, P. 257.
 seeing the mill, as it might have prejudiced him a-
 gainst one who in other respects might be valuable.
 Thinks if it would deter others from similar usage,
 the perpetrator of said cruelty ought to be published
 to the world. Did not mention it to Mr. Prettyjohn
 but

1790. but on board the ship. Three or four of them were together when it happened.

Does not recollect to whom the woman said she belonged, whom he found to have been so punished. She was found from half a mile to a mile from Bridge-Town.

P. 178. Thinks he did not tell Mr. Prettyjohn of it, and whether to others, does not recollect. The reason he did not promote her receiving that medical assistance which seemed necessary, was a hope that her master would foot take care of her, and they did not care to interfere about his slaves. Witness resides at Ilchester in Somersetshire, and is not a beneficed clergyman. Asks if he has heard of persons suffering in England for the death of a servant by cruel usage, and has observed in Great-Britain, miserably diseased white persons lying about, apparently neglected, with sores and ulcers exposed to naked view; begging relief, and a nuisance to the public: answers, he has. Never saw a slave punished on a plantation in the W. Indies, but by 2 or 3 licks of the driver. All the poor in England have a parish to go to, which is obliged to maintain them when incapable of work. Their parish furnishes medicine when they are sick, and their labour keeps them from starving. The usual wages per week where witness resides, of labouring men, is generally 6s. but less in winter. Is of opinion that a labouring man with a wife and 2 or 3 children and their assistance, although unassisted by the parish, can support himself with the necessaries of life.

P. 258. Thinks it was in January when he saw the woman chained to a block in the mill, and that they were cutting canes in Barbadoes when he was there. Asked whether, when the woman said she was to continue feeding the mill a twelve month, witness thought she must be mistaken, as she could not have canes all the year to feed it; answers, he thought she must.

P. 260. Hoes for corn made with the hoe, small and not very deep. Thinks not much difference between that labour, and reaping corn in England. The pregnant woman before-mentioned, had a hoe in her hand: thinks

thinks he was told she was making holes for corn. 1790.
 as seen pregnant women reaping corn in Wales, but Part II.
 thinks not in England.

Thinks it would have been more for the safety of P. 261.
 the woman he found in the situation before-described
 have communicated it to the owner or overseer of
 the estate she belonged to, but as a stranger, did not
 choose to interfere. Did not know how far off she
 lived; nor, as many must have seen her, whether her
 master was not informed of it.

Most of the negroes had a little rag to cover their
 nakedness; some, breeches or trowsers. Could see
 evident marks of whipping on their backs, and on the
 cheeks of those who had only rags to cover them.
 The women have short coats.

His being suddenly called away, prevented his ob- P. 262.
 taining that accurate information of the condition and
 treatment of slaves which he intended. Should have
 made more inquiry, thinking that those he saw who
 had been punished, might have been guilty of worse
 crimes than they acknowledged themselves to have
 committed. Thinks that two or three that he casually
 asked whether they ever went to church, answered,
 no, or very seldom. Does not recollect to have ever
 read or heard any conversation about any attempts
 made by the masters to promote their religious im-
 provement. Remembers asking a driver how he could
 strike a person so hard as he did, and that the answer
 reported, if he did not beat him, he would not work.
 Does not recollect the particular objections to the use
 of the plough in the culture of corn, but thought
 there was not grass enough on the the island to main-
 tain the cattle, as those he saw were generally very
 poor. Has known the plough used in a soil wherein P. 263
 there was abundance of large stones, and an extreme-
 uneven surface. As at Stapleton, Wiuterborn,
 Long-Brady, &c; in Dorsetshire, where there are flints;
 and at Newport in Wales, where are stones under
 ground, and the plough can scarce go its length with-
 out meeting one. Never saw labourers in Britain
 working

1790. working under the whip of a driver, but has seen
Part II. them beat for not working.

Thinks that of green provender, they give the cattle tops, as well as grafs to the cattle. Knows not whether cattle are fed with potatoe vines, and Indian and Guinea corn. Were used to give Guinea corn leaves to cattle on board. Supposes he was on shore a score
P. 264. of times at Barbadoes.

Witness examined—Mr. THOMAS WOOLRICH.

Was in the West Indies from 1753 to 1773; but in the interim took two or three trips to England and two to North America; was in a mercantile line chiefly in Tortola; but also, occasionally at Barbadoes, Antigua, and St. Kitts. On his first arrival at Tortola, saw much severity used upon negro slaves, though their situation was more tolerable than afterwards. At that time their number not being near so great, they were allowed sufficient provision ground, which some years afterwards being abridged had a tendency to a want of food for their support
P. 265. as the island was more and more cleared, more was converted into cane land; the number of negroes increased, their grounds were more divided, or were given them in smaller lots; as the number increased their punishments became more severe. Had many opportunities of seeing field-slaves at work. Lived six or seven years in the house of a principal planter. On lessening the slaves provision ground, food was very seldom imported from abroad; there was no certainty or dependence on it.

Had heard planters comparing the number of negroes at prior dates, with the then number, and they signified their increase by births without importation; there was reckoned a general increase upon the whole, through the island. At that time the planters were altogether in good credit with the
merchants;

merchants; none known to be involved in debts to 1790. Being Part II.
merchants in the island or in England. Being Part II.
merchant he had many opportunities of knowing
situations; their payments were very punctual, P. 266.
great opportunities of knowing the produce of
estates; their expences moderate at that time;
om under the necessity of purchasing provisions
their slaves. The planters he thinks then wholly
led on their own plantations in that island. The
articles of produce then were Sugar, Cotton,
Rum. But Cotton-planting diminishing, as
of Sugar increased, not near so much Cotton was
the latter part of his time there. Planting of
Sars is more laborious to the slaves; in some in-
stances it proved more profitable to the owners, but
in general otherwise. About three or four years
after his arrival there, some Guinea ships came down
with cargoes of slaves; the planters in general
bought: this induced many to turn out cotton and
plant canes, which is more laborious. Many of the
negroes often die in seasoning, and Guinea ships
coming down time after time, the planters bought
to supply their places. This continuing, many P. 267.
planters got much involved in debt by purchasing
slaves on credit, and were obliged to mortgage their
estates and slaves to merchants in England. Has
never known a planter who thus mortgaged pay
the debt. Some in consequence have been obliged
to have them sold by auction much under value, and
the English merchant has suffered in his debt. Has
known some of these estates sold, where the owners
have become overseers upon them. During the lat-
ter part of his stay in Tortola, many field-negroes
had small lots to plant provision upon, where it
could be afforded, but supposes it was not general.
Some planters allowed them Saturday afternoons,
except in crop, to raise provisions; many also who
the island worked it on Sundays, obliged thereto by
the owner or overseer. Very difficult to judge of the
Jumb. 3. O increase

1790. increase of negroes, by births, in Tortola, in Part II. latter period of his stay there; but in that period they did not increase in the proportion they did on his first arrival, when fewer in number, and more moderately used. Droughts are common in all those islands, sometimes great and long; and a cause of scarcity, whereby the negroes suffer greatly, near to a famine, and slaves have pined away and died, as food could not be procured. Never saw a gang of negroes that appeared to him any thing like sufficiently fed; their appearance sufficiently proves their situation. A sight of a few gangs of the field-negroes would convince more fully than his description by any number of words. Slaves frequently run away from their masters. It is to be attributed to severe usage for trivial faults. With respect to their emaciated appearance, speaks to every other island he had been in: has seen it more in Antigua than in Tortola. During the whole of his stay at Tortola, the clothing of the field negroes was very trifling; the men, generally a pair of trowsers, the women, a petticoat, made of coarse Osnaburgh, given them once a year in general by their owners, some do not give so much. Apprehends the field-negroes in general do not cost their masters half a crown per head per annum in clothing. Their houses are small square huts, built with poles, and thatched at the top and sides with a kind of Bamboo; built by the negroes for themselves: the field-negroes lie on the ground, in the middle of the huts, with a small fire generally before them; have no bedding; some obtain a board or mat to lie on before the fire; a few of the head negroes have cabbins of boards, raised from the floor, but no bedding, except some who have a coarse blanket. The usual punishments of plantation-slaves according to the nature of the crimes; of a runaway, it is exceeding severe; for the negroes to take hold of each arm and leg, and lay him on the ground, when the chief whipper lays upon their bare back 40, 50, 60, or more lashes, just at the pleasure of the owner or overseer. H. se

en negroes whipped, when the first stroke has made 1790.
 e blood spout out immediately. There are other Part II.
 ys of correction very barbarous; such as setting
 on a picket, which is standing on one foot upon a
 up stick; also the thumb-screws, which give in-
 erable pain. It is very common to see marks of
 ippings on the persons of the slaves, some with
 ir backs an undistinguished mass of lumps, holes,
 d furrows, by frequent whippings; most of the
 d-negroes are marked by the whip; all that he
 d seen, work under the whip, which the drivers
 ry for their correction, and of which they are con-
 ually in dread. It is made generally of plaited
 wskin, with thick strong lashes; a formidable in-
 ument in one of the overseers hands, who would
 e the skin off a horse's back with one of them;
 s seen them lay its marks into a deal board.
 ows not of any protection slaves had from the ill P. 270.
 ge of their masters. A negro ran away from a
 nter with whom he was well acquainted; the
 erfeer having orders to take him dead or alive, a
 ile after found him in one of his huts, fast asleep,
 the day time, and shot him through the body.
 e negro jumping up, said, "What, you kill me
 asleep," and dropt dead immediately. The over-
 r took off his head and carried it to his owner.
 ew another instance in the same island: a planter
 ended with his waiting man, a mulatto, stepped
 idenly to his gun, on which the man ran off, but
 s master shot him through the head with a single
 ll. Mentioned another instance, a manager of an
 ate in Tortola, whose owner did not reside on the
 and, sitting at dinner, in sudden resentment, ran
 s cook, a negroe woman, through the body, and
 e died immediately. The negroes were called in
 take her away and bury her. All the white peo-
 e in the island were acquainted with these facts,
 hich happened when he was in it, and which none
 oubted: neither of these offenders were ever called
 an account, nor were they at all shunned or con-

1790. sidered in disgrace. Had several times seen slaves
Part II. working in the fields, in chains; the most striking

instance of it was in Antigua, where a considerable
gang were working in one chain. Had seen another
gang or two carrying down sugars from the most pro-
fitable parts of that island, upon their heads in two

P. 271. baskets or bags, heavy laden. Their appearance was
shocking, from the scantiness of cloathing, their ob-
vious great want of food, and other instances of
severe usage. It was noticed by some gentlemen
who also saw them, and seemed to express themselves
in terms denoting resentment at such severity; but
this is too common.

In all the islands, so far as he has seen, it is usual
to turn the field negroes out to their work as soon as
the light well appears, and they are not discharged
from their drivers or overseers until the close of the
evening, or dark. They have time to eat their food
in the morning, and also at noon; but their usual
hours, or other particulars of rest, he cannot specify
to. When discharged from field labour, they have
generally to pull grass for their master's horses and
cattle. By the time this is done, it is dark. The
picking grass is reckoned as a part of their daily
labour, it lengthens the day; if as an addition to
it is a great hardship. When grass is plenty, it is
no harder work than field labour, but in droughts
it is scarce; and if they fail in their quantity, they are
often punished. Are compelled to do this business

P. 272. as duly as any part of the day's labour. Thinks
that pregnant women (field slaves) had some little
indulgencies, but it is customary for them to work
in the field, till near their time. The whip occa-
sionally used upon them, but not so severely as
the men, that he ever observed.

The "seasoning of negroes," not any disease or
distemper. Always understood the new negro
deaths to be occasioned by being put to hard labour
soon after being landed, and from the scarcity of
food, and want of almost every other necessary.

Kne

new many instances of this seasoning being extremely fatal to slaves. Some planters, who purchased new negroes, told him they have lost one-third of the number, or more, in the first year of the seasoning. Never saw a cargo of slaves, but that had sick or refuse negroes, more or less, which sold at a lower price; probably for cotton planters, in easier business than that of the cane.

Negro slaves, attached to a plantation, besides field slaves, are house carpenters, coopers, and masons. The treatment of these generally better than of field slaves, they have more certain allowance of provisions. Many of the female domestics are in a pretty good situation: their labour is more moderate, and they have more food and cloathing. Heard but of few instances of suicide among the Creole slaves; but of a good many among Africans. The principal instance: A planter purchased six men slaves out of a Guinea ship, and put them on a small island to plant cotton. They had a white man with them as overseer, who left them of a Saturday night. There were no white inhabitants on the island. On the Monday following the overseer returned, when he found all the six hanging near together in the woods. Had often inquired of the most sensible negroes what could be the cause of such actions, and the answer was, "That they would rather die, than live in the situation they were in."

Not able to say particularly what a tradesman slave and a field slave could earn for themselves. Many field slaves have it not in their power to earn anything exclusive of their master's work. Some few raise fowls, and some few pigs, and sell them: but their number is very few. The black tradesmen in Tortola have very seldom any jobs to do on a Sunday, which is the only day allowed for themselves. The intellect of the negroes are various, as among other people. Some that are brought up amongst the white people, of as good abilities as are common amongst mankind, considering their situation, and want

1790. want of education. Had observed the young negro
 Part II. learn trades as readily as whites. Many are ingenious
 workmen. Knows of no exceptions to their possessing the social affections as strongly as whites, more particularly the Creoles. Apprehends their natural affection for their children and relatives, is as great as elsewhere. No kind of religion amongst the negroes of Tortola. The Creoles have a certain belief in a Supreme Being. The Africans, at first coming, speak no language but their own; but he never knew one that could express himself, but allowed of a Supreme Being. If the word of a slave is disputed, he will frequently lift up his hands, and say, God above knows what they assert to be true. After the arrival of African negroes in Tortola, they are generally kept a few days before they are put to field labour. Never knew any who were not put to labour a week after they were purchased. Knew but one or two planters who branded their slaves. Never saw the operation.

Droughts generally affect all kinds of vegetation and hurt the provisions. Some kinds are less injured by them than others, and it is said yams least.

The lower orders of people in this country cannot be compared with the general condition of slaves. The situation of these is very lamentable, (would not wish to use any word to exaggerate) but it cannot be described to the full to the understanding of those who have never seen it. Never knew a planter or owner of a gang of slaves that used them as well as either a good or bad master uses his servants in England. Hard labour, with the want of necessaries of life, wages, or cloathing, are sufficient to make their condition much harder than the lowest degree of servants in England. Certainly the master's interest to treat his slaves well, as the contrary never fails to bring loss and embarrassment on the owners. Believes it is from want of wisdom that they are treated ill. Apprehends the masters or slaves become morose and cruel by being used to that kind

nd of business, and that it considerably hurts the 1790.
 orals of the white people. Part II.

Since he left Tortola, by means of correspondence, seeing some person from the island, (which is generally every year) he has been informed of its state from year to year, to the present time. The last information represented the planters to be in very distressed circumstances. Divers of their estates, mortgaged in England, had been sold at public auction, upon very low terms, because few were able to pay for them; and the general credit so low with the planters, that but few could obtain the necessaries they want from the stores kept there, by reason of the debts to English merchants. It has been his opinion for many years, that the unnecessary purchasing of African slaves, has been the main cause of their embarrassments, and the accumulation of their debts. Many new negroes dying soon after imported, the planters are induced to buy again upon credit, by which their debts have been increased with the English merchants.

Has asked many African slaves how they were brought into that situation—amongst others a waiting boy he had, who told him, that he and his sister being caught together in the field, tending some corn, were both carried away. Men slaves had told him they were surprized, and made prisoners of by the enemy, in the night, in their own houses or village: others, that they were prisoners of war.

Amongst different planters there are different usages to their slaves. Some feed and treat them better than others. Fully believes the circumstances of the owners have a great effect in that case. The slaves those who are much in debt, are generally more severely and worse treated, than slaves of such as are in easy circumstances.

The planter, with whom he resided 6 or 7 years, is named John Pickering, whose house was on his plantation, and he had none in town. Lodged there that

1790. that space of time, but was never so long at one time
 Part II. in Tortola, but a longer space at two different
 ~~~~~ periods.

The lands in Tortola, which used to be planted in cotton, could not have been cultivated for sugar in so short a time, without the importation of slaves from Africa. Apprehends the planting of sugar would require a larger body of negroes than the cotton planters generally have. There never has been any cotton planted in those parts of the island where the sugar-cane is planted. As to comparing the planting of cotton and sugar by equal quantities of land, is not a judge of the difference of labour. Cotton is planted upon the poorest parts, upon rocky and steep places, mostly where canes are not planted. No regular plantations of cotton but upon keys and rocky hills. When he first went there, he thinks more than one-half was in its native woods. The best parts were in the hands of different proprietors, who cleared small parts of it from year to year, whereby they enlarged their sugar plantations and made new ones.

P. 281. During the whole of his residence in Tortola, a court of justice was held the first Monday in three or four months of the year, by the governor and six magistrates, but no assembly: though the island was not under the same settled administration of justice that prevailed in the other islands, justice was administered in as good and regular order, as in any of the others before mentioned.

The wood lands, by clearing of which the sugar estates were increased from 10 or 12 to 50 or 60, could not have been in so short a time if there had been no importation. Is very certain the event has been greatly to the loss and embarrassment of the planters, owing to the bad management and hard usage of the slaves; and that 7-8ths of the planters would have been in much better circumstances, if they had not bought any negroes during the time of his

residence there, but had used those they had with 1790.  
 humanity and care. Part II.

Water brackish and scarce in Tortola.

Never resided on any other sugar plantation than  
 Pickering's. Thinks a pair of trowsers and a  
 shirt are quite sufficient cloathing for a working P. 285.  
 negro in the field; and that a petticoat and jacket  
 for a woman is an equivalent. Cannot say that a  
 shirt is absolutely necessary, but it appears beneficial,  
 and is what they would chuse. Has never known  
 one who had one on, to pull it off, when at work  
 in the field.

When he settled in the Road Town, his family  
 consisted of a clerk and two apprentices in his store,  
 and occasionally three, four, or five black domestics.  
 Sometimes fowls or vegetables were to be bought  
 from the negroes, but very rarely. The supply of  
 these articles in the stores was very small. Generally  
 salted beef and pork. Sometimes dried pease  
 from America. Fresh meat dear and scarce through  
 the island. Beef and mutton, killed by the planters,  
 sometimes to be bought. A good supply of fish at  
 times, and always at a reasonable price.

Heard of a great number of wrecks of ships upon  
 the island or reefs of Annigado, but was never there:  
 and that a Spanish ship was wrecked a year or two P. 286.  
 before he went to Tortola, and that before his arrival  
 Lieutenant-general Fleming, the commander in chief  
 of the Leeward Islands, came down from St. Kitts,  
 to demand and secure for the right owners, the  
 money saved from that wreck. Was told that some  
 delivered to him what they got of it, and that others  
 delivered none, but never heard of any being brought  
 to justice upon that account.

Has been two or three times in Barbadoes, but  
 never above two weeks at a time; and then did not  
 reside on any sugar plantation.

Has been four, five, or six times at Antigua:  
 believes the longest was three or four weeks, but did  
 not reside on any sugar estate there.

Numb. 3.

P.

Had



1790. Had been only once, a very short time, in Part II. Kitts, and not on any sugar estate.

Kept one horse, while resident in the Road Town at Tortola. The grass for him was bought from negroes who sometimes brought it to the road for sale, in the evening. It was their own property and generally paid for with tobacco, salt herrings or coarse linens. In crop time their horses were fed from cane tops, which were had for fetching. Understands such of the other merchants in Road Town as had no estates of their own, supplied their horses in the same way. Computes the grass bought for one horse every night when the negroes came, to have cost two bits, or about 11d. sterling, but without oats thinks two bits worth would have been insufficient. Grass picking in the evening on plantations, continues in crop time and all the year.

P. 288. Never saw any cane tops carried home for planting on horses or stock; the draft mules at the mill fed entirely upon them during crop time. They are a nourishing food for mules, who altogether live on them; and for horses also. Does not know whether horned cattle, sheep, and goats, eat them or not. Negroes in a plantation who have a hog to feed have what quantity they please to take for that purpose. The pork fed on them reckoned the best. They had generally, he thinks, the skimmings of the boiling of sugar. Cannot say if that skimming is allowed or not by their masters; thinks some private negroes would not be debarred of it, as it seemed to be fit for any other use. Knows of no negro being flogged for feeding his hogs with it. J. Pickers had a distillery for rum on his plantation. Understands the skimmings of the sugar-coppers are no main ingredient used in the distil-houses, for setting of liquor in the casks for making of rum. Molasses is the main and principal ingredient; but thin skimmings are also always used with the molasses for setting casks for distilling.

P. 289. He traded at Tortola, in most kinds of manufactures.

ted goods; also in Irish provisions; sometimes in 1790.  
American cargoes of flour, bread, and other articles; Part II.  
no corn. Has sold Osnaburghs, checks, and  
coarse linens, &c. to the negroes. Has fre-  
quently imported and sold salt herrings from Ireland;  
any cod or mackrel, that he recollects; sold  
salted herrings to the planters; for the slaves in  
time were generally employed at hard work the  
whole 6 days of the week. They are a perishable  
commodity, and he thinks will not keep good a  
whole year in that island. Knows no instance of great  
scarcity of Irish salt provisions, since he kept a store  
in the road. There was a scarcity of flour and bread,  
but not much to distress the white people. There  
was never, to his knowledge, any certain supply of  
provisions, suitable for the negroes, at all times of  
the year. There was, more frequently, no necessary  
provisions for them to be bought at the merchant's stores.  
Never had any concern in planting, or as proprietor  
of any plantation at Tortola, or elsewhere. Never  
had more than 4 or 5 slaves at one time. One of  
them came to England with him, the others were left  
at the store with a partner. During his stay in Tor-  
tola, there was no complaint that white people could  
not obtain legal redress for injuries they might have  
received. The inhabitants were sensible there was  
not in the island a sufficient authority to bring capi-  
tal offenders to trial and punishment, without a spe-  
cial commission from the governor general. While  
he was there, a murder was committed by one white  
person upon another. The murderer was tried, in  
consequence of a commission from the governor ge-  
neral, by a jury, who acquitted him. Redress was to  
be had on complaints of smaller offences, from the  
governor and council. White mechanics or trades-  
men pursued their occupations in Tortola, through-  
out the day, as in other countries. Did not serve on  
a jury; is one of the people called Quakers. In  
speaking of Tortola, he also included the Virgin  
Islands.



Witness examined,—HENRY HEW DALRYMPLE, Esq.

1790. Was lieutenant in the 75th regiment, in garrison  
 Part II. at Goree, and on various parts of the coast, from May  
 to the end of September, 1779. Made it his business  
 P. 291. to inquire as to the mode of obtaining slaves; he  
 P. 292. his information from French mulattoes and natives,  
 particularly the Maraboo of Dacard, a sensible and  
 intelligent man. Inhabitants of Goree respectable.  
 He was weekly on the continent, with a view to  
 knowing the situation of the country, and modes  
 procuring slaves, because he held slaves himself in the  
 West Indies, and wished to ascertain that matter be-  
 yond doubt. In consequence, was informed that there  
 great droves (called *caffillas*, or caravans) of slaves  
 brought from inland, by way of Galam, to Senegal  
 gal and Gambia, were prisoners of war. Those sent  
 to vessels at Goree, and near it, were procured either  
 P. 293. by the grand pillage, the lesser pillage, or by robbery  
 bery of individuals. The grand pillage is executed  
 by the king's soldiers, from 3 or 400, to 2 or 3000  
 who attack and set fire to a village, and seize the  
 inhabitants as they can. The smaller parties generally  
 rally lie in wait about the villages, and take off as  
 they can surprize; which is also done by individuals  
 who do not belong to the king, but are private robbers.  
 These sell their prey on the coast, where it is  
 well known no questions, as to the means of obtaining  
 ing it, are asked.

It seemed to be universally believed on the coast  
 that their wars are undertaken for the purpose of  
 procuring slaves. Whenever he asked the negroes  
 in the West Indies (who had been brought in the  
*caffillas*, or droves) how they had been made prisoners,  
 they generally told him, had been thus taken by  
 surprize, either at night in their villages, straggling  
 from their huts (particularly the women) or while  
 cultivating

cultivating their fields. He does not say no wars 1790.  
life in Africa, but from a desire of making slaves; Part II.  
it that this, from answers received, appeared to be  
the general cause. Every body on the coast reported  
that these wars were seldom of more than 8 or 10  
days continuance; that seldom, in the most decisive  
actions, the number of prisoners or killed, amounted  
to more than 20 or 30, and that it is principally on  
the coast marauding expeditions are found. Kidnap-P. 294:  
ing is so notorious, that he never heard any person,  
French or native, deny it there. Two men, while  
he was at Goree, offered a person, a messenger from  
Senegal to Rufisco, for sale, to the garrison. They  
did not deny he was a free man, but rather boasted  
of what they had done, in making themselves masters  
of him. Witness indisposed, withdrew. On a sub-  
sequent day, desired to explain the former part of  
his evidence, having been so ill when he delivered it:  
said, that as to the marauding expeditions, informa-P. 295.  
tion from slaves in the West Indies, tended to con-  
vince him, they were procured in that manner in the  
interior of Africa also. Many were brought to Goree  
while he was there, but seldom more than 3 or 4 to-  
gether, and oftner only one. He understood it com-  
mon for European traders to advance goods to chiefs,  
to induce them to seize on their subjects, or neigh-  
bours. Not one of the mulatto traders at Goree,  
ever thought of denying it. These depredations are  
so practised by the Moors; saw many slaves in Af-  
rica, who told him they were taken by them; 3 of  
these, one of them a woman, cried very much, and  
seemed to be in great distress; the two others more  
conciled to their fate. All crimes in the parts of P. 296.  
Africa he was in, were punished with slavery. At  
Goree, where most inhabitants are mulattoes, slaves  
are common; but on the continent there are but  
few, and these are treated so well, eating and work-  
ing with their masters, that they are not distinguish-  
able from free men. Never saw any whip or instru-  
ment of torture used there; nor did he believe, on  
inquiry,



1790. inquiry, that slaves there were used with severity.  
Part II. They believe in witchcraft.

~~~~~ Frauds are often practised on the natives, by European merchants. He has heard mulatto merchants, and European captains, boast of it.

While at Goree, a ship attempted to sail out of the bay with a number of negroes, without paying for them; and this was the reason given for their order to fire on her, and bring her to. From what he saw and heard, he has no doubt but the thing is common.

P. 297. The productions of the part of Africa he was in are cotton of 3 kinds, indigo, dyes of different kinds, spices, sugar canes, tobacco, millet of 2 kinds, ebony, and different kinds of cabinet wood. The sugar canes were thought, by judges, to be superior to any produced in the West Indies. The cotton grows spontaneously almost every where, though sometimes cultivated; is of a remarkable fine staple, and as he was told by Mr. Oswald, an African merchant, is esteemed, by the English merchants, far superior to any that comes from the West Indies. The indigo is likewise of a better quality than what grows in our islands; it is reckoned equal to that of Guatimala. He has reserved specimens of these articles. They have beside, at Goree, a root which dyes a beautiful scarlet, and its leaves a bright yellow or orange. The soil and climate seem both extremely favourable for the growth of spices. Cardamoms are found in great perfection near Cape Verd.

As far as he could judge, in natural capacity the negroes are equal to any people whatever: and in temper and disposition (of which, from being constantly among them, he had, he believes, as many opportunities of judging, as any Englishman on the coast) they appeared to be humane, hospitable, and well disposed. The country well cultivated, and from the general disposition of the natives to labour, he is convinced, that had they a proper market for their produce, they would be as industrious as any

Europeans.

Europeans. He remarked, that where there was 1790.
little or no trade for slaves, they were most industri- Part II.
ous. They manufacture cotton cloths, almost equal
the workmanship, to those of Europe; they work
gold, silver and iron, remarkably neat; also in P. 298.
wood, and make saddles, bow-cases, scabbards, gris-
tis, and other things of leather, with great neat-
ness.

Was much and often in the country among the
natives; and having learned (from La Brue and o-
ther writers) that it was a common practice for their
kings to seize their subjects and sell them as slaves
for European goods, he wished to know whether the
port was founded in fact.

When he was on board the Atalanta sloop of war,
they fell in with a ship from Gambia, the crew of
which had all died but the captain, whose name was
neatly, and the mate. On going aboard he found
the captain lying on deck upon a mattress, and the
mate appeared in bad health.

He was on his passage to the W. Indies in a slave P. 299.
ship two months, during which the slaves were ex-
ceedingly unhappy, made many attempts to rise:
if succeeding, they begged to be permitted to throw
themselves overboard, and perpetually regretted
their own country.

He was three times in the W. Indies; in 1773, at
Grenada six months; in 1779 and 1780, at Antigua,
St. Badoes, Tobago, St. Lucia, and St. Christophers;
and in 1788 and 1789, at Grenada, Coriacou, St.
Vincent, and Tobago.

General treatment of the negroes was very cruel.
They lived near the market-place of St. George's, at
Grenada, where negroes were flogged every day by
the particular orders of their masters; they were tied
down upon the ground, every stroke brought blood,
and very often took out a piece of the flesh. Saw
them often in chains, thus marked. A French
inter sent for a surgeon to cut off the leg of a
negro, who had run away. On the surgeon's re-
fusing

1790. fusing to do it, the planter took an iron bar and broke
Part II. the leg in pieces, and then the surgeon cut it off.

~ This planter did many such acts of cruelty, and with impunity. It did not appear to be the public opinion that any punishment was due to him, for though it was generally known, he was equally well received in society afterwards as before.

P. 300. Walked into the country at Grenada, almost daily. Many of the field-negroes bore the marks of the whip on their bodies, and several worked in the field in chains. Whip is made of a thong of cow's hide about half an inch in breadth, with large knots cut in several places. The day after his arrival at Antigua, he saw three or four old negroes, reduced to skin and bone, digging in the dunghills, in the streets, for food: and was told by themselves and others, that they had been turned off by their owners who could not afford to keep them. This he understood was no uncommon practice. As he was perpetually removing from place to place with the fleet and army, in 1779, and 1780, he had then but little opportunity of seeing the treatment of the negroes in the plantations. In Grenada, the plantation slaves generally worked (out of crop-time) from day-light to dark. On some plantations he has known them called out long before day-light; they generally have an hour allowed them for breakfast, and two for dinner. When last at Grenada, he lived in the country about 15 or 16 months; and observed that slaves are generally sent to pick grass after the field-labour which continues till sun-set is over. A certain quantity is required, and if they do not produce it they are punished; though it is often very scarce and brought from a great distance. In crop-time they are obliged to work as long as they can, which is as long as they can keep awake or stand on their legs. Sometimes they fall asleep through excess of fatigue when their arms are caught in the mill and torn off.

P. 302. saw several who had lost their arms in that way. Except one or two holidays a year, he did not understand

derstand they had any time allotted them for their 1790.
amusement or repose: for on Sundays they la- Part II.
ur more than on any other days of the week; it
ing then that they exert themselves in procuring P. 302.
plies of food for their own sustenance, and there-
e are not attended by the driver. At other times
ery gang is attended by one or more, who make
quent use of the whip, without distinction of sex.
believes, that in general, their food is neither
icient in quantity nor good in quality; though
domestic are better fed than the field-negroes.
the fortifications, where their labour is of the se-
est kind, they had only seven pounds of bread and
for of salt-fish per week. They carried bricks,
le, and large planks, from the shore to Richmond
Pl, about a mile and an half, and were often
sely able to move under their burthens.

s not positive if these slaves were paid for by go-P. 303.
vment or by the island.

believes it depends entirely on disposition and
ity of masters whether they are well or ill fed.
Grenada they were differently fed at different
ties. He dined at the house of a gentleman, who
his grass field had been plundered the night be-
fe, by certain negroes, some of whom he could have
tan and punished, but refrained, because he knew P. 304.
allowance so small that without robbing they
d not have existed; but only speaks to this par-
ar instance. The place was near town, where
sells at a great price. It was the general opi-
ni, that it was more profitable to import slaves
work them out, than to breed them. Believes
are not considered as protected by law; for ne-
s were often treated cruelly, and even murder
been committed, not only with impunity, but
out its being supposed the perpetrators could be
shed on that account. At Grenada, in the town
. George, a mason, named Chambers, killed a
oe, in the middle of the day (he thinks in the
ch-yard) and no notice was taken of it. The
umb. 3. Q present

1790. present chief judge of Grenada (who has permitted Part II. him to use his name on this occasion) assured him it was true. Another instance was of a planter who flogged his driver to death, and even boasted of the person from whom witness had the account (Does not exactly know the time this happened but it was before the year 1773, when he heard

P. 305. of it from the Chief Justice, p. 316.) Another was that of the French planter who broke a negroe's leg in order to prevail on the surgeon to cut it off. And in June last, he saw a negroe brought to St. George's to have her finger cut off she had committed a fault, and ran away to avoid punishment; but being taken, her master suspended her by the hands, flogged and cut her cruelly on the back, belly, breast and thighs, and then left her suspended till her fingers mortified: in this state witness saw her at Dr. Gilpin's, but no notice was taken of the fact, though it happened months after the new law for the protection of slaves was passed. Another negress who, though a young woman, had no teeth informed him that her mistress, had with her own hands pulled them out, and given her a severe flogging besides, the marks of which she then bore. This relation was confirmed by several town's people of whom he inquired concerning it.

He was in Grenada, 1788, when the act was passed, entitled, "An Act for the better protection, and promoting the increase and population of slaves." The principal objection, and which he repeatedly heard, to its passing was, that it might make slaves believe, that the authority of their masters lessened: but otherwise, many thought it would be of little use, as it was a law made by themselves against themselves, and to be executed by themselves: they observed besides, that such laws were unnecessary for the protection of negroes who were treated well; and that others had so many opportunities of evading the law, (the evidence of negroes not being admitted) that it would be of no

The members of the legislature were not all planters. Some of them were slave merchants and storekeepers, in the town of St. George. At the time of passing said act, the proposal in the British parliament for the abolition of the slave trade was a matter of general discussion in the island: and he believes was a principal reason for passing it. For report said, that the agent for the island had mentioned in a letter, that unless they made laws themselves for the protection of slaves, the British parliament would. This letter he never saw, tho' he sought it; and as a proprietor in the island thought he had a right to read the agent's letters. He however, often heard it urged as an argument that the act should pass. He believes it will prove ineffectual: because, as no negro evidence is admitted, those who abuse them will still do it with impunity; and people who live on terms of intimacy, would dislike the idea of becoming spies and informers against each other.

He believes the chastity of the wives of slaves is not protected by law: and has never heard that there was any punishment for its violation. That sometimes the slaves are offered by the masters to their visitors, and has known compulsion used to oblige them to submit to prostitution.

He does not say, that slaves never become possessed of such property; but he never knew an instance; nor can he conceive how they can have time for it. Nor did he ever know of field slaves having expensive feasts. A negro woman, who became unfit for labour by disease, was turned off by the trustees of his father's estate. She subsisted by charity in the town of St. George.

The tetanus, or locked jaw, was formerly very fatal to negro children; but there are now means of treating the mothers and children, which render it less so.

Old slaves did not appear to him cheerful or happy.

1790. happy. There are frequent instances of slaves de
Part II. troying themselves.

Has a landed estate in Grenada, but it is not cul
tivated. Part of it has been.

- P. 309. His personal observations on the coast of Africa extend to part of the kingdom of Cajore, which is opposite Goree, to the country north and south for some leagues; and to about eight or ten miles inland from the shore. Within that distance indigo is manufactured fit for use; and cloths dyed with it. Never saw the process. The manufactures he mentioned in gold, silver, iron, and other materials, are the work of both negroes and Moors. He saw but few Moors in the country about Cape Verd, and those were strangers; and none at Goree, or in any other parts where he had been. He thinks, as the negroes are remarkably industrious, they might, with proper encouragement, be brought to cultivate the different productions of that part of the coast to a much greater extent than they do at present: for where there was a demand for any article or produce, he observed they were remarkably industrious.

In 1773, went to Grenada on a visit to his father. He was then 22 years of age; and Mr. Leyburn was then governor of the island. He then staid 6 months mostly in town; but was sometimes in the country when he made frequent visits to different plantations; but in both town and country saw many instances of cruel treatment. Some of the punishments inflicted might be by order of the magistrates; but many, he was informed, were ordered by the masters: and he knows, that by the laws of the island they have such a power; for there is an act, passed Oct. 18. 1784, for regulating the fees of the clerk of the market, and authorising him to take 18d. for every slave he shall flog, whether it be ordered by the magistrate or owner. These were generally belonging to people in town.

Does not remember the name of the French planter, who treated his negroes so barbarously, precisely the year; but was informed of it by several

1; and believes many Grenada gentlemen now in 1790.
England have heard the story. Has seen this man Part II.
the best society of the island oftener than once, ~~~~~
er the story was generally known. It was spoken
as a thing notorious, and believed. Does not
now whether or not such atrocious acts are confi-
dered by the better sort of people as worthy of
investigation or punishment. Would willingly be- P. 313.
ve they are, by such, disapproved of; but never
ard that there had been any attempt to punish
is offender.

He went, in the slave ship mentioned, to the island
Antigua; was there about three weeks, in the
ear 1779: from thence to Barbadoes: was there a
night or three weeks, and thence to St. Kitt's;
ere he staid about the same time. In these islands
was mostly in the towns.

His own affairs drew him to Grenada, 1788. At
e death of his father he inherited his slaves; but
e estate being in possession of the mortgagee, he
give no account of the manner of providing for
own slaves; but he understands the planters in P. 314.
Grenada allow their slaves salt provisions and flour,
which are brought from England and America.
any of them distribute these, exclusive of the
ound provisions, regularly every week, some of
m daily; and at times corn of various sorts ei-
ter in grain or meal; but many others do not.

The inhabitants of the towns in Grenada are fur-
nished with grass and other green provender for their
lives, by plantation slaves in the neighbourhood,
o, he believes, sometimes receive to their own
the money or other commodities they get in re-
tion; but that is sometimes sold for the account of P. 315.
their masters. The planters do not commonly dis-
se of their grass; but sometimes sell milk and
eggs. He is uncertain whether they cultivate
eggs to sell, or for their cattle.

He frequently conversed with the present chief
justice of Grenada, who told him the fact already
mentioned,

1790. mentioned, in his own house; and he said in Part II. was committed in the year 1788.

~~~~~  
P. 316. Being asked if he, or any other person, ever informed the chief justice of the cruel treatment received by the negro girl whom he saw at Dr. Gilpin's, said, he inquired after some time whether any notice had been taken of it, and did not find there had. He did not himself inform the chief justice, nor does he know whether or not he was informed of it. At the time it happened, he was preparing to leave the island, and believed as it was known to so many people, that the chief justice must have been informed of it by somebody; but he did not know that it passed unnoticed, till he was just setting out for Europe, after which he never saw the chief justice.

P. 317. Recollects a clause, or clauses, in the law, for the protection of slaves, whereby three persons, freeholders in each parish, are appointed guardians for carrying it into execution; and their testimony declared to be competent in all cases necessary therefor: but is of opinion, that while a slave's evidence is not admitted in a court of law, they can be of very little or no service to him. Slaves, however, would not be without remedy in every instance, but thinks such as are disposed to treat their negroes ill, may find ways of evading these laws. Laws for the protection of the negroes, and feeding them, have been before passed; but it was found necessary, notwithstanding, to make a new act. That dated 10th Dec. 1766, for the allowance of provision ground to slaves, directs the appointment of four freeholders by the justices of each parish, to inspect the grounds and see that there was a sufficient quantity of provision: yet the preamble to the last act seems to imply that this former one had not been sufficiently attended to.

He believes it common for plantation slaves in Grenada, to bring to market, and particularly on 313. Sundays, various articles of fruit and vegetables, poultry

poultry, pork, kids, and goats, their own property, 1790.  
and raised by themselves. Part. II.

Supposes it cost him two shilings a day each to maintain his horses in grass and other green provender, and that grass is more less picked the year round: that the provisions of the slaves on the fortifications at Grenada were only the allowance made by government, of 7lb. of bread and 4 of salt fish per week each, without any ground provisions from masters; but of this is not certain. The rations necessary for their support in this service, he apprehends, were ascertained by the commander in chief; and the quantity of their labour by managers and overseers, no European officer being so competent to judge of either as the W. Indians themselves. A white or a black man was sent by the owner with his slaves, to take care of them; and supposes a person was sent over the whole by the commander in chief to see that they did their duty. Does not remember any foldiers were employed to work on the fortifications; or whether the excess of labour, in carrying burthens as before mentioned, was to be ascribed to the person appointed on the part of the king, or those sent to take care of the slaves by the planters. He believes there is an act of assembly, constituting a joint committee of the council and assembly, to see to this service of the slaves and their food: but that nevertheless those employed by the committee can ill treat the slaves in many respects, without its coming to their knowledge. P. 319.

Says he might have put his estate under cultivation by getting slaves from the house Backhouse and Arleton in Grenada; but knowing when in Africa, how happy the negroes were there, and the unjustifiable means of enslaving them, their cruel usage on ship-board and in the West Indies, he could not, consistent with his ideas of right, purchase any slaves, especially as he did not intend to remain on the plantation himself. P. 320.

He



1790. He has seen many diseased and disabled seamen  
 Part. II. the town of St. George, and on inquiry found that  
 ~~~~~ had belonged to Guinea ships which had left there.

Could not say it was likely any planter would be desirous of interfering very actively, to remedy the smaller abuses practised by white people on their negroes; nor what Mr. Bruce's method was of curing the tetanus; but Mr. B. assured him, from the time he adopted it (which he thinks was two years before he had lost none, or but one or two children. He thinks one part of his method was, to give the white men immediately before the labour, a large airy room.

Does not pretend to say that all slaves in Grenada are ill used, but believes that bad usage is too general. Some he knew who treated their slaves well.

P. 322. As to happy state of negroes in their own country, he can speak positively only of that part of the coast where has been, which might be rather less than 40 miles extent.

His plantation he purchased from Mr. Townsenc the treasurer of Grenada, who was trustee of his father's estate. It lies in the parish of St. David, and about seven or eight miles from George's Town.

P. 323. was cultivated in cocoa and provisions, and consisted of about 250 acres. At present it is uncultivated and no slaves belong to it.

On inquiry of chief justice, he mentioned one instance of a white man being brought to trial, and hanged for the murder of a slave; but said, he believed if this murderer had been a man of good character, or had had friends or money to pay for the slave, he would not have been brought to trial. He was of a very bad character, and had been obliged to leave Barbadoes on that account. At Grenada he had been a bailiff's follower, and from his rigour in executing his office, and bad character, was particularly obnoxious.

P. 324.

noxious to the inhabitants of the town of St. George. 1790.
Part II.

He had been at St. Vincent's and Calliaqua, and conversed with the Yellow Caribs, but not with the Black; the latter he supposes a mixture of the Yellow Caribbs and some negroes cast away on the island. The Caribbs had no other clothing than a cat or girdle about the middle, and no shoes; but as far as he can recollect, were armed with cutlasses. The black Caribbs attended the market of P. 325. Kingston with tobacco and other articles, which the women carried. The sugar estates which he saw under cultivation in St. Vincent's were chiefly bordering on the sea coast.

The white man who was hanged for murder he thinks was named Bachus Preston.

Witness Examined—REV. ROB. BOUCHER NICHOLLS,
Dean of Middleham, in Yorkshire,

Was born in Barbadoes; resided there some years P. 326. in his youth, and two after he was of age, from 1768 to 1770, when in holy orders. While there was engaged to judge of the situation both of field and house slaves: for his uncle, with whom he lived four years, had a sugar estate. Several others whom he visited were concerned in estates; and in his last residence there, he himself resided on a very large estate, and observed the management both of that and surrounding estates. The situation of slaves with respect to food and treatment, he thinks cannot be comprehended under any one general description, some being well fed and taken care of both in sickness and health, and others much neglected and severely treated. The latter so impressed his mind, that he said to a person lately concerned in the management of slaves, 'This people will find a Moses;' which person lately reminded him of the words. Never read the laws of Barbadoes, but understood slaves were not protected by P. 327.
Lumb. 3. R them;

1790. them; that murders by owners were punished by Part II. But if not by owner, then he received the value of negro from the murderer, and the fine was paid the exchequer, at the suit of the Attorney-General. He never understood that where negroes were stifled or ill used, legal redress had ever been applied for, or could be obtained; what legal provision for it there is, cannot say. Knew often, where the master's regard of his own interest did not prevail, with respect to feeding his slaves well, and giving sufficient food, &c.

P. 328. Among the rest, that of one M'Mahon, whose severity was generally mentioned, (and always with detestation, p. 338.) had destroyed more negroes, than the value of the additional crops, produced by the extra labour. So that though in eight years he paid off a considerable debt, he was said to have destroyed more negroes than the amount of it. Also collected where slaves were reduced to a general state of debility and discontent, from a want of necessary food, while they were urged to their accustomed labour, so that he heard it observed that the manager of a particular estate, "for a long cane would produce a dead negro." On the other hand, he could mention many instances, where humanity, and a regard to the interest joined in providing well for them; particularly that of Dr. Mapp, whose estate was in the most flourishing condition, both in respect to the number of negroes by natural increase, and the success of the plantation.

The treatment of slaves appeared to depend wholly on the persons who had the management of them. Hanson Berney's estate was managed by his brother, who treated them humanely and judiciously; he believes without punishment, and that the estate was productive. He often heard a relation of his who had the care of several large estates, declare, that he would willingly submit to have the power of punishment taken from him, if he might allow sufficient rewards for good behaviour and labour. One estate in particular was conducted for two years; during which, (though

Wit

ness visited him almost daily) no instance of punishment had occurred. And yet he declared, when he took the management of that estate upon him, though there was hardly a place on the backs of the labouring negroes free from the mark of the lash, it had not been successful to the owner in point of crops. Says, effects of owners embarrassed situation on slaves, is pushing them beyond their strength, and leaving them without their usual allowance of provisions, or any thing as a substitute, for a week or two; this was confirmed to him by the manager of a gentleman so circumstanced. This manager also told him that the same person, as well as several others, never abridged or withheld in crop time, the stated allowance given at other times.

Usual instruments of punishing negroes were the long-whip, chains on the legs, irons on the neck, and confinement in the dungeon. In cases of enormous crimes, they were gibbeted alive in chains: but he never saw but two instances of the latter. The punishment of whipping is severe, cutting deep into the flesh, and leaving marks which are visible a long time; sometimes to old age. The slaves always work under a driver, with a thong whip plaited.

The rights of marriage as among the negroes, he believes, are not protected in the smallest degree, either by law or custom; but the chastity of the women intirely liable to invasion by the manager, or other white persons.

Natural capacity and disposition of negroes, apprehends to be just the same as those of the whites. Heounds his opinion on many instances. One of a negro woman purchased from a slave ship, and given him by his father. She appeared at first as dull and fullen as any negro he ever saw; but on instruction, became quite the reverse, and of her own accord fired to be made a Christian.

She afterwards was his domestic servant, and by her fidelity to her husband, and her good behaviour in respects, manifested a good understanding, and the

1790. best disposition. He observed in many negroes in the northern provinces of America, the same improvement where equal care was taken. He remembers Phillis Wheatley in Boston, an African slave, who in less than three years, learned the English language and wrote elegant English verse, which has been published.

He has seen other instances of their ingenuity in arts and letters. Among others, an elegant chair which a negro of Jamaica carved with a knife only.

Their disposition is in general affectionate when well treated, which he thinks would easily lead to piety, if they were in the way of improvement.

Several in Barbadoes, who had attended the church expressed to him a wish to become Christians. Many are so in the Northern provinces of America; but knows not of many in Barbadoes, who were instructed or baptized.

They were generally regarded by persons of principle and education among the whites, as unfortunate men entitled to compassion and good treatment; but the bulk of the whites considered them as beings of an inferior species.

P. 331. His father had a boy who said he was the son of a prince in Africa, and taken away forcibly. He afterwards knew a negro woman, who alledged that her father was a king in Africa, and as she could find none her equals in Barbadoes, she would neither eat nor converse with any of the other negroes. This her mistress declared had been the case for 20 years.

Apprehends the slaves frequently robbed the provision grounds of the neighbouring plantations: to prevent which, armed watchmen are therefore set, and he has heard of negroes brought home wounded.

P. 332. Some persons allow their negroes all Sunday, besides 5 or 6 holidays in the year, and sometimes a Saturday afternoon, during the time of holing. Others allowed less vacation, requiring, on Sundays, meat for the cattle, to be gathered twice in the day; and often in the

crop, continue the boiling of the sugar till late Saturday night. 1790.
Part II.

In one instance recollects it to have been protracted till sun-rise, on Sunday morning; and the care afterwards of setting up the sugar jars, must require several hours. The slaves had commonly no other day than Sunday, (except as above) to cultivate their grounds.

The criterion of a manager's merit in general, he apprehends to be the production of large crops.

The quantum of ground allowed the field negroes for raising provisions, does not admit their frequently possessing any considerable property. It is not likely they can spare much of the produce for sale. Sometimes they possess a pig and two or three fowls; and they have also a few plantain trees, these may be means of supplying them with knives, iron pots, and such other conveniencies, as the master does not allow.

Cannot positively say they never have expensive parties, but the utmost he ever heard of was, that sometimes, when a negro married, he has provided a party for his friends. Never understood that the dances were attended with treats; and believes if their entertainments had been expensive, he should have heard of them. The principal feasts they ever give, he understands, are after the funerals of their friends, when they scatter some provisions on the grave, and eat the rest themselves, with a view of adding a communion with the deceased.

He does not recollect any instances of the Creole negroes destroying themselves, but remembers five or six such instances of African negroes, immediately after they were purchased. P. 333.

He knew very few free negroes. One of them was wife to a Mulatto slave, on Sir Hanson Berney's estate. She was very industrious in the care of her family, and in raising poultry to sell, with the profits which she paid for the schooling and cloathing of her children, which she was encouraged to do, as knowing

1790. knowing they would be free. They were baptized
Part II. and the whole family so orderly, that he never heard
any misbehaviour attributed to them. The husband
served in several capacities on the estate, was very
skillful in the care of the sick, and remarkably
honest. Having met with reward and indulgence
by his own and his wife's industry, it was said he
amassed 100l. sterling, which he offered for his freedom;
but it was refused, his master not being willing
to part with him at any price. What relates to his
own and wife's behaviour, the witness knew from his
own observation.

The only other instance of a free negro, in his
knowledge, was of a Joe Rachell, in Bridge Town.
He was a merchant, had large and extensive concerns,
and was so much esteemed for his honesty, that he was
commonly admitted to the company and conversation
of merchants and planters.

The situation of domestic slaves, was not by any
means as comfortable as that of the corresponding
rank of people in this country, though preferable to
that of field negroes. The indulgence given domestic
slaves here, is withheld from the slaves, and these are
liable to corporal punishment. In the country domestic
slaves are commonly corrected by the driver, and in
town a man was employed, who went from house to
house for that purpose, who was called the Jumper.
Neither does he think the state of field slaves will
bear any comparison with that of the labouring poor
in this country; because of the severity of the heats,
which are little varied by the seasons, because the
intermissions from labour are less frequent, and the
food less substantial than in England; and because
they are perpetually subject not only to arbitrary
punishment from the chief overseer, but from the book-
keepers and drivers, who follow them constantly at
their work with the lash, correct them before an
excuse can be heard, and often vent their own
resentments upon them, under the plea of punishing
them for negligence.

The white people called Tenants, who serve in the militia for a small allotment of land, commonly Part II. work in their grounds with the negroes, if they have any; or if not, cultivate them by their own labour. These usually raise provisions, but not canes. Many whites in Barbadoes exercise handicraft trades; such as carpenters, joiners, masons, copper-smiths, blacksmiths, shoemakers, &c. and also some of the poorer whites spin cotton for the lamps in the boiling houses. Whites are also employed in the coasting vessels, and as fishermen.

In respect to stocks of slaves, kept up by the births P. 335. only, understood from Dr. Mapp's son, that the stock on the estate to which he had just succeeded; had increased so much, that there was a redundancy sufficient, nearly, to stock another estate. Another instance which came within his own observation, was of slaves, the property of the Rev. Mr. Carter, who increased considerably; they cultivated his glebe, and he annually planted canes, which were manufactured into sugar at an adjoining estate. His own brother informed him, that his negroes had doubled their number by natural increase in twenty years; and he believed they were generally employed in common field business, as other negroes. He had heard of several others of his acquaintance, who had kept up their stocks by the natural increase, without purchase. In conversation with judicious planters, he understood it to be their opinion, that the rearing of slaves on the estates, depended much on the managers.

Remembers to have seen two Guinea sailors, who were lame, begging in the country, at the house of a person who had relieved many such, by extracting the Guinea-worm, and healing sores contracted in that service.

Cannot say what difference a long residence of the blacks in the islands might occasion, as to their happiness, as he did not himself make a long residence; he however remembers both to have seen and heard, that

1790. that those newly imported, were often dejected, Part II. emaciated, and incapable of work, so as even to resist all attempts to console and administer nourishment to them.

P. 336. Never saw the act of branding; has seen many, but does not remember how they arose, nor where they were made in Africa, on board ship, or elsewhere. Were not many.

Never heard of any nation of negroes prone to suicide in their own country. Besides the five mentioned, who destroyed themselves the day after they were purchased, he remembers to have heard of a slave who destroyed himself, sometime after he was purchased, supposed from dejection, and certainly not from ill treatment.

P. 337. Does not know by what law the pecuniary punishments, annexed to the murder of a slave, are imposed. He supposes it to be by an act of the island, because the laws of this country inflict a different punishment for murder. When a law is passed in the island, he apprehends it is immediately sent to be presented to the King in council, and is valid unless negatived within three years, without any distinct approbation of the law being expressed.

P. 339. While in Barbadoes, many particulars mentioned by him, which fell not within his own personal knowledge, he had from his father and brother, who resided near him. They at different times had the care of slaves, to the amount of between 1000 and 2000, and knew the state of the whole island; some particulars had been communicated to him by letters and most of the information since, he had from a person then in England. Has conversed and corresponded with another gentleman of some distinction, a proprietor of estates and slaves in Barbadoes, and has been in both countries, within the last 10 years, but absent from Barbadoes about five years. Has understood from himself and some disinterested persons, that the management on his plantation since his absence,

nce, has not been prejudicial to the slaves in point 1790.
treatment and provision in the smallest degree. Part II.

He lived much with his father and uncle who were mane men; recollects but one instance of correc- P. 339
tion of a negro by either of them, and that was for
making open a store, and stealing a pipe of wine,
for this he thinks the culprit received 24 lashes.

During his last residence on the island, he avoided
seeing the punishment of slaves, yet recollects seeing
them with irons upon the feet and neck, and once
have heard a tremendous punishment administered,
which he did not see; it was for running away, and
consisted of 60 lashes on the breech with a thick whip.
A person in the service of the owner, who ordered that
correction, told him that the slave was compelled
to run away by harsh treatment; and another who
saw the punishment, that the whip had made incisions
large enough for the finger to be laid in.

The slave was afterwards sent to the dungeon.
This he thinks the severest chastisement he can re-
collect.

Correction with the whip was generally on the P. 340.
back, on all parts of which, it was common to see
very large wheals (the remains of lashes). On sud-
den provocation believes the blows to be on the
back; in formal punishments on the breech.

Does not remember an instance of property acquired
by any negro slave, beyond that of Tom Perryman,
the mulatto already mentioned. Believes they have
indulgencies, but to what extent is uncertain. On
further recollection remembers another slave, of the
name Sir Hanson Berney, who was employed to carry
the rum of the estate to market and sell it, and to
make bargains for small supplies, with the traders in
town; for which he had some indulgence allowed
him, and lived comfortably upon it; but whether
he had acquired any property or not, the witness is
uncertain. This man he believes had also a free
woman for his wife.

Numb. 3

S

Speaks

1790. Speaks only to what he knew; and does not suppose that his want of a more extensive knowledge of the subject, is to criminate other gentlemen, many whom possessed principles of honour and humanity though he could not see a detail of their estates.

P. 341. Cannot however think himself entitled to say whether encouragement was generally given to negroes of the above description; or, from the sentiment then formed, and ever since possessed (setting aside on one hand particular instances of great severity, and on the other hand particular instances of great humanity) that treatment altogether humane and proper, was the lot of such as he had either observed or heard of.

Has repeatedly seen negroes, at the negro-market in Bridge-Town, on Sundays, selling several different articles of vegetables, and poultry, sometimes pig-meat; but of other meat but little, as they never keep the larger cattle. Goats are much discouraged, and the pigs necessarily confined, lest they should injure the canes. Whatever returns the negroes obtain, he believes are allowed to themselves.

He resides between his two livings at Middleham in Yorkshire, and Stony Stanton in Leicestershire. One farmer of Leicestershire informed him, that he gave 10l. a year and board to his waggoner. Another, that he gave 9l. a year and board to his day labourer. In Stony Stanton parish, a day labourer in agriculture had 6s. per week, and a load of coal brought 17 miles from the pits free of expense. In all other matters he found himself, except in harvest time, when he was allowed provisions. In Yorkshire he believes labour is rather dearer. About Middleham he gave 14d. a day for labour in the garden from between seven and eight in the morning to five in the afternoon.

In Leicestershire the average wages of labouring men in the farming business, who find themselves and contract to serve the year through, he understands is 6s. per week. The food of such he cannot specify, but as it is a cheese country, supposes that

cheese

cheese enters largely into their diet, with wheaten and 1790.
 e, and sometimes barley bread. They use some Part II.
 it not much oatmeal, and fresh butcher's meat on
 Sundays, of which they commonly make broth; also
 ans in summer; bread with hog's lard instead of
 tter; meal fried with lard, sliced apples, and small
 eces of bacon, if they have any, and potatoes.
 his is a general description of the fare of such
 pourers.

Besides the 6s. wages, such a labourer has some-P. 343.

nes aids from his wife's spinning, knitting, and
 her work, by which they earn from 3d to 6d. per
 y; also from corn-gleanings, which are sometimes
 nsiderable; besides the relief which he obtains dur-
 g harvest, in more substantial living. Some of
 em have a little bit of garden ground, others hire
 nd and keep a cow, or have the privilege of a
 mmon. In Stony Stanton the bulk of the labouring
 habitants are employed in the manufacturing of stock-
 g. From the means thus stated they generally are
 abled to furnish themselves and families, with ne-
 tary food, and defray the expense of house rent,
 thing, medical assistance, and other incidental
 charges. He instances a widow left with two chil-P. 344.

en, who never had so much after her widowhood,
 d yet maintained, and brought them up to be in-
 strious members of the community, and parents
 families, without assistance from the parish: and
 other day-labourer, who had uniformly lived with
 mfort, and brought up an useful family. Several other
 tances are adduced to shew, that a sober man with
 ndustrious family, is capable of maintaining them,
 a day-labourer only. In Yorkshire prizes have
 en given away to some such, who have brought up
 ge families, with no other assistance than their own
 our. In the instance above mentioned of the wo-
 n and children, the woman spun worsted, and as-
 sed the witness, who attended her when dying,
 it in order to keep her family from the parish, she
 up to spin through the whole of two or three

1790. nights in the week. In the other instance of the d
Part II. labourer, his wife was dead at the time mention
but he brought up two sons in the stocking tra
one of which living with him earns 9s. per wee
the daughter is industrious, and appears very dece
In visiting the father when sick, she was sometime
spinning, at others knitting, or nursing her father

P. 346. So far as he observed, where the slaves in Barb
does were under judicious and humane masters, they
were well fed, clothed, lodged, taken care of in sick
ness; and treated with moderation and lenity. He
considers liberty as the first comfort of life, as well
as an unalienable right; that the want of it lessens
the comforts of life, and is a source of continual re
gret, by cutting off the hope of bettering one's con
dition, as in the case of Tom Perryman, before-men
tioned, &c. To shew that this is not mere specula
tion, he could give instances in England, of agricul
tural labourers, rising into situations that enable
them to marry with a fortune of £500, and provide
well for, and educate their children, at grammar and
boarding schools.

P. 347. Does not believe, that negroes are not so suscep
tible of the sentiment of liberty, as the free peasant
in England: for the several rebellions engaged in by
the negroes, and especially the 2 great rebellions
mentioned by Long, in his History of Jamaica, suf
ficiently prove the contrary.

He conceives diet and accommodations of the la
bouring peasantry here, more substantial than that
of the negroes, and is confirmed in that opinion, by
the large size, health, and long life, of many of them
in Yorkshire, particularly at West Whitton, where
out of about 500 inhabitants, there is a large pro
portion of peasantry, answering the above descrip
tion in all points; and in the parish of Bolton, adjoin
ing, there is scarcely a day labourer, who does not
keep a cow. Does not say this representation holds
universally, but thinks it unfair in forming a compa
rison, between the negroes in the West Indies, and
peasantry

santry of Britain, to take a part of the one which ^{1790.}
best treated, to compare with the whole of the
ter, among which, though there are many in com-
table circumstances, yet there are many others
tremely distressed for the subsistence of themselves
d families. But if he was to judge from his own P. 348.
servation (setting aside liberty on the one hand,
d cruelty on the other) he should prefer the con-
tion of a peasant in England, believing it, if even
th equal labour, to be much preferable.

Stated allowance of food to negroes in Barbadoes,
der what is called good management, was, 9 pints
Guinea, or India corn, and 1 pound, $1\frac{1}{2}$ or 2 pound
salt fish, or from 4 to 6 herrings per week. This
s the species of provision in most instances, that
l within his observation throughout the year.
ere was sometimes a variation, by allowing yams
eddoes, or pidgeon peas, the growth of the island,
lieu of the corn: but does not recollect that oat-
meal, meal of wheat, or rye, were ever offered as a
stitute: nor that there was a sufficient growth of
ssada, to answer that purpose. Biscuit, flour and
meal, have been allowed in sickness, and particu-
ly in fluxes; but rarely in health. On some
ates the weekly allowance was equal to 12 pints
corn, and 6 herrings, to field negroes; but to wo-
en not working in the field, and children, it was
uch short; and also to those past labour. Some
amane masters have continued the usual allowance
negroes past labour, and this was noted as very
amane.

The above-mentioned articles of food, vary in the P. 349.
gree of nutrition they afford; Guinea and India
rn are less nutritious than wheat or barley. When
dia corn happens to be heated in the hold of the
ip, it creates disorders. Eddoes are the most nutri-
ous and wholesome article of food in the islands:
ms are less so. Potatoes and pidgeon peas are
hole some, but the latter have a very thick coat.
ated herrings, with other salt fish, often suffer by
the

1790. the voyage, and are often in a broken, unwholesome
 Part II. state. Salt beef and pork are seldom given, but
 when other provisions fail, or as a great inducement,
 in small quantities; sometimes in a bad, and
 sometimes a good state, as they happen to come
 market. He never knew them given as a part
 of the stated allowance.

The negroes frequent the Sunday markets at
 Bridge Town, with pidgeon peas, Guinea corn, ed-
 does, potatoes, and whatever other native provision
 of the island they can spare, which they sell, or com-
 mute for other species of provisions. The hucksters
 often give them, at a disadvantage to the negroes,
 small loaves of wheaten bread for corn; for instance,
 a small half-penny loaf for a pint of Guinea corn,
 and sometimes they sell their provisions to obtain
 rum, and other matters, which they think necessary
 to their convenience. This exchange is often made
 when the negro, tired of his labour, has not time or
 inclination, to grind the corn, or fetch water, and
 procure fuel to boil it for use.

P. 354. It struck him, to speak generally, that negro mo-
 thers commonly went into the field too early after
 their delivery, taking their children, while yet very
 tender, with them; that the milk of the mother be-
 came feverish with labour, and the heat of the sun
 too powerful for the child, which was commonly ex-
 posed in a basket, and in rainy weather unsheltered.
 He understood that this was so generally the practice,
 that some humane gentlemen, resident in England
 many years since, gave directions to their overseers,
 to observe a contrary practice.

He never heard that M^r Mahon, already mention-
 ed, ever suffered any other ill consequence from his
 severity to his negroes, than the loss consequent
 thereon.

P. 355. Again, not having any right to their children, it
 is a discomfort necessarily resulting from the constitu-
 tion of human nature; and especially as those chil-
 dren, if females, may be subjected to the brutal lusts
 of

their superiors, without remedy from law. The 1790.
 ing obliged to labour at the will of another; the Part II.
 ing unprotected by laws, and enduring punishment
 the caprice of another, are certainly inconvenient. P. 356.
 s, which necessarily arise out of slavery itself, and
 event a fair comparison being made between a
 ve and a free man.

itness examined,—HENRY ELLISON, Gunner of
 the Resistance Man of War.

He thinks his first voyage was in 1759, to Gam-P. 361.
 a; was in the slave trade till about 1770; was
 essed in 1771; was 3 voyages to Gambia, 1 to
 nin, 1 to Old Calabar, 2 to New Calabar, and 1
 Ile de Los.

A native, called captain Lemma, came on board
 air ship to receive his customs; he saw a canoe in
 ore, with 3 people in it (an old man, a young man,
 d a woman) he ordered one of his canoes to take
 is canoe, which they did, and brought the people
 board, and Mr. Wilson's chief mate bought the
 ung man and woman, the other being too old,
 is refused. Lemma ordered the old man into the
 noe, his head was chopped off, and immediately
 rown overboard. Lemma had many war canoes;
 ne had 6 or 8 swivels; he brought about 10 when
 received his customs; he seemed to be feared by
 e rest of the natives. Mr. E. did not see a canoe P. 362.
 t on the river while he was there, except this, and
 they had known he had been out, they would not
 ve come. He discovered by signs, that the old
 an killed, was the 2 negroes father, and that they
 ere brought there by force; could not conceive
 emma had any right to sell them, they were not his
 objects. Lemma staid about 10 days near their P. 363.
 ip; he was on board every day to get his customs,
 d eat and drink.

He

1790. He never remembers any slaves brought on board
 Part II. with marks of wounds. Does not remember any
 other instance of slaves being obtained by fraud or
 force.

He has known many boys and girls, in every ship
 he has been in, without parents and near relations.
 He speaks the Mandingoa, and has often conversed
 with slaves that spoke it, who all said they had been
 stolen and sold.

He has often known slaves brought on board in
 the night in the Gambia; supposes they were afraid
 to be seen in the day; he has assisted in fetching
 P. 364. canoe boys on board in the night. It is common
 when their masters want goods, or for trifling offences,
 these boys are brought on board. We fetch them
 in our own boats from their masters houses
 when asleep in the night, for fear they should escape.
 supposes they could not know they were to be sold
 or they would have made their escape; he has known
 their master call them out of the canoe to bring him
 something, and when on board, immediately put them in
 irons.

He never saw these canoe-boys ill treated; has
 seen them eating and drinking in the same house
 with their masters, and sometimes with them.

He knew 2 slaves taken from Furnandipo while
 there, by the Dobson's boat of Liverpool, and carried
 to Old Calabar, where the ship lay. He went for
 yams a few days after, and fired, as a signal to the
 natives, to bring them; seeing some of them peep
 through the bushes, wondered why they would not
 come to the boat; he swam on shore, some came
 round him; an old man made signs a ship's boat had
 stole a man and woman; he was soon surrounded by
 numbers, who presented darts to him, signifying
 they would kill him if the man and woman were not
 brought back. The people in the boat fired some
 P. 365. shot, when they all ran into the woods; they left a
 goat and some yams, which they put into the boat,
 and staid to see if they would return, but they did
 not

He went to Calabar and told his captain they 1790.
 could get no yams, from two people being stole; Part II.
 Captain Briggs told the captain of the Dobson, there
 would be no more trade if he did not deliver up the
 people, which he did; when the natives saw them,
 they loaded the boat with yams, goats, fowls, honey
 and palm wine; they would take nothing for them.
 They had the man and woman delivered to them,
 whom they carried away in their arms.

The Dobson did not stay above eight, ten, or P. 365.
 twelve days. That was the last trip her boat was to
 make when they carried off the two slaves.

When they were laying at Yanamaroo in Gambia,
 slaves were brought down. The traders raised the
 price. Captains would not give it, but thought to
 compel them by firing upon the town. They fired
 a hot shot from the ship, and set several houses on

fire. All the ships, seven or eight, fired.
 They often took children and relations as pawns
 for goods. They carried off two in the Briton,
 Captain Wilson, who were much dejected. All the P. 366.
 slaves he saw brought on board were very much de-
 jected. He never saw the women otherwise than
 modest and decent.

He has seen both men and women work in the
 fields.

He has seen slaves faint away in ships from heat
 and stench.

They were always much crowded. Had two tier
 of people on one deck. One on platform. They
 were much crowded in the Nightingale, a small
 ship, about 170 tons. Purchased 270 slaves. Thirty
 boys messed and slept in long-boat all the Middle
 Passage. No room below.

The Briton, 230 or 240 tons. Much crowded. P. 367.
 Purchased 375 slaves.

Thinks only buried 6 or 7 in the Nightingale,
 were remarkably healthy. They buried near 200 in
 the Briton. Last man brought on board had the
 small-pox. Doctor told Mr. Wilson it was the
 small-pox.

T

small-pox,

1790. small-pox, who would not believe it, but said Part II. would keep him, as he was a fine man. It broke out amongst the slaves. He has seen the form one continued scab. Hauled up 8 or 10 dead of a morning. The flesh and skin peeled their wrists when taken hold of, being int mortified.

They buried in the Nightingale's second voy about 150, chiefly of fevers and flux. They 250 when they left the coast.

P. 368. Men slaves generally fettered on board vessel failed in, being two and two shackled together. When brought on deck, a chain is reeved through ring on the shackle on their legs, and locked at the barricado. They are chained on both sides deck. They are made dance every day; sometimes are willing to dance, sometimes compelled by cat.

Has known in the Middle Passage, in rains, confined below for some time. He has frequently seen them faint through heat, the steam coming through the gratings like a furnace. Has obliged to get on deck, lest they would die in rooms.

Never saw wind sails used in any vessel. Never saw slaves treated ill in any ships but the Briton Nightingale.

Has known Mr. Wilson order eight or ten a time, for making a little noise in the night, to whip them up to the booms, flog them severely with wire cat, and afterwards clap the thumb-screws on them, leaving them in that state till morning. Has seen their thumbs mortify, fevers ensue, death.

The women making a little noise over head when the captain was dining, he came out, and with wire cat began to flog away among them: 6 jumped overboard, 5 of which were drowned. The captain ordered to be ducked at the crotchetyard.

was led up and down a dozen times, he believes. 1790.
he died, he thinks, next day.

Part II.

The Nightingale was lying in New Calabar river, when the slaves rose on board the Africa. They P. 369.

They were quelled, and about eight or ten picked out as ringleaders, for punishment: they were tied to a foremast, and the people of the Africa, with the rest of the crew of the Nightingale, took spell and spell flogging them, till they all were tired; yet they were so stubborn they never cried out. Captain Carter came on board, and ordered some cooks, gunners and tongs to be made red hot, and with their own hands burnt their bare breech in a most painful manner.

Slaves often refuse their victuals; when they do, they are flogged till they eat.

Women are whipped or beaten, but not so very often as men. In the Nightingale, on the passage, a woman disobliged the second mate one day, who gave her a cut or two with a small cat he had in his hand: she flew at him with great rage, but he pushed her from him, giving her three or four smart strokes with the cat. Finding she could not have her revenge on him, she sprung two or three feet on the deck, and fell down dead. Was thrown overboard about half an hour after, and torn to pieces by the sharks. The chief mate and boatswain have charge of the men; the second mate and gunner, if there is one, of the women; each having constantly a cat in their hand.

Slaves, at the time of their dancing, always sing P. 370.

Some tune or other in their own way; has often heard them sing mournful tunes in the night.

Besides the instance given of slaves rising, they attempted it in the Upton, but it came to no head, (few, though women, had got out of irons).

As to the situation of seamen in different ships he has been in, respecting food, lodging, and general treatment:—The allowance was small in all the ships, especially in the Middle Passage; were always

1790. at allowance outward and homeward. In the Middle Part II. Passage, were obliged to fetch a gun-barrel from the top-mast-head when they wanted to drink, and carry it back without permitting another to use it at the time: has often been drier before he came down again, than when he first went up; but did not bring the barrel down a second time till some other had used it: the sick so long as they were able were obliged to do so; remembers one who had bad ulcerated legs, when he had got half way up the main shrouds, was so weak he could get no further; he and another went and helped him down again, and begged of the doctor to give him a little decoction, which at first he refused, but afterwards gave him a small pannikin full. The man died a day or two after, (p. 372.)

Never was in a ship in which the seamen had place to put their heads in below, but were obliged to lie upon deck in all weathers.

P. 370. The seamen he saw worse used, were those in the Briton and in the Nightingale: they had nothing else but bad treatment in those two ships from the first of the voyage to the last. (p. 371.)

On board the Briton was a boy whom Wilson the chief mate was always a beating. One morning in the passage out, he had not got the tea-kettle boiled time for his breakfast; when it was brought, he told him he would severely flog him after breakfast; for fear, the boy went into the lee fore chains: when Wilson came from the cabin, and called for Paddy, (the name he went by, being an Irish boy) he would not come, but remained in the fore chains; on which Wilson went forward, and attempted to haul him in; when the boy jumped overboard, and was drowned.

P. 371. Another time, on the middle passage, Wilson ordered one James Allison, (a man he had been continually beating for every trifle) to go into the women's room to scrape it; he said he was not able, for he was very unwell; but W. obliged him to go down; he did not however begin to scrape; which W. observed serving

ving, asked why he did not work, and was answer- 1790.
as before, that he was not able, on which he threw Part II.
and pike at him, which struck him in the breast,
and he dropt down to appearance dead; he recovered
little, but died next day.

In the Nightingale, on the passage, the gunner was
at the barricado with a musket, as a centry, while
the slaves were going down; happening to look aft,
he was asked by captain why he did not look for-
ward at the slaves, said, "That he could willingly
aim the musket, and blow his brains out:" but did
not think the captain heard him. When the slaves
were down, the captain caused him to be tied up, and
lugged very severely. He died in two or three days
after.

As to the seamen leaving their ships, on the coast
of Africa; the boatswain and five of the crew of the
Phoenix of Bristol, Cap. Bishop, made their escape in
a yawl, but were taken up by the natives. When
the captain heard it, he ordered them to be kept a-
shore, at Forgé, a small town at the mouth of Cala-
bar river, chained by the necks, legs, and hands, and
to have each a plantain a day only. The boatswain, P. 372.
who had been a ship-mate of the witness's, and a ve-
ry good seaman, died raving mad in his chains; the
other five also died in their chains.

As to the motives which induce seamen to en-
ter on board Guinea ships, believes they are compel-
led by want; by getting in debt to their landlords,
when they must go on board a Guineaman, or to gaol.
(p. 375.). Landlords are sure of getting paid by the
advance-money the sailor has to receive on entering
the Guinea employ, if no other way. (p. 377.)

As to his opinion, which is most advantageous to
the country, to become a sailor or go to gaol—to be-
come a sailor, he should suppose. (p. 377.)

Has been in many W. India islands, Barbadoes and
Jamaica in particular; where he has often seen Gui-
nea sailors lying on the wharfs, and under the cranes
almost at the point of death, with large ulcers upon
their

1790. their legs and feet, and in a starving state: and
 Part II. has often carried them provisions from his ship. He
 also seen the negroes carrying them when dead to
 Spring Path, and burying them. Believes they have
 all whom he saw, left their ships from bad usage
 without wages. It is commonly the case. Master
 told him they got no pay, but were glad to get ashore.
 He knew them to have belonged to Guineamen, but
 P. 373. cause he knew, and had sailed with some of them, and
 others told him so. Never saw any belonging to other
 ships than Guineamen in that state.

Was almost daily on shore, for eighteen months
 at Kingston, where he has seen six or seven slaves
 whipped of a morning, by a man they called John
 Jumper; their backs much cut, and the blood run-
 ning down. Saw also a woman at Dominica hurt
 up by the wrists, on a stage (erected to punish ne-
 groes on) her feet two feet from the stage, and then
 severely flogged with a cow-skin, by her mistress's
 order, it was said, for running away.

As to appearance of field and town-slaves, the
 last are always better dressed, and look better; the
 other look very poor and were always badly clothed,
 much marked with the whip.

They often bring down sugar and rum from the
 country to be shipped; when aboard they would buy
 and pray for a bit of biscuit and beef, which they
 are very thankful for, (p. 374).

On Sundays they generally bring some little tripe
 or other from the country to sell, such as oranges,
 plantanes, &c. to the value of half a bit, a bit,
 two bits each; does not remember ever seeing them
 have any pigs or kids to sell. As to their being
 well protected by laws, as to be able to sell these ar-
 ticles unmolested and for their own use; does not
 think there is any law for them; has seen their things
 taken by the sailors and then beat for asking the
 money; they would run crying through the street
 and even follow them down to the boats, but they got
 neither the things nor their money (p. 375).

Has been many voyages to Virginia and Mary- 1790.
nd, and has often gone through the tobacco plan- Part II.
tions while the slaves were at work.

Looked much better than those in the W. Indies; P. 374.
ere much better clothed, and not so hard worked,
ving seldom seen a driver over them with his whip;
ey generally work by themselves; has seen them
their victuals often, in their houses, and they
emed to have plenty.

Has seen the slaves on board when sold in the W. P. 375.
dies, very much distressed at the prospect of sepa-
tion.

Was fifteen or sixteen years old when he went first
Africa; his first voyages were to Gambia. Talked
e Mundingo tongue pretty well; understood but
tle of the other negro languages; does not recol-
st how old he was when told by the slaves that they
ere all stolen, but they commonly told him so in
ery voyage he has been, in the best manner they
uld make themselves understood. His highest P. 376.
rth on board a Guineaman was that of gunner.

Has been in the king's service since 1771; first
ation there, quarter gunner: has been gunner in
e Resistance since June 1784 (p. 377.)

The canoes on the coast of Africa are rowed by
ives. Masters often sell their canoe boys. Such
noe boys as have been sold, he believed to have
een slaves to those who sold them. Captain Lemma
ved a good way up Benin River: the people whom
e seized in the canoes, lived at a little fishing town
the mouth of the river, subject he believes to the
the king of Benin: he was very much feared by
e natives of that part: cannot say whether he was
war with the king of Benin from his taking away
s subjects.

Lemma was generally considered as a pirate,
p. 377).

The natives know very well, that if pawns are
ot redeemed before the ship sails, they will be car-
ed off.

Witness

1790.
Part II.

Witness examined—JOHN MARSHALL.

- P. 377. Has made about 19 voyages, chiefly to the Gold Coast. Never knew Africans go to war, to procure slaves to the ships. On the contrary, when wars have happened, it has been of the utmost prejudice to the shipping.
- P. 378. Was at Annamaboe, when the king of Ashantee made war against the Fantees, which so totally stopped the trade, that he lay sixteen months there, before he was fully flaved. The Ashantees failed of conquering the Fantee country. The Fantees, on the contrary, took many Ashantees prisoners; most of whom would have been sold, and some put to death, but for Mr. Brew, who proposed to the king of Ashantee the redemption of those prisoners, which he gladly acceded to. Thinks kidnapping impossible. Is certain the governors of forts could not with impunity seize and sell the natives; they are themselves too much in their power to attempt it: never knew governors give any such orders. Knows it impracticable.
- P. 379. Has been frequently at Cape la Hou; never knew or heard of natives carried from thence fraudulently. Natives come on board as freely as a boat would board a ship in the Thames.
- On the Gold Coast the cultivation is very trifling: that for corn (which is very rude) is such that there is no certainty of supply there; in the Bight of Guinea, at Bonny, the only cultivation I knew was of yams. Is certain, that in Africa they know nothing of the manufacture of indigo, for both indigo and blue are carried from Europe, for the use of the gentlemen in the forts: and you cannot please a female better than by giving her a little of either, with which they paint themselves.
- Never sailed in the night from Africa; it is the custom to sail in the morning, to have the land winds

ds: from Bonny it is impossible to sail in the 1790.
ht, the river is too dangerous.

Part II.

He is not at present concerned in the African
le, either as captain or merchant.

He took on board the Elizabeth, one of the ships P. 380.

ch he commanded, 546 slaves; was peculiarly
fortunate in the loss of slaves and crew; had at
of period small-pox, measles, flux and fever on
board; whereby he lost 158 slaves; a greater loss
in any 6 of his voyages together. Lost also 22 P. 381.
of 52 seamen; 45 of which English, and 7 Spa-
nds. The latter loss was chiefly owing to intem-
perance; they were not to be controuled.

is confident the king of Ashantee's motives for
upon the Fantees, was to conquer their coun-
as he has often heard from the king's brother
nephew, who were hostages with Mr. Brew;
d not suppose he had any view to slaves in making
on the Fantees, having no means of conveying
to the sea but through their country.

aves sold to the Europeans, come under the fol-
ng description; some are born slaves, a few taken
war, others forfeit their liberty by crimes, and
y sold for witchcraft; by such means slaves are
ined in general, at least, the natives say so, for
is various voyages he has often conversed with P. 382.
on the subject. Of the slaves bought on the
l Coast, one third may be inhabitants of the
, the rest are Ashantees and Duncoes, who both
the Fantee language.

believes, the persons sold for witchcraft, undergo
vious trial, though it is secreted from the Eu-
ans.

his voyages in the Alfred, he had very few
and girls: in purchasing slaves they generally
y height, and he made a point (it was indeed
rders) not to buy any under 4 feet 4 inches:
s last voyage he was allowed to buy them as low
feet: supposes he might have had from 40 to
that description.

umb. 3. U Where

1790. Where our settlements or forts are, they are to
Part II. rably civilized, from their intercourse with the E
ropeans, at other towns they are not so much
Their natural abilities he thinks much inferior to
people of other countries; and believes they kn
nothing of morality.

P. 383. Having said that kidnapping by the natives is i
possible: his reason for it is, because it could not
done secretly, nor with impunity. It must be fo
out, either in conveying them to the water side to
shipped, or certainly after they were put on boar
from the free intercourse the traders have with
ships, it is impossible for a person so taken to
concealed long: he speaks here positively, as he
ver knew an instance of the kind. And should f
a thing be done by the first person in the coun
restitution, in his opinion, is the least punishm
which would follow; does not believe persons
ever unjustly accused with a view to be sold.

Believes that slaves are sometimes sold by t
owners through the necessities of the owner. T
P. 384. they have a right to do so, he apprehends, bec
he has known it publickly done. One of the tra
with his ship, sold him two of his household slav

The crimes which subject convicts to be sold,
believes, are principally, theft, incontinence,
others perhaps, which he cannot speak to.

He was never farther than three miles up
country on the Gold Coast.

Inhabitants did not appear to decrease in num
that this should be the case, notwithstanding
large drains continually made by the European
ders, he can account for no other way than by
prevalence of polygamy.

Believes the treatment of seamen in the slave t
to be as in other voyages: as there are men of
ferent dispositions in the African trade, as we
others, their treatment will vary accordingly.

Having said, "That they know nothing a
"the manufacture of indigo in Africa," he ref
particularly to the Gold coast.

Has purchased rice on the Windward Coast, and 1790.
on the Gold Coast; but the supply at either Part II.
was so uncertain, that he never depended much
on it, but generally carried most of his provisions P. 385.
from England.

Believes, Europeans never inquire the right per-
sons have to dispose of slaves; as it is taken for
granted they have the right.

Mr. GEORGE MILLAR, Gunner of His Majesty's
Ship Pegase.

Has been in Africa; his last voyage to Old Cala-P. 385.
in 1767, in the ship Canterbury, Capt. Parke.

Says, a quarrel happened between the people of
Old and New Town, which prevented the ships lying
in the Calabar River from being flaved. Believes in
the 1767, Capt. Parke came one evening to witness,
and told him that the two towns so quarrelling would
meet on board the different ships, and ordered him to
pick up some swords.

Next day several canoes, as Parke had before ad-
vertised him, came from both of the towns on board
the Canterbury, witness's own ship, and one of the
persons so coming on board, brought a letter, which
gave Parke, immediately on the receipt of which
P. took a hanger, and attacked one of the Old
Town people then on board, cutting him immedi-
ately on the head, arms, &c. The man fled, ran
down the steps leading to the cabin, and P. still fol-
lowing him with the hanger, darted into the boys
room. Witness is sure this circumstance can never
be effaced from his memory. From this room he P. 386.

was, however, brought up by means of a rope, when
he renewed his attack as before on the man, who,
sneaking for the entering port, leaped overboard.

This being concluded, P. left his own ship to go
on board some of the other ships then lying in the

1790. river. Soon after he was gone, a boy belonging to Part II. witness's ship, came and informed witness, that he had discovered a man concealed behind the medicine chest. Witness went and found the man. He was the person before mentioned to have brought a letter on board. On being discovered by witness he begged for mercy, intreating that he might not be delivered up to the people of New Town. He was brought on the quarter deck, where were some of the New Town people, who would have killed him had this not been prevented. The man was then ironed and conducted into the room of the men slaves.

Soon after the captain returned, and brought with him a New Town trader, named Willy Honesty. On coming on board he was informed of what had happened in his absence; believes, in the hearing of Willy Honesty, who immediately exclaimed, "Captain, if you will give me that man to cut his head, I will give you the best man in my canoe, and you shall be flaved the first ship." The captain upon this looked into Willy Honesty's canoe, picked his man, and delivered the other in his stead, when his head was immediately struck off in witness's sight.

Believes some other cruelties besides this particular act was done, because he saw blood on the starboard side of the mizen mast, though he does not recollect seeing any bodies from whence the blood might come, and others in the other ships, because he heard several muskets or pistols fired from them at the same time. This affair might last ten minutes. Remembers a four pounder fired at a canoe, but knows not if any damage was done.

P. 387. In the voyage a sickly slave got through the necessary, and in swimming bore herself higher up the water than he had ever seen any person: the circumstance being told the captain, he said, "Damn her, let her go, she is not worth picking up," something to that purpose.

Recolle

Recollects a woman slave being brought on board, 1790. |
no refused any sustenance, neither would she speak; Part II.
e was then ordered the thumb-screws, and suspended ~~~~~
the mizen rigging, and every attempt made with
e cat and those instruments they have generally on
ard; but all to no purpose. She died three or four
ys afterwards. He was told by some of the women
ves, that she said the night before she died, she
s going to her friends.

P. 333.

The death of 180 in the voyage above mentioned
s mostly by the flux, brought on he believes by
eir being so much crowded in the ship: he had
nself the care of the men slaves, and when stowed,
ere was not room to put down the point of a stick.
he ship might be between 500 and 600 tons. The
artments for the slaves were very disagreeable, it
ould not be otherwise, being so much crowded; but
ey were kept as clean as possible. The men were
enerally fettered. The slaves appeared generally
jected when brought on board.

They were frequently made to dance, or jump up
d down in their irons; if unwilling, they were fre-
ently compelled to do it by the cat.

Recollects no instances of frauds practised on the
tives.

The seamen, in the African ships in which he P. 389.
led, were very well treated.



Number IV.

A B R I D G M E N T

OF THE

MINUTES OF THE EVIDENCE,

TAKEN BEFORE A

COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE HOUSE,

TO WHOM IT WAS REFERRED TO CONSIDER OF THE

S L A V E - T R A D E,

1791.



ABRIDGMENT

OF THE

MINUTES OF THE EVIDENCE,

TAKEN BEFORE A

SELECT COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE HOUSE,

WHOM IT WAS REFERRED TO CONSIDER OF THE

SLAVE-TRADE, 1790.

NUMBER IV.

Witness Examined,—RICHARD STOREY.

Mr. Richard Storey, lieutenant in the Royal Navy, P. 3.
Having been from 1766 to 1770, on every part of the
coast from S. Leone to the river Sabon, declares,
that slaves are generally obtained by merauding par-
ties, from one village to another in the night. He
also known canoes come from a distance and carry
large numbers in the night.

P. 4.
In 1769, Captain Paterfon, of a Liverpool ship,
going off Bristol Town, set two villages at variance,
and bought prisoners, (near a dozen) from both
tribes. While resident at Bristol Town, on the W.
coast, for three months, he was in many villages, but
did not hear of any persons being carried off; on other
parts of the coast he has.

Has gone into the interior country between the P. 5.
Tau and the river Sesters; and all the nations there
alarmed from the fear of merauding parties: there
were
mb. 4. A

1791. were no wild beasts to alarm them; and the people there have informed him, that they have obtained their slaves by war; these merauding parties are considered by them as war.

- P. 6. He was twice in danger from these parties himself. In 1767 he was put into a trading long-boat of the ship; about this time a merauding party from Grand Sesters had come in canoes and attacked Grand Cora in the night, and taken off 12 or 14 of the inhabitants; soon after which, having his boat a native of Grand Sesters, the people of Grand Cora came to the boat in the river Sester and told the mate they had a slave to sell, on which he went ashore with them, leaving only Mr. Storey a boy, and the black man in the boat. In about four hours after, a canoe came on board the boat with the four men that the mate had gone with, saying, the mate was in another canoe in flight; and taking him off his guard, two of them seized him while the other two got the black man overboard. Mr. Storey freed himself, and drove the two men overboard: the mate lay all this time on shore tied neck and heels, which confinement was occasioned by his refusing either to give up the natives of Grand Sesters, or pay them the price of a slave in goods. This black man had before told of this expedition of his countrymen against Grand Cora, and often declared himself afraid to go on shore for this reason; he never gave it to be understood that there was a war at the time between Grand Sesters and Grand Cora; the only reason he assigned for the expedition was, that his own countrymen were poor. It was impossible that there could be any existing wars between these two people, as they are so league afunder; and those of Grand Cora, not having canoes to carry more than two or three men, never go to sea but to fish: the canoes of Grand Sesters carry 12 or 14 men, and with these go merauding among their neighbours. He has seen them at sea out of sight of land in the day, and taking the opportunity of night to land where they pleased.

It is his opinion that the natives are often fraudulently carried off by the Europeans: he has been told ^{1791.} them, that they have lost their friends at different times, and supposed them taken by European ships sailing along the coast. He has himself taken up cases, which were challenged by the natives, who supposed the men in them had been taken off the day before by a Dutchman.

That the natives retaliate such injuries is proved on the following facts: When lying to an anchor his boat between the river Sesters and Settra Crue, Dutch ship running down the coast sent her long-boat to where he was, to buy vegetables, &c. When he came to an anchor, a number of canoes came about ^{P. 8.} the two boats, and one of the head men of the place threatened him to go away, as they waited to take the Dutch boat and kill the crew. As a reason, they told him that a Dutch ship some days before had taken four men belonging to the place.

Afterwards, in 1768, being driven by contrary winds, in a coasting ship in which he was a passenger to the river Angra, as there appeared a prospect of peace, they staid there. The second day, two canoes with 12 or 14 men each came on board with two men aboard, to sell. Having agreed for one of them he went down for irons to put him into; but in coming up again was seized, with the master of the boat and another white man, whose throats were immediately cut. He got clear of those who seized him, but could not get upon deck. Half an hour after, being covered with wounds, and weak with the loss of blood, he proposed to give up both boat and cargo if suffered to go to Gaboon, to which they agreed, and in helping him up on deck they stripped him naked, put him into a canoe, and took him on shore to their town. The reason they gave for this was, that a ship from Liverpool (name forgotten, the captain's name Lambert) had some time before taken a canoe full of their townsmen and carried her away. He heard the same thing afterwards at Gaboon.

1791. He has been at Old Calabar, where slaves are brought down the river in war canoes, carrying upwards of 50 men armed, and a three or four pound in the bow.

P. 9. Captain Jeremiah Smith, in the London, in 1761 having a dispute with the natives of Newtown Old Calabar concerning the stated price which he was to give for slaves, for several days stopped every canoe coming down the creek from Newtown, and also fired several guns indiscriminately over the woods into the town till he brought them to his own terms.

He looks upon the natives of the Windward Coast to be in general a hospitable friendly people, always willing to sell what they have, and also to give the best provisions the country affords. The men in general are very active and industrious, and chiefly employed in fishing, and trade with the Europeans; the women chiefly in cultivating rice and other vegetables. Old men also taken by marauding parties, and not saleable, they are put into their plantations; and to this employment he believes that slaves refused by the Europeans as too old for service are commonly destined, having seen many such at this work.

On the Rice Coast, great quantities of rice are sold to the Europeans, the natives in parties of eight or ten bring it from the interior country, three or four days journey; he has known them take back sugar and other European goods in return, and has every reason to believe, that if there was nobody to purchase slaves, they would turn themselves to cultivate their ground, and raise rice, &c. to purchase European goods. The quality of African rice is far superior to that of Carolina, bearing one-fourth more water.

The natives carry on their heads from 40 to 60 lbs. and from them they go more than a month inland with various articles from the coast. I have seen parties of more than 20 together men and women employed in carrying them.

In every thing they deal in, Europeans defraud the natives, adulterate spirits with water, and then treat it with pepper, and such guns have been sold them, that he has seen many with their barrels burst and thrown away; he has also seen several natives without fingers and thumbs, blown off, as they did, by the bursting of these guns.

He has been in the West Indies, and has there at P. 11. Christopher's, and part of Grenada, seen furs as high, and higher than in Africa. At Madras in the East Indies much higher, for a longer time than on the Windward Coast, where there is no place (except here sometimes for a day or two the surf is too high,) boats are not continually loading in most places in Africa, some rocks or points of land break the surf, which is not the case in the clear and open coast of Coromandel. Goods are landed every where along the coast; he has seen them sometimes wet, but never lost. They do not use the same expedients here for loading and unloading boats that are used in the West Indies.

In his first voyage to Old Calabar the slaves attempted to rise, but did not succeed. In the year 1769, a Liverpool ship between Cape Mount and Jerusalem, had every person killed by an insurrection, except one boy.

In the ships he sailed in, the men slaves were always kept in irons during the Middle Passage. P. 12.

In the Regus, first ship he had sailed in, provisions were plenty. In the second, the Tyger of Whitehaven, the seamen in ten days after sailing were put on an allowance of 4 lb. of bread per week, and half a pound of beef or pork per day, which was the whole fare for nine months; he has but little complaint to make of ill usage against the ships in which he sailed.

Think the slave trade very unhealthy in the rivers, but not on the open coast; they buried 14 out of 28 the first voyage in Calabar river; and in the Tyger in nine months, five or six out of 28. In three voyages


1791. voyages to Virginia they buried one man; in five Baltic voyages not one; in one to the southern whale fishery none; and in two Mediterranean none. Of the three Virginia voyages, the first was 11 months the other two about seven months each. The number of men in each 16. The southern whale fishing voyage was of 11 months.

P. 13. In the Tyger the bread was tolerable, the beef and pork so salted that in boiling they shrunk to half this weight. Having once in this vessel, when handing rice to the slaves taken a handful for his own use, he was unmercifully beaten with a rope; he has known others who had done the same thing through hunger, treated for it in the same manner.

As an instance of similar ill treatment in other slave ships, he says, that lying in the Tyger at Bassau he heard the sailors of three different ships complain heavily of their provision, as being bad, and insufficient in quantity; these were, the Lancashire Witch, Captain Coil; the Lilly, Captain Scragham; and the Violet, Browne, notorious all for bad provisions and ill usage; he has seen the sailors of each unmercifully beaten for the most trifling offences, knocked down with handspikes, or any other thing that came in the Captain's or officers way that took offence at the men. One man he saw in the Lancashire Witch confined for some trifle, with an iron collar on his right leg and arm shackled, and then chained to a ring-bolt on the deck, where he remained a considerable time in this condition without any other allowance but bread and water.

Witness Examined,—JAMES TOWNE.

P. 15. Mr. James Towne, carpenter of His Majesty's ship Syren, made a voyage 1760 to the Isles de Los on board the Peggy, Captain Cuthbert Davis, about 140 or 150 tons; and another in 1767 to Grand Cape

ape Mount, in the Sally, Captain George Evans, 1791. 
above 200 tons. The first voyage he remained between seven and eight months on the coast, then a boy; the second as carpenter, staid more than six months. He was mostly on shore three months together in the first voyage; in the second, for five or six weeks at a time. Repeated ill treatment was the occasion of his being so long on shore, for having one in the trading shallop, he run away; he went to the back country among the inhabitants for some time to conceal himself, and was up the rivers and inland together, upwards of between 300 and 400 miles.

The natural productions of Africa are rice and yams in abundance, plantanes, bananas, and all other tropical fruits; plenty of camwood and elephants teeth; some tobacco, cultivated by natives who had been in England, but not yet skilfully pressed. Great quantities of sugar-cane, long pepper; bark like cinnamon; cotton in abundance, and often beautifully manufactured into cloth; a fine blue dye; beautiful woods for cabinet-makers; wax, ivory, palm-oil, palm-wine, and Indian corn.

The natives are hospitable and kind, and capable of learning quicker than white men. They differ as their own people in character, those on the coast learn to be roguish; inland they are innocent. The intercourse with Europeans has improved them in industry, to plunder and steal, and pick up one another to sell.

Slaves in Africa were never ill used by their own people, but when bought by white traders they were used rather worse there than when on board. P. 16.

He has seen both men and women cultivating the fields, but not often the women.

When a ship arrives she makes presents to the natives, to encourage them to bring any person down to sell as a slave, and they often pledge their own relations till they procure the slaves wanted. The black kings have told him, that they go to war on purpose

1791. purpose to get slaves, and he has seen the prisoners (the men bound, the women and children loose) delivered up to the white traders, or driven in gangs of two or three hundred for sale to the water side. He has known them go in gangs merauding and catching all they could. In the Galenas river he knew an instance of four blacks who took a man they had been to sell one or more slaves, plundered and stripped him naked, and brought him to the trading shallop and sold him. The people on board did not understand his language, nor imagine why he seemed so cast down as they all are, but king Battou coming on board and knowing the man, inquired the cause of his being there as a slave; he related the circumstance; a guard of grumettas, with some of Towne's people, were sent after the blacks to take them, but did not succeed. They could not make the man eat, not even by flogging; they then put him irons, and in a little time he died. He believes the slaves sometimes become so for crimes, as murder, theft, and adultery; the the last, if properly proved, is often punished with death.

P. 17. He has repeatedly heard both from the accused and accusers themselves, and he believes it common on the coast, to impute crimes falsely for the sake of having the accused person sold. One instance of a woman sold by her husband for adultery, and who he himself brought off to the boat, and from her lamentations, and by her declaration, that she knew not what she was accused of, he thinks he has reason for imagining the crime imputed falsely. Mr. Murray, formerly of Bance island, Mr. Wood, his partner, Mr. Jenkins and Mr. Power, being to the windward of Bance Island, all told him that it was not an uncommon thing to bring on palavers to make slaves, and he believes it from the information of the slaves afterwards when brought down the country and put on board the ships.

Slaves are brought from the country very distant from the coast. The king of Barra has informed him

n, that on the arrival of a ship he has gone 300 1791.
 400 miles up the country with his guard, and
 ven down 200 or 300 slaves to the sea side. From
 arraba, king of the Mundingoes, he has heard that
 ey had marched them out of the country more
 an 700 miles, that they had gone wood ranging to
 ck up every one they met with, whom they strip-
 ed naked, and if men, bound; but if women,
 ough down loose; this he had from themselves,
 d also that they often went to war with the Ballam
 ion on purpose to get slaves. They boasted that
 ey should soon have a fine parcel for the shallops,
 d the success often answered.

He was once present with part of the crew at an P. 18.
 expedition undertaken by the whites for the purpose of
 izing negroes, and joined by other boats to receive
 ose they could catch. To prevent all alarm, they
 und their mouths with oakum and handkerchiefs;
 e woman shrieked, and the men turned out in de-
 ce. He had then five tied in the boat, and the
 her boats were in readiness to take in what more
 ey could get; all his party were armed, and the
 n of the town pursued them with first a scattering,
 d at length a general fire, and several of the men
 onging to the boats, he has reason to believe,
 re killed, wounded, or taken, as he never heard
 of them afterwards. He was wounded himself.
 hat became of the other boats, he knows not, for
 knew nothing of the expedition, until ordered to
 the command of the boat, which though then he
 ough it a sport, he was afterwards sorry for having
 e. The slaves he had taken, were sold at
 Charleston, South Carolina. The natives had not
 viously committed any hostilities against any of
 the ships, whose boats were concerned in this trans-
 action; they owed goods to the captain, for which
 resolved to obtain slaves at any rate. He has had
 several shipmates, who have themselves told him,
 ey have been concerned in similar transactions, and
 umb. 4. B have

1791. have made a boast of it, and who have been wound
ed also.

The Europeans endeavour to cheat the natives
they adulterate their liquors, and in buying and
ling use different weights, to which they give
same appearance, by casing a stone and a piece
P. 19. lead alike in brass; he kept such himself, and
them in dealing for wax, teeth, &c. by order of
commanding officer, whom he has also repeated
seen do it himself.

The natives brought to the coast appear not
come on board willingly; on the contrary, they come
down with a guard, and are forced into the boats.

When on board, they are always fettered with
shackles and handcuffs, two and two, right and left.
They lie in a crowded and cramped state, having
neither their length nor breadth, in a space by no
means sufficient for their health; and such is the
suffocated state below, that he has known them
down well, and in the morning be brought up dead.
When they come on deck, they are all in a dew sweated
from the tarpawlings being laid over the gratings in
bad weather. The height between decks in the
Peggy (tonnage 140 or 150, see p. 15 at the top)
was about 4 feet, and in the Sally, 4 feet 4 inches.
The Peggy took on board about 230 negroes; the
boys room only had a platform: between 50 and 60
P. 20. of the cargo died. There were 25 seamen, he does
not recollect above 6 or 7 dying.

The Sally (better than 200 tons, p. 15, at top) had
platforms in boys and womens rooms, and the aft part
of mens. The cargo was nearly 400, of whom about
60 died. The crew consisted of 40 men, of whom
above 30 died. They were forced to get men from
other ships on the coast; out of 6 mates, not 1 lived.

Something better than a pint of water, after they
are fed, served at twice, was the daily allowance of
slave; and after being fed in the afternoon, the boat
swain taking one, and the mate the other side of the
deck, they are made to dance, and flogged with

if they do not. In fine weather they are brought 1791.
deck between eight and nine in the morning, and
t down again at four, there to remain until next
y. He has known them refuse their food in con-P. 21.
quence of being confined; ill treated, to induce
em to eat; they are flogged, and put into irons
arately; both their hands handcuffed, both legs
ckled, a collar round their neck, with a chain,
d often the thumb-screw applied, to take the stub-
rnness out of them. This was his task, and some-
es, from their ill treatment, they attempted to
mp overboard; at others, have gone mad, and
ed in that situation. They often fall sick, some-
es owing to their crowded state, but mostly to
ef, for being carried away from their country and
ends, which being very well acquainted with their
guage, he knows from frequent inquiries into the
cumstances of their grievous complaints. He has
own them attempt to rise on board, and on in-
iry into the cause, has been asked what business we
d to carry them from their country; they had wives
d children they wanted to be with. To check
em, they are put singly into irons and flogged.
e has known women with infants on board, two P. 21.
rticularly, who, when their infants died, grieved P. 22.
er them, and died themselves. Guinea captains
dom buy women with children. Has heard the
ves singing, but their songs were lamentations. A
ve kidnapped or sold, contrary to the custom of
e country, to the ships, cannot complain to the
ack traders on board, for these traders never see
e main deck, nor even speak to the women abaft,
t they might make signals to rise. When canoes
me to the ship, no slave on the main deck can
ok over the ship's side; two officers stand with
s to prevent them, and this prevents their seeking
ease. A barricado of great strength, cuts off all
ercourse between persons on the main deck and
ole in the after part of the ship; the women and
e men thus cannot see one another.

1791. When sick, in the vessels he sailed in, the negroes were put forward, which was considered the most hospital; and though sometimes medicines are given and sometimes forced down, they are in general indifferently attended, so that they often die in their own filth. They are seldom long sick before they die. Never saw one sea sick. Small attention, confinement below, and the situation of being slaves, supposes the cause of this rapid death of the first. He looks on their dying as partly due to want of attention; in one instance there was no surgeon on board.

P. 24. Mr. Towne has been in the West Indies; at Barbadoes for near a year, in 1779 and 1780; in Antigua for about 15 months, in 1780 and 1781; 2 months at St. Kitt's, in 1781; and a little while in Jamaica, in 1782. He was in many plantations at Barbadoes, particularly Mr. Gibson's and Mr. Bishop's; on Mr. Tyrrel's and Sir John Laforey's at Antigua, and on shore at St. Kitts and Jamaica. Slaves are sold in the West Indies sometimes by vendue, sometimes in lots; those of the vessels in which he was, were sold to the best bidder, and sometimes in lots; he never heard of any care taken to prevent the separation of relations and friends. Refuse slaves are such as are sickly from any cause; they are often kept on board to fatten them for sale, but if they do not recover, they are sold then to anybody, some even so low as a guinea.

P. 25. The slaves in the West Indies work from four in the morning, till very late in the evening; if they come but a moment after their time, they are flogged with whips by the drivers, to whom they must come ready stripped for their punishment, to save time. Some, though lame, are obliged to work; if they complain, they are called lazy, and flogged by the driver. Has seen slaves laid down and stretched out to four stakes in the ground, and so receiving 40 or 50 lashes. He has seen them swung up to a crane with weights at their feet to stretch them, so as to enlarge

large the wounds of the whip; men and women like. After flogging, they bring ebony switches, full of thorns, and with these flog them again, to let out the bruised blood. To encrease the severity, they use a manner of whipping, which they call crossing. They then pickle them, to keep flies from growing, and maggots from breeding in their wounds. A jumper who goes from house to house for employment, inflicts these punishments at Bridgetown, Barbadoes, and St. John's, Antigua. In the plantations, a black called the boatswain of the plantation inflicts them, under the manager's direction. The marks of former whippings he has also observed. P. 26. in a large proportion of the plantation slaves; there are in general scarce any without a number of them. They are nearly as large as a man's finger above the skin.

Mr. Bishop told him, that in his plantation, at Beight's Town, in Barbadoes, they had not bought a Guinea negro for upwards of 40 years, and that the good usage there were a great many more now there than then. Mr. Bishop told him, the encrease was due to more having been born, than had died in his estate. Knows of no encouragement given to the marriage of slaves.

Seamen are procured at Liverpool for the slave ships, by merchants clerks, who intoxicate them in publick houses, and so get them on board. The publicans also get them in their debt, and if they refuse a Guineaman, send them to gaol; the Guinea P. 27. captains are then informed, that if they want men, they may have so many, for paying these debts; and when they agree to go, they are sent on board, and never suffered to come out of the ship again; if not, they remain in a gaol on a very scanty allowance; as known many instances himself.

On board the vessels in which he sailed, seamen were treated with the greatest inhumanity, in the ggy, captain Davis; for instance, they were so soon when round the rock of Liverpool, brought to an allowance

1791. allowance of four pound of bread per week; the chests were staved and burnt, and themselves turned out from lying below. If any murmured, they were inhumanely beaten with any thing that came in the way, or flogged, both legs put in irons, and chained abaft to the pumps, and there made to work points and gaskets. The captain, as he passed by, repeatedly kicked them, and if offended at any thing they said, immediately called for a stick to beat them, and put their necks in an iron collar, with a chain. On the coast of Guinea, if not released before their arrival, they were made to row in boats back and forward, or any duty, in all their irons, and the chains locked to the boat, and at night, when returned to the ship, they were locked fast to the open deck, exposed to the heavy rain and dews, without any thing to lie on, or cover them. This was a common practice, but he adds, that not any of them died in this situation.

P. 28. On board the Sally also, where the ill treatment was general, one of the seamen had both his legs in irons, a collar on his neck, and was chained to the boat for three months, and when he complained, was often beaten most inhumanly, by both the captain and other officers. He grew at length too weak to sit and row. He was then taken on board the ship and made to pick oakum, with only three pound of bread per week, and one-half pound of salt beef per day; his legs remained in irons, but the collar was taken off the latter part of the time. One evening on the Middle Passage, coming aft to beg for something to eat, or he should die, the captain inhumanly beat him, and then ordered him to go forward and die and be damned; the man died that night.

One Edward Hilton also, being out in the boat watering, complained of being long without meat or drink, on which the boatswain beat and cut his head with the tiller. When he came on board all bloody and was telling his story to Mr. Towne, the mate (by the captain's order) with the surgeon and boatswain

vain, came forward, and beat him with canes (which they call serving out grog) the surgeon's cane struck his eye, which mortified, and was totally lost. His legs, when unable to stand, were then put in irons, and next morning he was sent in his irons, on the same duty in the boat, to which he was locked with chain, until he was unable to remain any longer; he was then taken on board, and still in irons, laid forwards, and by the surgeon's advice, his allowance was stopped. Hilton lying before the mast almost dead, and Mr. Towne having received orders to go to the shallop to Jack River, when under weigh, the commander of the shallop was ordered to bring to, take Hilton in, and to leave him on shore any where; he died early next morning. Two brothers, William and John Walker, were equally ill used.

The general provisions of the crew were three pound of bread per week, and half a pound of salt beef per day. Water they had from the gun barrel, shed to the topmast cross-trees, which every one was to take down for himself; he was himself punished for giving the barrel to another half way up.

Captain Colly, on board the Hare Snow, (as he heard from the people of the ship at different times) killed his carpenter, carpenter's mate, cook, and another man, and when the crew complained of these murders in Virginia, they were not redressed, but kept on board, or threatened with the cowskin, 39 lashes, the general punishment of Guinea seamen, who are supposed to offend. He has seen many ships, and always found the same treatment as in his own.

Captain Scrogam, of the Lilly Snow, instead of complying with the request of a sick man, who came for something to eat, ordered him to be immediately stripped, and seized to the main shrouds, with his feet clear of the deck; he then stripped him himself to the shirt, and flogged him several times with a cat, the man still hanging by his hands; when tired, he called on his officers to flog, but they refused,

1791. refused, on which he made the men slaves come on the main deck, and flog him until he was dead. The ship was then along-side the wharf of Charleston, South Carolina, where some of the crew coming on shore with the surgeon and mate, who was the captain's brother, reported the murder; the corpse being brought on shore next morning, Mr. Towne and many others, stopped and examined it, and had a coroner's inquest, which brought in a verdict of wilful murder, through the evidence of the surgeon and the captain's own brother. Lord Charles Montague, the Governor, sent officers on board to take and confine the captain in gaol, which was accordingly done, but for want of evidence he was afterwards acquitted.

He has seen sailors apparently diseased and disabled, wandering about in the West Indies, with swollen legs, which is common in Guineamen, emaciated; he has known them turned ashore by the captain, and lie upon the beach and the wharfs, where many have died, as he has seen. They are called wharfingers; none chuse to employ them for their wretched appearance, and thus they are left destitute of support. He was himself thus left on shore, without money or friends, at Charleston, South Carolina, with two others, who died. That these sailors came from the slave ships he knows, from having inquired; but without inquiry, they are easy to know, from the abject state of their appearance.

P. 31. He has repeatedly known Guinea sailors jump overboard, and even from ships he belonged to, on the Guinea coast, where sharks abounded. Some have succeeded in getting away, but on the offer of a large reward, which was afterwards charged against their wages, have been brought back by the natives and immediately punished inhumanly with iron collar and chain, and locked as before to the boat to row on the duties of the ship during the captain's pleasure, with a very scanty allowance; he has never known

own sailors jump overboard from any other than 1791.
 Ginea ships.

From the ill treatment he has seen, and the loss of such numbers on board, both the ships he belonged to, and was acquainted with, it is not his opinion that the African trade is a nursery for seamen. He knows that the treatment of sailors in the West India trade, is not similar to that in the African; they are so hard worked; they live and lie well, and are always taken great care of by the captains.

He assigns as a reason, for staving and burning the P. 32.
 gunnens chests, that it was done to clear the ships of slaves; their contents, which were wearing apparel, if no bag was found to put them in, were often thrown overboard. The seamen's bedding, as well as their chests, was thrown upon the deck, and he suffered to lie below but the captain and the crew; if caught below to sleep, they were severely punished. This was the case of the ships he sailed in both during the outward and Middle Passage.

The reason of his being left on shore at Charleston was the fear of returning to captain Evans, after having been refused to be taken on board by a king's ship, to which he, and the two others, had applied in vain; redress of grievances against captain Evans.

Being asked whether he meant to assert, that what he has said concerning West India punishments, the general practice, or only, that he has himself in the circumstances he has related, he answers, that he only meant to speak to such things as he was an eye-witness to, a number of times.

Witness examined—Mr. CLAXTON.

Mr. Claxton sailed in the Garland, Capt. Forbes, for Africa in 1788, as surgeon's mate, and there on Feb. 4. C the

1791. the Bonny Coast commenced surgeon to the York
 Hero brig, Capt. Molyneux.

- P. 33. They had 250 slaves, of whom 132 died, chiefly
 of the flux; so crowded that they could only lie on
 their sides, if they did otherwise, it created quarrels
 among them: they stowed so close, that he could not
 go among them with his shoes without danger of
 hurting them. This crowded state aggravated their
 sufferings when ill, and tended to increase the
 disorder. It was impossible to treat them with the
 necessary accommodations. The steerage and
 room insufficient to receive the sick, so greatly
 the disorder prevail, they were therefore obliged to
 place together those that were and those that were
 not diseased, and in consequence the disease
 mortality spread more and more. The captain
 treated them with more tenderness than he has been
 was usual, but the men were not humane. Some of
 the most diseased were obliged to be kept on deck
 with a sail spread for them to lie on: this, in a little
 time, became nearly covered with blood and mucus,
 which involuntarily issued from them, and therefore
 the sailors, who had the disagreeable task of cleaning
 the sail, grew angry with the slaves, and used to treat
 them inhumanly with their hands, or with a cat. The
 slaves in consequence grew fearful of committing
 involuntary action, and when they perceived they
 had done it, would immediately creep to the top of the
 and there sit straining with such violence as to produce
 a prolapsus ani, which could not be cured. The
 same punishments were inflicted for the same cause
 those who were not quite so ill.

Slaves, whose flux was accompanied with scurvy
 and such cedematous swellings of the legs as made
 it pain to move at all, were made to dance, as they
 call it, and whipped with a cat if they were
 reluctant.

The slaves both when ill and well, were frequently
 forced to eat against their inclinations. Were when

with a cat if they refused. They used other 1791.
ins still worse, and too nauseous to mention.

The parts on which their shackles are fastened are
n excoriated by the violent exercise they are
sed to take, and of this they made many grievous
complaints to him.

That slaves, when first brought on board, are com-
nly dejected, he shews by an instance of nine
purchased on his passage from Bonny to the Isle of
Ebe, who were all very much dejected: one girl
in particular, clung to the neck of her seller, and
ough only ten or twelve years old, could not be
comforted. She continued three or four days in
the situation. The whole cargo appeared more or
less afflicted on leaving their country.

Some had such an aversion to leaving their native P. 35.

pieces, that they threw themselves overboard, on an
ice, that they should get back to their own country.

The captain, in order to obviate this idea, cut off
the heads of those who died, intimating to them,
if determined to go, they must return without
r heads. The slaves were accordingly brought

to witness the operation, one man excepted, who
at length, against his will, forced up, seeing,
on deck, the carpenter standing with his hatchet
ready to strike off the head, with a violent exertion,
he got loose, and flying to the place where the nettings
had been unloosed, in order to empty the tubs, he
died himself overboard. The ship brought to,

and a man was placed on the main chain to catch
him, which he perceiving, dived under water,
and rising again at a distance from the ship, made
signs, which words cannot describe, expressive of
happiness in escaping. He then went down,

and was seen no more. A strict watch over them
was now kept, yet still they found means to elude
precaution. One of the tubs being set near where
the nettings were lashed to the bulk-head, some of

the slaves who had premeditated an escape, under P. 36.
the pretence of easing themselves, contrived, while sitting

1791. on the tubs, to unloose the lashing, so that they actually threw themselves overboard, and were lost. A third was caught when three parts over.

Once imagined an insurrection was intended. (See particulars.)

They sing, but not for their amusement. The captain ordered them to sing, and they sang songs of sorrow. Their sickness, fear of being beaten, their hunger, and the memory of their country, &c. are the usual subjects; he could even mention their words.—They generally speak the same language, but there was one man who spoke a language unknown to all the rest, which made his condition very lamentable. He never took exercise but when compelled. His situation (he believes) produced a state of insanity, and he died mad.

P. 37. The slaves had not a sufficient quantity of food owing to the extraordinary length of the passage, which was fifteen weeks. At first they did not like their food, and would not eat, but when used to it they would have eaten near twice as much as allowed them.

A considerable number of slaves died in the early part of the voyage. After eight weeks at sea, they had only got three days sail from the place they had set out from. On examination, they did not find five weeks provision on board. Two nations being at war, they could not procure food from either. A Dutch ship supplied them with a little bread, and sufficient water. The food, notwithstanding the mortality, was so little, that if ten days more at sea they should, as the captain and others said, have made the slaves walk the plank, that is, throw themselves overboard, or have eaten those slaves that died.

Fell in with the *Hero*, Wilson, which had lost, he thinks, 360 slaves by death, he is certain more than half of her cargo: learnt this from the surgeon. They had died mostly of the small-pox. Surgeon also told him, that when removed from one place to another, they left marks of their skin and blood upon

on the deck, and that it was the most horrid sight 1791.
had ever seen.

They had on board about fifty boys and girls, but P. 38.
without parents or other relations; there was one
instance of two sisters.

At Rumbie the natives apprehensive that they were
going to war with them. Did not come off the
raft for some time. Two canoes at length ventured,
and inquired if they were come to war or trade:
being told to trade, with apparent caution they at-
tempted to come on board, and asked the captain if
he had not two tongues. Captain assured them he
could not hurt them, on which one of them ven-
tered on board, declaring if the captain killed him,
those in the canoes would kill the ship's crew. The
raft followed, and convinced that trade was the ship's
object, desired that two might stay to examine the
goods; at the same time requiring two hostages,
which was complied with. He knew another instance
of the same kind.

Whilst lying off the Batteau islands he heard of P. 39.
some Europeans being cut off a little before by the
natives, and this from a person close by at the time,
as to convince him of its truth. The terror of
the natives on seeing the vessel, lest they should de-
stroy the island, afforded a proof of the fact. They
were in arms all night, which obliged the crew also
to arm.

The natives have a particular pleasure in bartering
what they have for European goods of any kind.

The slaves were sold in the West Indies in an in-
fernal state, and some that he believes were going
to die, and accordingly out of 14 of this description
only 4 lived. He apprized the seller's agent of their
condition, and his answer was, it would be best to dis-
pose of them immediately; but such as afforded
hopes of recovery, he desired to have purchased for
himself, which was done.

Witness

Witness examined—Lieutenant SIMPSON.

1791. Mr. John Simpson, lieutenant of marines, went
 P. 40. out in his Majesty's ship the Adventure, and was on
 the coast chiefly from Settra Crue to Accra, in 1788
 and 1789. From what he saw, he believes the slave
 trade is the occasion of wars among the natives.
 From those of the windward coast he understood
 that the villages were always at war, and the black
 traders and others gave as a reason for it, that the
 kings wanted slaves. If a trading canoe along-side
 the ship saw a larger canoe coming from a village
 they were at war with, they instantly fled, sometimes
 without receiving the value of their goods. On
 inquiry, he learned their reason to be, that if taken
 they would have been made slaves.

At C. Coast Castle, and other parts of the Gold
 Coast, he heard repeatedly from the black traders
 the slave-trade made wars and palavers. Mr. Quakoo,
 chaplain at C. Coast Castle, informed him, that wars
 were made in the interior parts for that sole purpose.

There are two crimes which seemed made on pur-
 pose to procure slaves, adultery and the removal of
 fetiches. As to adultery, he was warned against
 connecting himself with any woman not pointed out
 to him, for that the kings kept several who were
 sent out to allure the unwary, and that if found to
 be connected with these, he would be seized, and
 P. 41. made to pay the price of a man-slave. As to fetiches,
 consisting of pieces of wood, old pitchers, kettles,
 &c. laid in the path-ways, he was warned to avoid
 displacing them, for if he should, the natives, who
 were on the watch, would seize him, and as before,
 exact the price of a man-slave. These baits are laid
 equally for natives as Europeans, but the former are
 better acquainted with the law, and consequently
 more circumspect.

That

That the Europeans sometimes fraudulently carry off the natives on that part of the Windward Coast where there is no English factory, he believes. The repeated inquiries and disinclination of the natives to come on board the ship, till convinced she was not a slave-ship but a man of war, confirmed his opinion. When they were satisfied, they came on board readily, and in numbers. 1791.

The natives sometimes retaliate on the Europeans for such injuries. From Albion slave ship, at Settra True, learnt, that two chiefs being at variance, one of them seizing five of the other's party, had sold them to the Albion, for which that party seized three of the Albion's seamen, and would not release them without the slaves were returned.

Believes if the slave-trade were abolished, the P. 42. indolence of the natives is not such as to prevent a commerce with them in their native produce; for to his repeated inquiries what they would do were it abolished, the black traders answered, they did not care, they should soon find some other trade to live by.

Convinced the treatment of seamen on board Guinea ships is very bad. When at Fort Apollonia, the Adventurer's boat was hailed by some seamen of the Fly Guineaman, begging to be taken in the man of war, for their treatment made their lives miserable. The boat was accordingly sent to the Fly by captain Barry, and one or two men brought on board. The Albion at another time, unable to avoid the Adventure, (which she tried to do) spoke to her, and the captain brought a seaman on board, whom he wished to leave, complaining he was riotous and disorderly. The man, in every instance, proved the reverse, and from him he learned that he had been half starved and cruelly beaten, both by captain and surgeon, who neglected the seamen, saying he was only paid for attending the slaves. Also learned their allowance was increased, and their treatment better, when in sight of a man of war; which was confirmed to him by

1791. by another man from a slave ship, who had been l
 behind with a shockingly ulcerated leg, and recir
 various instances of ill treatment he had receive
 The Adventure's boat having been sent to Anamab
 P. 43. to the Spy Guineaman, returned with three men co
 cealed under her sail, who fled from the slave shi
 where they complained their treatment had ma
 their lives miserable, beaten and half starved. B
 fides these there were other instances not remen
 bered.

He never heard any complaints from West Indi
 men, or other merchant ships: on the contrary, th
 wished to avoid a man of war; whereas if the Adve
 ture had taken all who complained and offered the
 selves from the Guineamen, it must have great
 distressed the trade.

Has been in Barbadoes and Jamaica. When fir
 at Bridgetown, his impression as to the treatment
 slaves by their general appearance was trivial, the
 were natives, household servants, and their labor
 very light; but was impressed with the utmost horro
 on seeing the field slaves, some working in iron
 under the lash of an inhuman negro driver, and the
 backs in general lacerated by his blows. He never sa
 a gang without one or two of these tormentors, snap
 ping their whips, and threatening to make the
 feel them.

- P. 44. When at Cape Coast he saw slaves brought from
 the interior country, who were bought, he believe
 by the then Governor, Mr. Norris. He examine
 them, and they appeared much concerned at comin
 into the hands of Europeans. Dejection and desper
 were strongly painted on their countenances. Whe
 at Bridgetown, he saw in the poor-house 18 or 2
 seamen, from different slave ships. They related va
 rious instances of the barbarities of their late com
 manders, who had left them behind without an
 means of getting home. They seemed very muc
 emaciated, and some of them ulcerated and in
 condition in which they said neither West Indianer
 no

men of war would receive them. They had not 1791.
ly been beaten but nearly starved.

Witness examined—Doctor HARRISON, M. D.

He was above 10 years in Jamaica, from 1755 to
65, and in America from 1765 to 1778: in the P. 44.
medical line in both.

He had every possible opportunity of knowing the
condition of the slaves, seeing them in sickness, in
health, and often punished. Has been on several
year works in different parts of Jamaica, at all
seasons, for two or three weeks, sometimes only a P. 45.
few days.

The field slaves have land enough for their support,
and they time to cultivate it. They had no other
land allowed on the estates he was on, except salt
provisions at Christmas. New negroes were allowed
year's provisions, that is, till they had cultivated
their land. They had only holidays and Sundays to
work it, which was not sufficient, for they must work
their grounds after dark. Saturday afternoon was
not allowed them on any estate he knew. They
looked much better than one could expect consider-
ing their severe treatment, but, in general very in-
ferior. Believes on all estates slaves often plunder
their master's provision grounds for support. In the first
instance he knew of this, a slave was cut nearly all
to pieces for it; but after he knew the estates better, P. 46.
he heard and knew it to be frequent.

Not the least attention is paid to the religious
instruction of the slaves.

They were very badly lodged, and had no clothes
but what they get by their own extra labour, except
at Christmas, 2 frocks and 2 pair Osnaburgh trowsers
for the men, and 2 coats and 2 shifts for the women,
and some had 2 handkerchiefs for the head. In
general, their masters give them no bedding at all.

Numb. 4.

D

Some

1791. Some new negroes have a few blankets, but generally.

They were not married, nor encouraged to bring up families; the universal opinion being, that it is better and cheaper to buy than to breed. The overseers allowed complaining pregnant women to retire from work; but he has seen them labour in the field, when they seemed to have but a few weeks to go. They were generally worked as long as they were able.

P. 47. Does not think proper attention was paid to children. Thinks the labour he saw pregnant women doing, must, at some times, have injured them.

Old slaves, past labour, if they had no friends to give them necessaries, must have wanted every thing. Has seen a number of those objects on different estates.


They usually work from sun-rise to sun-set; sometimes 13 or 14 hours, including 2 hours for dinner. In crop they work night and day, without cessation.

Grass-picking, when he saw it, was always extra work, and, on some estates, was a cruel hardship.

He has always seen the driver with a whip in his hand, and sometimes exercising it severely.

The plantation punishments are severe whippings, chaining them by the neck and leg, putting heavy iron boots on their legs, and iron pothooks on their necks, and putting them in the stocks. He has often seen these punishments inflicted with what he thought capricious or severity. On an estate, Liguanee, he saw the overseer whip several old decrepid women very severely, only for not picking cotton enough. Has often seen negroes in chains, half famished, and scarcely able to walk, compelled to go into the field.

At Kingston the negroes were flogged in the gaol round the town, and on the wharfs. He thought the whippings in gaol, and round the town, too severe to be inflicted on any of the human species. He attended a man, who had been flogged in gaol for

or six weeks before he was well. It was by his 1791.
after's order, for not coming when he was called. 
e could lay two or three fingers in the wounds
m the whip. Knows of many similar instances.
e gaol and wharf whippings were by order of
e masters or mistresses, sometimes by the magis-
te, but generally the magistrate orders whipping
and the town. The punishments of soldiers (which
has very often witnessed) were generally mild,
mpared to the whipping of slaves in gaol or round
e town.

Never knew slaves had any legal protection. The
ly protection they had, was from their masters
aint any indifferent person. Formed this opinion
om a multitude of unredressed violences. Among
hers, a negro was flogged to death, by order of her
stres, who stood by to see the punishment. The
gro died a few days after.—A negro man was put
the picket so long as to cause a mortification of
s foot and hand, on suspicion of robbing his master,
publick officer, of a sum of money, which it after-
wards appeared, the master had taken himself.
et the master was privy to the punishment, and the
ve had no compensation. He was punished by
der of the master, who did not then chuse to make
known that he himself had made use of the money.
either the mistress nor master were prosecuted for P. 49.
ese acts.

A gentleman offended at a negro, named Monday,
r mimicking him, bought him. After buying
m, he ordered him to be flogged; the consequence
as, that Monday cut his own throat.

He thinks the abilities of the negroes equal to our P. 50.
vn, and their dispositions much the same. The
ee negroes are as industrious as the whites, and he
inks slavery causes the unwillingness of the others.
a general, slaves are not so good mechanicks as
hites, which he attributes to the same cause. Many
ee negroes are very good mechanicks.

1791. He has often heard slaves lament their unfortunate situation. A negro man once asked him, whether the old gentlemen of the country had not much to answer for, for not teaching them Christianity, and for treating them so cruelly as they did, allowing them to obtain their own freedom which they merited it.

A negro boy of his, detested slavery so much, that he refused all support, which brought on a drop that killed him. Another negro, who had been a great man in his own country, refused to work for any white man, and being therefore punished by the overseer, desired him to tell his master, that he would be a slave to no man. His master ordered him to be removed to another estate. His hands were tied behind him, and in going over a bridge he jumped into the water, and appeared no more. These are two facts of Dr. Harrison's own knowledge, and of a great many which he cannot now recollect.

P. 51. A slave of his told him she had been kidnapped by being put in a bag. A man who was kidnapped told him he was a great many months in travelling to the sea, that there was a traffick for slaves to sell to the whites, even beyond his country, and that kidnapping was common there.

Sales of the slaves of distressed proprietors were frequent over all the island, when families were often separated. He bought a negro woman and child out of compassion, that she might not be taken from her husband. When negroes are seized for debt the marshal takes them as he can find them, which generally leaves a part of the family on the estate, though when he chances to seize a whole family he has known them put all up in one lot; but generally part only of a family was so seized.

He has heard several overseers say, the plough would save a great deal of negro-labour, and lament that it was not used.

P. 52. General opinion favoured those overseers who made most sugar, with little or no respect to lenity; but he knew

new one overseer, remarkable for humanity, who 1791.
made more sugar with fewer hands than others did
with more. In his opinion, were slaves more en-
couraged and more humanely treated, they would do
much more work.

Slaves were certainly worse treated when their
masters were embarrassed; for their distresses ob-
liged them to work their slaves beyond their strength,
make sugars to pay their debts.

The planter's residence was of the greatest ad-
vantage to his slaves. They were always the bet-
ter used for it in every respect. It was the ge-
neral opinion, that the conduct of attorneys was often
inconsistent with the interest of non-residents, and
in many cases very injurious to them.

It is well known there, that negro women have
no security against violation, unless their masters
choose to protect them.

He never thought free negroes sufficiently pro-
tected against injuries from whites; because their
rights were not allowed, except in cases of debt.

In the outskirts of Kingston, he has always seen se- P. 53.
veral emaciated and diseased sailors, who were left on
shore by masters of Guineamen.

The Jamaica slaves were generally treated very ill,
and only individuals treated them well. In South
Carolina, the slaves were in general treated very well,
and only individuals treated them ill. In S. Caro-
lina, they were well fed, well clothed, less worked,
and never severely whipped. In Jamaica they were
badly fed, indifferently clothed, hard worked, and
severely whipped. In S. Carolina, the negroes la-
boured by task-work, which was often finished by
three or four P. M. which enabled them to work
their grounds, and to hunt and fish for themselves.
He never saw a driver with a whip, for generally
there was no occasion for it, as they worked by task.

In Doctor Harrison's opinion, as a medical man,
the climate of Jamaica is more favourable to the in-
crease of slaves than that of Carolina, notwithstand-
ing

1791. ing which disadvantage, Carolina increased in slaves while those in Jamaica decreased. Sufficient attention was not paid to the rearing of negro children even in Carolina, because they were of opinion it was cheaper to buy new negroes than to rear children.

Witness Examined,——Doctor JACKSON, Physician
Stockton-upon-Tees.

P. 54. Went to Jamaica in 1774, resided there four years chiefly at Savannah-la-Mar, where he practised medicine; his profession led him daily, eight, ten, more miles into the country; has occasionally been for a short time, at most parts of the island.

On his arrival found the condition of negroes harsh and their treatment cruel.

First thing that shocked him was, a creole lady (of some consequence) superintending the punishment of her slaves, male and female; ordering the number of lashes, and with her own hands flogging the negro driver, if he did not punish properly.

Though this the only instance he saw, believes not uncommon for women of rank thus to superintend punishments of their slaves (p. 55): that were not worse received in society for it; it might be said, "such a one is a termagant," but she was not for that less respected; it was indeed thought necessary for an industrious wife to be rigid in the punishment of her slaves.

The punishment seemed to him very severe, blood flowed at every stroke, and if the allotted quantity could not, without danger to life, be given at once the negro was put into the stocks for some days, and when a little recruited, received the rest of his flogging.

As to mode of punishing, in some cases the offender was tied and stood upright; in others more severely was stretched between four stakes, so tight that he could

uld not shrink or move; the whip, like what our 1791.
ggoners use, was thrown at the distance of three
four paces, which of course greatly increased the
ight of the lashes: for women too far advanced in
egnancy to be stretched flat on the ground, a hole
s dug in the earth to receive their bellies; this
t he never saw, but is as certain of it, as one can
of a fact he has not seen.

Thinks severe whippings sometimes occasion slave's
ath: recollects a negro dying under the lash, or
y soon after; it was generally said the negro was
led by it; no attempt to bring the person to P. 56.
tice: people said it was an unfortunate thing;
re surprized the man was not more cautious, as it
s not the first thing of the kind that had happened
him; but chiefly dwelt upon the proprietor's loss.
Has seen slaves with a leg cut off, for running
ay, he was told: law there allows owners to do

Has heard of negroes castrated for trespass on
erfeer's black mistress, of which act no account
s taken.

Never knew a negro complain to a magistrate of
master: it was understood he could not have
al redress, or if so, negroes were ignorant of it.

In general, no attention paid to the religious in-
uction of slaves. In the district where he lived,
church was never opened but for a company of
diers quartered there; nor to introduce marriage
ong them. Negro men cohabited where they
aised. White men had unrestrained intercourse P. 57.
h plantation females.

Negroes were generally esteemed a species of in-
iour beings, whom the right of purchase gave
owner a power of using at his will.

After much knowledge of them, he could not per-
ve them at all inferiour to unlettered white men
capacity. As to disposition, they possess many
siable qualities. They are charitable to all in dis-
ss; parents strongly attached to their children;
d many have given strongest proofs of gratitude
and

1791. and attachment to their masters. To mention an instance of this; during the American war, in action at the Cow Pan, a negro who was attached to him, had escaped with the fugitives of the army a distance of two or three miles; when, hearing from some soldiers that his master had been seen unhorsed, he returned to the field to search for him, and fell into the hands of the enemy.

They often complain they are an oppressed people that they suffer in this world, but expect happiness the next, whilst they denounce the vengeance of God on the white men their oppressors: if you speak to them of future punishments they say, "Why should a poor negro be punished: he does no wrong; fiery cauldrons, and such things, are reserved for white people, as punishments for the oppression of slaves."

P. 58. Were slaves well used he cannot conceive why they should not keep up their numbers: they are naturally prolific, and the islands are in general congenial to their constitutions.

The buying system was generally preferred. Suppose, they are frequently lost, from mothers being forced to work while nurses, as at other times, and becoming indifferent to rearing their children; not that they want parental affection, but hard usage and the idea of rearing children subject to cruel treatment, leads them to wish their offspring may fail. Has heard them wish them dead, or that they have never been born, rather than be forced to see them daily punished: hence also they are supposed to procure abortion, to which motive may be added, a fear in such as are handsome, to diminish their charms in the eyes of white men.

Slaves whose owners are in embarrassed circumstances are ill clothed, hard worked, and poorly fed.

P. 59. In general, he considers the hardship of negro field labour to be more in the mode, than in the quantity done. A white man in England would, doubtless, though not superiour in strength, do with ease the work

work of three negroes in the West Indies; because 1791.
the slave seeing no end to his labour, stands over the work
work, and only throws the hoe to avoid the lash, he P. 59.
appears to work without actually working.

A planter's interest well understood, would doubt-
less prevent his wearing out his slaves by excessive
labour; but, there are few in circumstances to at-
tribute to this: they look to the immediate returns of
the season only; the other is a view too distant for
the most of them.

The slaves of resident owners are generally better
treated than those of absentees.

The criterion of a manager's merit seemed to be the
increasing the number of hhds of sugar; keeping up
the stock of slaves by breeding, was not the thing
principally looked to.

Managers have almost always slaves of their own.

Field slaves have land given them, sufficient if in P. 60.
good culture, for their subsistence, and something
over to carry to market. Many are allowed to keep
breeding sows, or some poultry; in general they
have no other property.

As a medical man, is of opinion that white arti-
ficers may, and actually do, work at their trade in
the West Indies; that Europeans are, with proper
attention, equal to the ordinary field labour, without
any material injury to health; he knows from per-
sonal experience, they may safely walk 20, 30, or
more miles a day.

The mortality among the troops may be ascribed
more to want of discipline, encampments on un-
healthy spots, immoderate use of spirituous liquors,
and perhaps defects in the medical department, than
to the climate.

Did not perceive any great defect in the medical
treatment of slaves, every estate being provided with
a medical person who visits the negro hospital at P. 61.
fixed times in the week, and in extraordinary cases
gives immediate attendance when called.

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1791. The manager visiting the sick along with the surgeon, from his first entering as a book-keeper, comes equal to the treatment of slight complaints; general there is a slave on each estate who can bleed, and do other common things.

Superannuated slaves who have no relations, as he believes, often placed at the corner of a corn field and have a few plantanes weekly to keep them from dying with hunger; such of them as he has seen were, dirty and emaciated to the last degree.

What slaves have occasion to carry, they bear on their heads, and can carry great weight in this way.

Runaways are brought back by the Maroons.

P. 62. Has been in America: joined his regiment (71st) in 1778, at York Island, accompanied it to Savannah, traversed all the southern provinces with the army to York-Town, Virginia; on its surrender, passed through Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Jersey, to New-York. The negroes of America appeared to great advantage compared with those of Jamaica; their ideas were more expanded, and their bodily exertions greater.

Thrice more domesticks are kept in Jamaica than would be in England for the same work.

Witness Examined,—Capt. ROBERT ROSS.

P. 63. Captain Robert Ross was from 1762 to 1786 in Jamaica. For three years and a half he was book-keeper then on Mr. Dawkin's estate; he was in succession overseer on Mr. Morant's, Lord Dudley's, Dr. Ross's, and Mr. M'Lellan's; he then commanded a company of rangers for six years; settled a property of his own in 1775; resided on it from 1781 to 1786, when he came home.

First impression on seeing the treatment of slaves was, that they were cruelly treated, and that they might

might do their masters work with less severity, and without the whip. 1791.

Has seen a negro woman flogged with ebony lashes, so that the skin of her back was taken off down to her heels; she was then turned round and flogged from her breast down to her waist, and in consequence he saw her afterwards walking upon all-fours, and unable to get up. He also saw a negro man tied up by the wrists, naked, picketted and flogged with two whips; driver stopped for some minutes and then began again. The punishment might last an hour and a half, and was not by order of a magistrate, but privately by the overseer. At Kingston he saw a negro flogged by his master with a two inch rope, from his neck to the waistband, so that his back and body rose in lumps as big as a man's finger. He has seen several so severely flogged as to be disabled from working for days, and even weeks after.

Was acquainted with a master who cut off the ears of a slave running away, and acknowledged the crime to him. Saw the slave both before and after; and several others he has also seen with one ear cut off. He has known often severity of punishment, without bad care afterwards, occasion the death of negroes.

Law limits number of lashes to be given in private punishment to 39, but has known negroes receive 20 at a time by order of overseers, where the law would only give 39. Never knew an overseer punished for inflicting them.

Is sure they were inflicted by overseers for crimes which the law upon conviction would not have punished with death.

It is understood if a slave applied to a magistrate he could get redress for excessive punishment, or wanton cruelty on the part of his master or other white person. In towns he has frequently known them apply, but not in the country.

1791. General mode of punishing slaves in the towns
 by sending them to wharfs or workhouses, where they
 are punished at the will of their owners. In towns
 where the magistrate was nigh at hand, understand
 they gave redress to the slaves who applied as before
 for it.

P. 65.

For some years he resided near the town, but not
 in any of them, and in that period he has known
 many instances of severity. Numbers carried to the
 wharfs at various times.

Instances of extreme severity already stated were
 at that time practised in the country. Generality of
 the field-negroes in every place were more or less
 marked with the whip.

Has known many negroes on their first arrival, finding
 themselves to be slaves, destroy themselves; and some
 also on seeing their fellow-creatures punished. They
 often run away too for fear of the whip, and of be-
 ing flogged for neglect of duty. The overseers are
 frequently turned out of place for overwhipping
 when complaint is made to the master or magistrate
 and therefore the overseers are now more lenient in
 their punishments than formerly.

Overseers also are more attentive now to keeping
 up the stock of slaves by breeding than formerly.
 P. 66. Except Lord Dudley's estate, he knows of none
 which were not obliged to buy slaves.

There has been a considerable increase of slaves
 on the estate of Messrs. Muir and Atkinson, and of
 Mr. Malcolm's estate, where the overseers have
 taken great care of the slaves both old and young
 and studied constantly to promote their master's inter-
 est. These the only instances of the kind he knows.

A negro can have no redress for punishment from
 a magistrate. What induced him to say that a slave
 could obtain legal redress was, that a negro who was
 flogged at the wharf at Kingston, and afterwards was
 so beaten about the head, that his eye was knocked
 out, and lay upon his cheek, said that he would go
 shew his eye to Mr. French, who kept a negro wench
 and

and had therefore a great attachment to slaves; but 1791.
to having redress from Mr. French as a magistrate,
never understood he had any.

Does not know if the person who beat out the
slave's eye was his owner or only one hired by him.

dozen white persons were present at the time.
Does not know that the man was ever called to an P. 67.
court for it.

There is a law in Jamaica forbidding owners at
the time and for one crime, to give more than 39
lashes to a slave, and if sufficient evidence were pro-
duced he has no doubt that the transgressor might be
called to an account by a magistrate, but the evi-
dence of a negro is not good against a white man.

He has seen overseers give above 200 lashes, and
afterwards flog slaves about the head and shoulders
with a cow skin; he never heard of one being called
to account for it before a magistrate.

He saw Mr. John Shackle a magistrate in Jamaica
flog a negro three times in one day; at breakfast
time; dinner time; and at six in the evening. The
negro was in the stocks between the floggings. No
public notice was taken of it.

As to persons commonly reputed to have mur-
dered negroes—

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He had hanged a negro on a post close to his house, P. 68.
and in three years destroyed 40 out of 60 by severity.

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He has known slaves severely punished, then put
into the stocks, a cattle chain of 60 lb. or 70 lb.
weight put on them, and a large collar about their
necks, and a weight of 56 lb. fastened to the chain
when they were drove afield. They often die in a few
days of their severe punishments, for having but little
food,

1791. food, and little care, to keep the fores clear after the whipping, their death is often the consequence.

Has known negroes flogged as unwilling to work, who were in fact sick and unable to work, they could not work for many weeks after, and the cause was often want of food.

Where there are many negroes the work must be lighter, but it depends on the lenity of overseers.

P. 69. Bought 59 African negroes, but was never forced to buy any one he did not like, with a view of not separating relatives.

Witness Examined,—Mr. HENRY COOR, of Settle, Yorkshire, Gent.

P. 69. Was in Jamaica 15 years, ending 1774, as a millwright, chiefly in Westmoreland, but did business in three other parishes.

After he had been near 18 months there, he had 16 or 20 slaves under his direction. Had about 20 of his own, whom he made mill-wrights and carpenters, among Mr. Beckford's negroes. After they learnt their business, he became partner with one David Thomas, who superintended his Mr. (Coor's) slaves, with a few of his own.

P. 70. Had great opportunities of observing field-negroes' treatment: was on several estates daily, and had people constantly working there. Generally breakfasted, and often dined with overseers, and saw all their actions as much as any man possibly could. Overseers setting slaves to work, in the morning, was mostly attended with loud peels of whipping. Observed when overseers came early to the field, slaves who came afterwards were sure of whipping over the clothes. Breeches for the men, and petticoats for the women, generally of coarse linen. In this case, a few steps before they join the gang, they throw down the hoe, clap both hands on their heads, and

d patiently take 10 to 15, or 20 lashes: but those 1791.
who could not stand without shrinking, were sure to
be stretched on the ground, or held by four of their
fellows, till they had received their compliment.
This slight whipping, as it is generally called, is car-
ried on, more or less, all day. In a gang of about 100,
there are generally four or five black drivers, with each a
whip; and in most fields, one or two white drivers who
have only sticks to lean on, while they stand along
the line, and direct the black drivers to touch up those
they think remiss. About eight o'clock the over-
seer goes to breakfast, and if he has any criminals at
home, he orders a black driver to follow him; for
it is then usual to take such out of the stocks, and flog
them before the overseer's house. The method ge-
nerally is this: the delinquent is stripped and tied on
a ladder, his legs to the sides, and his arms above
his head, and, sometimes a rope is tied round his
middle. The driver whips him on the bare skin, and
when the overseer thinks he does not lay it on hard
enough, he sometimes knocks him down, with his
open hand, or makes him change places with the de-
linquent, and be severely whipped. Has known
many receive on the ladder, from 100 to 150 lashes,
and some two cool hundreds, as they are generally
called. Has known many returned to confinement,
and, in 1, 2, or three days, brought to the ladder,
and receive the same complement, or thereabouts,
as before. They seldom take them off the ladder,
till all the skin, from the hams to the small of the
back, appears only raw flesh and blood, and then
they wash the parts with salt pickle. This appeared
to him, from the convulsions it occasioned, more
cruel than the whipping; but was done to prevent
mortification. Has known many, after such whip-
ping, sent to the field, under a guard, and worked
all day, with no food but what their friends might
give them, out of their own poor pittance. He has
known them returned to the stocks at night, and
worked next day, successively. This cruel whip-
ping,

1791. ping, hard working, and starving, has, to his knowledge, made many commit suicide. Remembers slaves, who, from bad treatment, rebelled on a Sunday, ran into the woods, and all cut their throats together. He could relate several other instances (p. 74.) He has been often a juryman in such cases and remembers no other verdict given than "Fe de se," and except once, never knew it opposed and that was a slave on William's Field estate, who was whipped by order of the overseer, and afterwards beaten by him most inhumanly with a stick over his head. The negro told him he had broken his arm, which he held up to ward off the blow.
- P. 72. yet he kept on beating him, till the man sprang off and next morning was found hanging to a tree. An eye-witness declared, in evidence, he believed the negro's arm was broke, and that this cruel treatment made him kill himself. A doctor agreed the arm was much swelled, but could not say it was broke. After a long canvas, the verdict was, as usual, for murder. The Gold Coast negroes, when driven to despair, by harsh usage, always cut their throats and those of the most inland country, mostly harm themselves.

Once, when dining with an overseer, an old woman, who had run away a few days, was brought home, with her hands tied behind. After dinner the overseer, with a clerk, named Bakewell, took the woman, thus tied, to the hot house, a place for the sick, and where the stocks are in one of the rooms. Mr. Coor went to work in the mill about 100 yards off, and hearing a most distressful cry from the house, he asked his men, who, and what it was, they said they thought it was old Quasheba. About 10 o'clock the noise ceased, and about the time he was leaving work, Bakewell came to him, apparently in great spirits, and said, "Well, Mr. Coor, old Quasheba is dead. We took her to the stocks room; the overseer threw a rope over the beam; I was the jack ketch, and hauled her up, till her feet were

off the ground. The overseer locked the door, 1791. and took the key with him, until I now returned with a slave into the stocks, and found her dead." P. 73. Mr. C. said, "You have killed her; I heard her cry all the afternoon." He answered, "D—n her for an old b—h, she was good for nothing, what signifies killing such an old woman as her." Mr. C. said, "Bakewell, you shock me," and left him. The next morning, his men told him, they had helped to bury her; so here it rested, till another affair brought it on the carpet. The poultry wiper, a girl about 11 or 12 years of age, brought the overseer a young duck that had died, to clear herself of having killed it; that not satisfying him, he beat her very severely himself, and then forced her to eat up the duck guts, feathers and all, threatening her with 5 times as much beating, if she did not. The girl thinking more would kill her, tore and eat every bit of it. In the evening she complained to her mother, who went, at night, and complained to Mr. Beckford's attorney, of that and other cruelties of the overseer; and for one, the story of Quasheba, referring for proof of all, to Mr. Beckford, who was all the time on the estate. The attorney sent for him, Mr. C. to wait on him next morning, which he did, and told him old Quasheba's story, as related. He was very angry at him, asking how he could see his master's slaves murdered without telling him (the attorney) of it. He said it was not his business to tell him, but such cruelties were so common on the estates, that he had thought no more of it. The overseer suffered no legal punishment. The attorney appeared very angry with him, at the time, but all was settled, and he went on as usual for about half a year, when he was dismissed, Mr. C. cannot exactly say for what. He thought the treatment by the overseers in general, very severe. He did not think this severe necessary, for many substantial reasons he could give.

1791. give. He proved it himself from ocular demonstration.

P. 87. One George White, kept up so sharp a discipline over a gang of slaves, which fell under his (Coor) care afterwards, that he generally flogged them very severely for the smallest faults, so that he reduced them both in their persons and faculties. They were never without sores, from his cruelty. The floggings quite disabled them from using the little leisure they had in working their grounds, which was their chief support. Hence they became poor both in body and property, and subject to theft, which was mostly attributed to want; for their sores from beating made them unwilling to stir, when at leisure. When these slaves came under him (Mr. Coor) he used them kindly, excused small faults, promised rewards for good behaviour; such as allowing them time to work their grounds. His first care was to see them make a good use of this time; but afterwards found their grounds thriving, he had little more to do; and in a few months, from a poor, scabbed, ill-looking, dispirited gang, they became fat, sleek, lively, and worked as cheerfully as ever he saw workmen in England; and he could have done more work with them, in one-third less time, than White could have done with all the force of the whip. Good treatment changed their very morals: he could have trusted them with any thing. Being a lieutenant, he was once ordered out after outlaws, by the colonel, who gave him leave to chuse a serjeant's guard of the white militia; he told the colonel, if he pleased (Mr. Coor) would arm his slaves for that duty, which he did, and found as much fidelity in the slaves as he could have expected in Englishmen. They pitched their tents round his, saying, they would die, sooner than he should be hurt. Those slaves were under his care 13½ years, during which he never flogged one of them. They would have been more ashamed of a small tap, with a supple jack from his hand, than of 100 lashes from their former master.

P. 88.

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They were grateful in the highest degree. On Sun- 1791.
 day, they often would bring him a fowl, as a present, and
 and never killed a hog, but they saved some choice
 part for him. He could mention a variety of other
 instances of their gratitude and affection to him.

An estate, at which he did business at times, in his
 neighbourhood, belonging to a Mr. Dunn, was a
 small one when he first went there, not from want of
 land, but of negroes. It then made about 50 hhds.
 of sugar. He worked his slaves moderately, and his
 wife took great care of the sick, lying-in women and
 children, who seemed to swarm on this estate, and
 he never heard any complaint of the locked jaw there.

To Mr. C's knowledge, in a few years, this estate
 doubled its produce, and before he, Mr. C. left Ja-
 maica, he had settled another thriving estate, under
 his eldest son, which then made about 60 hhds. and
 all, to the best of his knowledge, had arisen out of
 the small stock of slaves before-mentioned, except
 a few new negroes bought. He could not but have

known it, had more been bought. A neighbour-
 ing estate to this, whose situation was far superior for
 health and ease in getting provisions, yet perpetually
 increased in slaves, owing, in his, and other peoples
 opinions, to inhuman treatment. The owner, who
 managed it himself, very often, to Mr. C's know-
 ledge, bought 20, 30, or 40 new slaves at a lot, and,
 about 10 or 11 years, the estate was very much
 reduced, both in produce and negroes; so that from
 good circumstances, his credit was in that time re-
 duced to a very low ebb, which, he verily believes,
 arose from ill-treating his slaves. It would be to no
 purpose to tell the particulars. Some instances of
 his capricious cruelties are too bad to relate.

He has always thought the rearing of children well
 worth the planter's notice; but so inattentive did he
 always find them to it, that he has heard overseers
 say, they would far rather the children should die
 than live; nor did he ever see any proper prepara-
 tion for the reception of them. The sides of the

1791. huts they are born in, are no more defence against the cold night damps, than one of our pasture hedges. Bedding they have none, but a board or bafs mat. When the child is born, the midwife asks the overseer for something for the woman; a bottle of rum and 2 or 3 pound of salt beef, which does well enough, for they seldom fail to recover. But they never put the infant to the mother's breast, till 10 days be over, for which time a woman out of the field nurses it, who probably has a child 2, 3, or 4 months old. Here he submits to medical men, what effect the milk of a woman, hardly wrought and poorly fed, under a vertical sun, would have on a tender infant. They mostly die convulsed, generally about the 8th day. This want of care is most lamentable, not only from humanity, but interest, for if they survive the 8th day, they mostly do well, and he very seldom remembered any dying, from the 8th day to the 8th year. What convinces him farther, that it is for want of care, is, because, where they have warm houses, kind treatment, and the child set to the mother's breast, he very seldom knew any die; and it was neither labour nor expence to raise them, after the fatal 8th day was over. It is his firm opinion, that with kind and judicious treatment of the infants, the slaves in Jamaica will increase, without any importations from Africa.

It was more overseers object to work slaves out and trust for African supplies, than work them moderately, and keep them up by breeding; for he has heard many say, "I have made my employer 20, 30, or 40 more hhds. per year than my predecessors;" and though I have killed 30 or 40 negroes per year more, yet the produce has been more than adequate to the loss."

P. 91. The slaves can expect no redress, but from the attorney. Many of them have commissions on the produce, and, if they give ear to the slaves complaints, the overseer will tell them he will leave the estate. If he makes great crops, Mr. C. has often observed

observed the attorney wink at his pressing the slaves 1791.
perform more work than human nature could bear. ~~~~~

Most of the field slaves are marked with the whip, not only Africans, but creoles. Has known many very well disposed creole negroes, that have had heals from their hams up to the small of their backs; but this is nothing thought of, as it is so common.

It is natural to think that slaves will suffer from their master's being in debt; for they are generally hard worked, and ill clothed and fed. He could mention, as instances, 2 or 3 neighbouring estates.

Domesticks are very often treated ill, without redress, from their master's caprice. He has heard many say, they would rather be under the field hard-work, than in the house. He boarded about 6 months P. 91. with a doctor, who used his field-slaves ill, but he daily saw how his domesticks were treated. He made no more of knocking down his waiting-boy, than if he had been a piece of wood, for what Mr. C. thought no fault at all. Two house-wenchs were treated the same way. One of them having broken a plate, or spilt a cup of tea, he nailed her ear to a post. Mr. C. remonstrated in vain. They went to bed and left her there; in the morning she was gone, having torn the head of the nail through her ear. He was soon brought back, and when he came to breakfast, he found she had been very severely whipped by the doctor, who, in his fury, clipt both her ears off close to her head, with a pair of large scissors, and she was set to pick seeds out of cotton, among 3 or 4 more, emaciated by his cruelties, until they were fit for nothing else. This girl never applied for legal redress. The negroes generally thought they could have no redress, but from their masters or attorneys. He believes no more notice was taken of the deed, than if he had cut off his dog's ears. Thinks some magistrates could hardly miss knowing it; for several visited at the doctors. The girl waited at table with her ears off.

He

1791. He never knew a field slave have more than breeding sow and a few poultry, and thinks it impossible for such to get any property. Never knew even tradesmen possess any thing, though they had more opportunities of accumulating than a field slave.

P. 93. Slaves were forced to carry from their ground whatever they could spare from the bread of the family, to buy salt provisions for all the week. One negro would carry about 4 bits worth, more or less according to the varying market price, which they lay out in eatables or clothes; for, in general, they had only 5 yards of cloth, worth about seven-pence or seven-pence half-penny per yard.

Slaves were fed many ways, but the most common was, depending on their little grounds. The poorer, who never had spirits or ability to cultivate their own, depended on some one of the plantation slaves, for whom they worked all the little time they were allowed. Does not speak of new negroes; for they are generally distributed to the plantation slaves, who have the best grounds, under whom they work all the little time they are excused from their master's business. They have land, which overseers think they should bring into some order, while under the said negroes; but too often, from quarrels with the master slaves, they are turned out of doors before their grounds are in perfection, and obliged to steal

P. 94. or beg. Thinks this the greatest reason why there are so many bad slaves. Slaves land, wherever he has been, is quite sufficient; but they have not time to work it.

Dead mules, horses, cows, &c. were all buried under inspection of a white man. Had they been buried, the negroes would have dug them up in the night, to eat them through hunger. It was generally said to be done, to prevent the negroes from eating them, lest it should breed disorders.

On Shrewsbury estate, the overseer sent for a slave and in talking with him, he hastily struck him on the

head with a small hanger, and gave him two 1791.
os about the waist. The slave said, "Overseer, you have killed me." He pushed him out of the
zza. The slave went home and died that night.
was buried, and no more said about it. Mr. C's
se was on this estate, near the overseer's house.
out 6 months after, the overseer moved thence,
Anchovie-Bottom estate, why, Mr. C. cannot tell;
t knows it was not for this. This was about
70. He was called a very valuable overseer, as
worked the slaves hard, and made great crops of
ear. It was generally believed he had killed 2
re at Anchovie-Bottom; as a proof of this,—it
ing whispered, among the neighbours, that these
o made three slaves he had killed, and it being
oked upon then, that the killing of three slaves
s capital, he thought proper to go privately away,
d Mr. C. never heard more of him. A. Mr. Foot,
(an inferior attorney under Mr. Herring) Mr. C. is P. 95.
ear, knew the particulars of the first-mentioned
urder, having often talked with him on that, and
ny similar subjects; but knows not, if Mr. Foot
d it to Mr. Herring. He never heard of the least
tempt to bring the overseer to justice; but has
ard Mr. Foot say, he was a very good overseer,
t a d——d wicked dog when drunk. Mr. C. is
etty clear he was drunk when he did that deed.
The slaves allowed food, in Jamaica, was mostly
rings. He has known about 2 barrels among
o, 150, or 160 slaves, at a time; about once a
nth or six weeks; and he is clear, that every
nmon man's share, was very seldom above 7 or 8
rings. The field-negroes had no other allow-
e; and sometimes he has seen herrings so rotten,
o have been measured out, all mashed up like a
ridge.
He bought 6 boys and 2 girls from a Guinea ship.
took a slave with him to interpret, and who
ed the slaves he bought, if they had had the yaws.
ey all told him they had, their skin being then
very

1791. very clean and black; but in 6 weeks or two months they all broke out violently with the yaws. They then spoke a little English, and he asked them, if they had not the yaws in their country. They said yes; but when they came near buccra country, the buccra on board rubbed them with something that made their skin clean. He has known several Guineamen in port 2 or 3 weeks, before declaring sale, or allowing any inhabitant to go on board (which they never allow, until they have declared sale) and it was always reported, that this delay was to get the slaves in proper trim for sale.
- P. 96. Jobbing gangs were increasing much when he left Jamaica. Every overseer or white man, who had money or credit, bought new negroes to job them out. He could have had £14 per cent. for his money, in that way, and have had it insured; but masters that work them themselves in that way, make much more.

Epidemicks are much more fatal to poor and ill fed, than to well fed, hearty slaves. But one fatal epidemick (a flux) prevailed while he was there. It attacked all ranks of whites and blacks; and it was generally poor, ill fed negroes, that died of it. Few well fed negroes died of it, and not one white person.

On some estates, the negroes provision grounds are close at hand; on others tolerably near; but he knows several, where they were 4 or five miles off.

Always observed negroes, who had grounds in tolerable order, work with great pleasure; but those who were turned into them only covered with woods and bushes, had very ill heart to begin upon them, and generally were obliged to spend that time they should have laid out upon their grounds, in working under some other negro, for present support.

- P. 97. Has often known the different offices of overseer, doctor and attorney, on an estate, filled by the same person.

Runaway

Runaway slaves never take refuge among the Ma- 1790.
sons; for these are a check on them. They have
3 per head for taking them, and a shilling for every
mile they bring them.

On one estate, most of the slaves were christened
and instructed by a person sent from Europe, and
they were always the best disposed slaves in that
neighbourhood; but on no other estates did he ever
hear such a thing named. Of a number of slaves
brought from Guadaloupe, one family was bought by
a neighbour of his, and the doctor told him, the
father of that family had prayers in his house night
and morning. He does not remember the estate,
where the slaves were instructed, buying any new
slaves, and they were always very strong handed.
He was very well acquainted with the whole gang,
and he took care of their mills, &c. for most of the
time he was there.

Promiscuous intercourse was very common, both
among the slaves, and between the white men and
negro women. There was no restriction. It was the
greatest disgrace for a white man, not to cohabit
with some woman or other. No attempts were made
to induce the men slaves to restrict themselves to one
woman. It was not considered any way disadvan-
tageous to an estate, for the men to have 1, 2, 3, or
more wives, according as they could maintain them with
the produce of their little spots of ground. The
negroes wives were not at all secure from the at-
tempts of the overseer or book-keepers; for though
a man might know of his wife having lain with the
overseer or book-keeper, he dared not resent it,
either to her or to them, for if he did, he would
ensure of a very smart flogging for it, though prob-
ably on some other pretext.

In Boston, Rhode-Island, New-York, New-Jer-
sey, and Pennsylvania, the slaves are treated much
like farmers servants in England, and he saw them
try on their masters business just in the same way.
Where a master had 3, 4, or more slaves, one of
Numb. 4. G them

1791. them was mostly a leading man. He has often conversed with such head man on farming, ploughing &c. and always found him very intelligent.

Thinks a great deal of his evidence has tended to shew, that the behaviour of the negroes generally correspond with their treatment.

At his first going to the island, a common flogging would put him in a tremble, so that he did not feel right for the rest of the day; but by degrees it became so habitual, that he thought no more of seeing a black man's head cut off, than he should now think of a butcher cutting off the head of a calf.

Witness examined—JOHN GILES,

Near Hay, Brecknockshire, — Farmer.

P. 74. Was in Montserrat from 1757 to 1762; in Grenada 1763; in Grenada 1764, and part 1765; in America rest of 1765; in St. Croix from 1766 to 1772; in England 1773; in St. Croix 1774 to 1778.

His first impression in the West Indies was, that slaves were cruelly treated, severely punished for trifling offences, and not sufficiently fed.

P. 75. He arrived in crop time; there was then no food allowed, except a furnace of horse-beans or potatoes daily boiled for the weaker part of the gang. Out of crop, the allowance was from four to six pints of horse-beans, rice, or Indian corn, and four to five herrings weekly, to each slave.

A great deal of land allowed them, but no time to cultivate it, except Sunday; when they were obliged to pick large bundles of grass, morning and night; many too, watched the works in rotation; no other day was allowed in lieu of the time lost to them on these occasions.

Picking of grass is ever a great hardship, particularly in dry seasons: they are forced to do it on wet days.

ays, in the time allowed for dinner, and after 1791.
un-set.

Has often known slaves steal from hunger.

Knows of no care taken to instruct slaves, or induce them to marry.

Their capacity is good; and their disposition better than might be expected from persons so untutored.

Severe treatment is no ways necessary. On two estates where he lived, the increase of the slaves, under a milder treatment, exceeded decrease by one per cent. There was also more work done, as they did not run away as on other estates, where treated ill. P. 76.

The slaves were very inhumanly treated on the estate he lived on in Montserrat: the field gang was not assorted as to strength, the weak slaves being forced to work as much as the strong.

Recollects several shocking instances of punishment here; in particular, the driver, at day-break, once informed the overseer, that one, of 4 or 5 negroes, chained, in a dungeon, would not rise: he accompanied overseer to the dungeon, who set the others that were in the chain to drag him out, and not rising when out, he ordered a bundle of cane trash to be put round him, and set fire to. As he still did not rise, he had a small folding iron heated, and thrust between his teeth. As the man did not rise, he had the chain taken off, and sent him to the hospital, where he languished some days, and died. Though the owner resided on the estate, never heard that he condemned this conduct, which if he had, (Mr. G.) must have knew it. He could, if necessary, relate several other instances. The overseer, far from being punished, or called to account for his action, was always in great favour with his masters. Slaves often ran away, and when retaken were punished by severe whippings, by chains, by very hard work, and often not released from the chain till, being so emaciated, they were in danger of dying. The deaths exceeded the births more than two to one. The estate did not prosper, the gentle-

1791. man was almost ruined by it. The mortality was chiefly among the grown field slaves, by their being hard worked, cruelly punished, and sparingly fed.

Thinks the slaves were often so fatigued by the labour of the week, as scarcely to be capable of working their own ground on Sunday.

The marks of the whip were to be seen on almost all the weaker part of the gang, from forcing them to keep up with the rest.

Pregnant women punished, but not very severely.

When slaves were so old as to be past labour, their owners did not feed them.

Negroes might be managed with comparative ease were their temper and disposition attended to. The business might then be done in a better manner, and without such frequent flogging.

Never heard that slaves had any protection from ill usage from owners, or those under them.

Never knew one planter interfere with the treatment of the slaves of another.

Never heard any thing of the locked jaw. They had children die sometimes; but neither overseer nor doctor interfered; they were left to old women, the midwives.

The treatment in Grenada was exactly similar to that in Montserrat; he saw no difference.

The merit of a manager was estimated by the quantity of crops produced on the estate.

A manager of Grenada told him of a great cruelty he had committed. Several negroes and mules had died on the estate; an old woman was suspected of having poisoned them. He, (Mr. G.) asked the manager if they had not given her up to the law who said no, they had taken a shorter method with her. They made a bit of a thatched hut, put her into it, with some combustibles, and burnt her to death. The manager was not discharged for this. He thinks he told him it was done by the owner's desire. It was not told him as a secret.

Never

Never heard of any care taken at African sales to 1791.
prevent the separation of relations.

Never knew pains taken to improve mode of cul P. 80.
ivation, or implements of husbandry, except in that
of cutting cane tops by a machine. Plough might
be applied with great effect in these two islands in
easing the labour of slaves.

Slaves in St. Croix were better used than in either
of the two British islands, but not so well as they
ought, were the planters attentive to their interest;
and if properly treated, believes their increase would
be general throughout the islands.

Never heard that the slaves had any protection
there.

Planters there reside on their estates, and do not
live so extravagantly as in the English islands.

Recollects an instance of the effects of treatment of
slaves. Where he was manager, the slaves were
forced to be up at two in the morning, at a time
when canes were cutting, on 80 acres of a rising
ground, which, from a want of mules, they were
also obliged to carry half a mile upon their heads.
This year the slaves decreased. He prevailed on the
owner to buy six mules more against next crop; that
and the following year the slaves increased one per
cent. Was perfectly convinced that the decrease and
increase spoke to, was in consequence of the difference
of labour.

Never heard talk of the Code Noir while in Grande
Terre: if it had been usual for slaves to be any way
relieved by it, they would have sought redress for
the very severe usage of a man who was his partner
in a distillery: the commanders, to whom he was
very obnoxious, would certainly have taken cogni-
zance of his conduct to his slaves, had it been usual
to do so.

Thinks one half of the domestics of the planters
of Montserrat and Grenada unnecessary.

The Chief Judge at Montserrat was the Honourable
John

1791. John Dyer. Grenada, while he was there, was under military law.

The judges were planters—not, he believes, bred to the law—removable at the King's pleasure.

Witness examined—MATTHEW TERRY,

Of Askrig, Yorkshire, Land Surveyor.

P. 82. Was four years in Dominique as book-keeper and overseer, one at Tobago as a land-surveyor, in the King's service, and seven in Grenada, ending in 1781, as a colony surveyor.

His trade gave him full opportunity of observing the treatment of slaves. They appeared in general to be used with great severity; believes they generally understood that the law restricted the number of lashes to 39; but this was not in the least observed; has seen it broken repeatedly; never knew any redress obtained. It was usual to rub their backs with brine after severe punishments.

In his time one Thochard, a French planter, in Grenada, was generally supposed to treat his slaves very cruelly, and for trivial offences to cut off their ears and legs, and otherwise mutilate them. Heard of no attempt to punish him. Saw upon his estate two men-slaves with wooden legs.

The greatest property he ever knew a field slave possess was two pigs, and a little poultry. The slave has not the means of getting much property, (p. 85).

Little or no attention was paid to the breeding of slaves; child-bearing, and consequent loss of labour, was matter of regret to planters; little or no difference in the punishments of pregnant females and others. The planters appeared to prefer increasing their crop to increasing their slaves, (p. 85) to depend upon African supplies, and desirous to have as many males as possible.

Very

Very considerable losses were common among the newly imported Africans. One-third die within the first year. Of a lot of six, bought by himself, two died within the first year, and at the end of five years two only survived. 1791.

Suicide is common, particularly among the Ebos. Never heard of an instance of it among creole slaves. The latter are more industrious, being inured to it from their infancy. P. 85.

Seldom run away. Insurrections are confined to Africans.

Never knew a slave buy his freedom.

No allowance of grain or flour given to any but new negroes. Has known a bunch of plantanes (sufficient for a week's allowance) given to each negro once or twice a year. P. 86.

Many managers possess slaves of their own.

Land surveying is exceedingly laborious in the West Indies; he pursued it for 7 years without injury to his health: has often seen mill-wrights at work in the sun, whose health did not suffer. There are also white blacksmiths and coopers there, but the latter only direct negroes working under them.

Witness examined—Capt. HALL, of the Royal Navy.

Was at Barbadoes and the Leeward islands from 1769 to 1773, and from 1780 to 1782 at those places, and at Jamaica and St. Domingo. P. 99.


The treatment of negroes on the B. islands appeared to him tolerable in the towns; on the plantations rather inhuman. Punishments inflicted were very shocking to persons not used to see them: much more so than on board a man of war. The field slaves he has seen (a great many) were generally marked with the whip.

In cases of ill treatment by their masters, it was generally understood, they could not obtain redress; against

1791. against others, their master assisted them. That the
 P. 100. severe system was not necessary, nor for the master's
 interest, he is confident, from the good effects he
 has seen result from a lenient treatment in the French
 islands: for instance, the Marquis de Rouvray was
 particularly attentive to population, and the good
 treatment of his slaves at St. Domingo: they were
 never hard pressed in their work: he suffered no
 improper intercourse between the males and females,
 every man had his own wife, and no white was suf-
 fered to disjoin that union: the parties were punish-
 ed for separating without cause.

Hospitals were built for the sick and pregnant
 the latter, when far advanced, were taken in there
 and employed in trifling work to the time of deli-
 very. Here they might remain separated from their
 husbands, and excused from field labour, till the
 child could be supported without the mother's help
 or when their strength would permit, return with the
 child to their husbands, and take the chance of work.
 In consequence, the Marquis had not for some years
 occasion to buy negroes. Having, however, left his
 estate to the care of a nephew, upon his return, after
 an absence of two years, instead of the happiness
 that reigned when he left it, he found nothing but
 misery and discontent; the whites had seized upon
 the pretty women; their husbands through discontent
 ran away; and the labour falling heavier upon the
 rest, they became discontented, and their work
 badly carried on; so that it cost him two years be-
 fore he could re-establish order. It was a pleasure
 to walk through this estate, for the slaves used to
 look up to him as a father.

In the British islands breeding not thought desira-
 ble: they rather thought it a misfortune to have
 pregnant women, or even young slaves. They
 esteemed the charge of rearing a child to maturity,
 more troublesome, and greater, than buying a slave
 fit for work; and it was not uncommon for them to
 give away a child of two years old, as you would a
 puppy

uppy from a litter. Has heard an overseer, of some 1791.
consequence, express this opinion. It was, in fact, 
his system to prevent population, as far as in his
power; and he understood this to be a general
system.

So little care was taken of infants, that mothers
deemed it a misfortune to have children. After the
month, they were sent to field labour, with their
child upon their back, and so little time afforded
them to attend to its wants, that he has seen a wo-
man seated to give suck to her child, roused from
that situation by a severe blow from the cart whip.

Domestic slaves, from their general good treat-
ment, were understood to increase.

Believes, that slaves suffered from the owner's
absence, because it was the business of the overseer,
or his own credit, to make as much sugar as possi-
ble; to do this, he must work the slaves to the ut-
most: it being no concern of his whether they died
or not.

Knows, from an instance which fell under his
eye, that the slave's death may be occasioned by
severe punishment, and the master not be called to
legal account.

As to the slave-trade being a nursery for seamen,
he conceives it to be quite the reverse.

In taking men out of merchant-ships for the
King's service, he has from the crew of a Guinea-
man, 70, been able to select only 30, who could be
brought fit to serve in any ship of war, and when
those were surveyed, he was reprimanded for bring-
ing such men into the service, who were more likely
to breed distempers, than be of use; and this was
at a time when they were so much wanted, that
almost any thing would have been taken, viz. in
1782, when they had not men to man the prizes
taken on the 12th of April. The instance related
was not a particular case, he found it generally so;
having had many opportunities between 1769 and
Numb. 4. H 1773

1791. 1773 of seeing the great distresses of crews of Guine ships, when in the West Indies.

Has great reason to believe, that in no trade are seamen so badly treated; from their always flying to men of war for redress, and whenever they come within reach; whereas men from West Indies and other trades seldom apply to a ship of war.

As to peculiar modes of punishment adopted in Guineamen, he once saw a man chained by the neck in the main-top of a slave-ship, when passing under the stern of his Majesty's ship the Crescent, in Kingston-bay, St. Vincents; and was told by part of the crew, taken out of the ship at their own request, that the man had been there 120 days.

Is clearly of opinion, that white men might do the lighter field work, without injury to their health, as seamen go through very heavy work there unhurt.

Witness examined—Capt. GILES, of the
19th Regiment of Foot.

P. 103. Was in Barbodoes, Antigua, St. Lucia, and Jamaica, from June 1782 to April 1790, except about 15 months in England.

Thought the treatment of slaves generally severe. Field slaves in general marked with the whip.

P. 104. Punishment by whipping (though fewer lashes given) more severe and cruel than that of the army because of the size of the whip.

Had once an opportunity of observing the treatment of a jobbing gang, which he thought beyond what human nature could support for any length of time, because their allowance of food, (which he daily saw) was not equal to support them, and this he understood to be generally the case. This gang had the same respite at noon as plantation negroes, but as some of them would eat their week's allowance in 3 or 4 days, they were obliged to carry wood and

and water, between twelve and two o'clock, for the 1791.
 soldiers, for which they were paid in provisions.
 Has understood it to be calculated, that a jobbing
 gang, lasting for seven years, would bring a profit
 to the owner.

He had no opportunity of seeing that superan-
 uated slaves were not properly taken care of by their
 owners.

Can speak to the inefficiency of laws to protect P. 105.
 slaves against the ill usage of their masters or other
 white persons. Was told by a planter, that he once
 heard one of his own negroes was killed by his
 overseer. He had the body taken up, and there was
 found upon it some chains or fetters (p. 106.) but
 the overseer could not be punished for want of a
 white evidence.

A free woman, and her two children, were claimed
 by a person in Jamaica, as his property, who confined
 them, in order to sell them to the Spaniards. He,
 (Capt. G.) heard of the circumstance, and interfered,
 knowing the person could have no claim either to
 the woman or her children. She, with her husband,
 had joined the royal army in South Carolina: he
 worked in one of the public departments as a car-
 penter, and a driver, and she laboured upon the
 lines at the quarter-house camp.

After two trials at the Surry assizes, Kingston, the
 woman and her children were liberated; which must
 have been the case at the first, had black evidence
 been admitted; of which he could have produced
 people bred upon the same estate, and neighbour-
 hood, who also had free tickets from the Governor,
 Sir A. C.

Without his interference believes this woman and
 children must have been sold as slaves, because none on
 the island so well knew the circumstances as himself.
 Another case, previous to this, was that of a woman
 claimed by a person in Jamaica, who, supported by
 Major Nesbit, of the 19th regiment, was also rescued
 from slavery, after a trial at the Surry assizes.

1791. Once saw, in Jamaica, a negro mason with a wooden leg, at work: upon asking the white people who superintended the work, how he had lost his leg, was answered, that it was for no good, for the fellow used to run away for months at a time.

The slaves situation and treatment will vary according to the disposition and circumstances of the owner; for on one or two estates in the neighbourhood of his station, the slaves were well treated, they appeared much happier than on several others adjoining; (consequently he imagines better fed.) Thinks none of these stole to supply their wants, as was frequently the case with other gangs in the neighbourhood.

Saw the negroes go weekly to market, a distance of 14 or 15 miles.

Witness examined—JOHN TERRY, of Askrig,
Yorkshire.

P. 107. Was in Grenada from 1776 to 1790. First 7 or 8 years an overseer, then a manager.

Thought the slaves treatment very bad; it hurt him much at first; in time became more inured to it.

Has known slaves punished by managers severely for trifling faults; durst not complain to owner, for fear of worse treatment; has known them punished for so doing by owner, and sent back, though their

P. 108. complaint was just. Field slaves usually bear marks of the whip. Never heard that a slave complained to a magistrate of his owner, manager, overseer, or attorney.

Has known the same person both attorney, manager, and doctor, on one estate.

Never knew a planter or manager interfere with another's treatment of his slaves.

Has

Has known estates, where slaves were worse fed 1791.
and clothed than on others; in consequence, were
great thieves; eat also putrid carcases. Food is the
general object of theft among slaves, and at the
hazard of their lives.

Picking of grass a considerable addition to their
labour. Done at dinner-time, and after sun-set. P. 109.

An overseer, on the estate where he was, (Mr.
Coghlan) threw a slave into the boiling cane juice,
who died in four days. He was not punished other-
wise than by replacing the slave, and being dismissed
the service. Was told of this by the owner's son,
the carpenter, and many slaves on the estate. Has
heard it often.

Has known entertainments given among negroes;
some of which might cost a thirty-six shilling piece,
but such were very rare, (p. 110.)

A field slave in favourable circumstances, (he does
not mean the commonality) may earn about six bits
a week: he has known them so poor as not to be
able to buy poultry. Never heard of a field negro
buying his freedom, (p. 110.)

Slaves were not allowed to keep sheep on any P. 110.
estate he knew. On some they might keep two or
three goats, but very few allowed it. Some keep a
few pigs, and poultry, if able to buy any.

While a manager, he never received any direc-
tions about attention to pregnant women or children.
Has heard managers say, it was cheaper to buy
African slaves than to breed: that they wished the
children to die, for they lost much of the mother's
work during their infancy.

The best recommendation of a manager was, that
he made the most sugar.

On the estates he knew, the sexes were about
equal.

Of imported Africans, women have the best chance P. 111.
for life.

On the estates he knew, more men died than
women.

Never

1791. Never knew any children die of the locked-jaw.
 Free negroes were generally as well-behaved as others in the same rank of society. Those who had learnt a trade, worked as journeymen with white masters: those who had not, went a fishing, by which they earned more than by field work.

The driver's whip is a severe instrument, and will bring blood through the breeches. Twenty stripes severely laid on the bare breech, may unfit a man for work for two or three days.

The opinion in Grenada, upon passing the last slave act there, was, that it never would have the intended effect.

P. 112. Did not observe it make any difference, except in the half-days in the week.

The clergymen of the parish where he resided, never performed the duty the act imposed on them.

Never heard of any complaints against them for non-performance of it.

Witness examined—JOHN BOWMAN,

Clerk to a Ship-Builder of Whitehaven.

P. 112. Was in the African employ, from 1765 to 1776, mostly on the Windward Coast, as third, second, and chief mate. Sent up the country as a trading mate to buy slaves, ivory, and cam-wood; a distance of 20 to 40 or 50 miles, in the rivers Scaffus, S. Leone, Junk, within the rocks of Grand Bassau, and Little Cape Mount River.

Was eight months as a factor at the head of S. Leone; and 17 to 18 months at that of the R. Scaffus. Traded in a boat at Junk, Grand Bassau, and Little Cape Mount Rivers.

P. 113. Having settled at the head of Scaffus with 10 slaves money, he informed the King, and others, that he was come to reside as a trader, his orders being

being to supply them with powder and ball, and encourage them to go to war. They answered they would go to war in two or three days: by that time they came to the factory, said they were going to war, and wanted powder, ball, rum, and tobacco. They were dressed in some kind of skins, with large caps, and their faces painted white, to make them look dreadful. They asked for a drink of rum, which when given them, they went off to the number of 25 or 30. After six or seven days some of P. 114. them returned with two women, and a girl, 6 or 7 years old.

They said they had got these in a small town which they surprised in the night, that others had got off, but they expected the rest of the party would bring them in, in 2 or 3 days. When these arrived, they brought with them two men whom he knew, and had traded with. Upon questioning them, discovered the women he had bought, to be their wives. Both men and women informed him that the war-men had taken them while asleep.

The war-men used to go out once or twice in 8 P. 115. or 10 days, while he was at Scaffus; it was their constant way of getting slaves, he believed, because they always came to the factory before setting out, and demanded powder, ball, gunflints, and small shot; also rum, tobacco, and a few other articles. When supplied, they blew the horn, made the war cry, and set off. If they met with no slaves, they would bring him some ivory, cam-wood, &c. Sometimes he accompanied them a mile or so, and once joined the party, anxious to know by what means they obtained the slaves. Having travelled all day, they came to a small river, when he was told they had but a little way further to go; after crossing which, they delayed till dark. When they had got over, (about the middle of the night) he was afraid to go further, and asked the king's son to leave him in guard of 4 men. In half an hour he heard the war cry, by which he understood they had reached a town;

1791. town; in about half an hour more they returned bringing 25 to 30 men, women, and children, some at the breast. At this time he saw the town in flames. When they had re-crossed the river, it was just day-light, and they reached Scaffus about mid-day. The prisoners were carried to different parts of the town. They are usually brought in with strings around their necks, and some have their hands tied across. Never saw any slaves there who had been convicted of crimes.

Has been called up in the night to see fires, and told by the town's people, that it was war carrying on.

Whatever rivers he has traded in, he has usually passed burnt and deserted villages, and learned from the natives in the boat with him, that war had been there, and the natives taken and carried to the ships.

He has also seen such upon the coast: while trading at Grand Buffau, he went ashore with four black traders to the town a mile off. In the way, there was a town deserted, only 2 or 3 houses standing which seemed to have been a large one from two fine plantations of rice. A little further on, they came to another village in much the same state. Was told the first town was taken by war, there being many ships then lying at Buffau: the people of the other had moved higher up in the country, for fear of the white men. In passing along to the traders' town saw several deserted, destroyed, they said, by war, and the people taken out and sold.

Slaves were obtained in the same manner in those rivers where he traded on the Windward Coast.

The inhabitants of all these places subsist on rice, yams, cassada, fowls, deer, fish, and an animal called tomboer. They raise more rice, &c. than they consume, and dispose of the surplus to such ships as may be lying in the rivers, sending it down in large canoes. While at Scaffus, he gave frequent orders for goods from S. Leone, which he desired might be sent up by these periocas, having found the men

men good and honest. Provisions of every kind 1791.
were abundant in the town. Has seen countrymen
carrying baskets of 40 or 50 lb. weight of rice, be-
sides fowls, eggs, &c. which he has bought in ex-
change for tobacco and beads.

The natives appeared to be industrious, and dis-
posed to trade in their native produce. Believes
they would have cultivated more ground, if a greater
supply had been wanted by the shipping. When
asked, they have said they would like to trade with
good white men in their own produce, and would
soon make more plantations of rice.

When under Captain Strangeways, the ship then P. 119.
lying in the river S. Leone, at White-man's bay,
ready to sail, he was ordered down from the factory,
all the ship's company being then dead but five)
and the captain, who sent him on shore to invite
two traders on board. They came, and were shewn
into the cabin. Meantime people were employed in
setting the sails, it being almost night, and the land
breeze making down the river. When they had
weighed anchor, and got out to sea, the witness was
called down by the captain, who, pointing to the
oil cask, desired him to look into it, and see what a
fine prize he had got. To his surprise, he saw lying
fast asleep the two men who had come on board with
him, the captain having made them drunk, and con-
cealed them there. When they awoke, they were sent
upon deck, ironed, and put forward among the other
aves. On arrival at Antigua, they were sold.

The natives were afraid to come along-side of a P. 120.
vessel when under sail.

Frauds were practised by Europeans in the articles
they traded in with the natives; such as in rum, by
mixing it; in powder kegs, seemingly large, but hold-
ing only a little; in false steelyards and weights.

The natives, where he resided, were friendly and
hospitable; just and punctual in their dealings.

When he began to settle at the river Scaffus, there
were only four or five houses there, and about 25

Numb. 4.

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people,

1791. people, so that he was doubtful if he could do it to advantage: but informing the king, that a white man was come to trade with them, was told that strangers would come and settle there. In the course of a few days, several people came and built houses, and the town increased fast, (p. 121.) So that there might be 40 to 50 houses, and 120 to 130 inhabitants when he left it.

P. 121. Has been in Jamaica, Antigua, Grenada, St. Vincent's, Dominique, and Barbadoes, in most of which he has seen Guinea seamen lying about in an ulcerated abject state, without means of support.

Witness examined, — JOHN DOUGLAS, Boatswain of the Ruffel Man of War.

P. 121. Sailed to Africa in 1771, in the Warwick-Castle slave ship. Only one voyage in the trade; because he could not bear with the filthiness and disagreeableness of the voyage.

Seamen were well used in his ship; not suffered to lodge between decks when the slaves were on board.

P. 122. Lost 7 out of 53. Had plenty of provisions.

Had reason to believe that the crews of other ships on the coast, were neither so well fed, nor treated because boats from the Gregson, and others, which he cannot mention, came often aboard, and the seamen begged much for provisions.

As to the ways in which slaves are procured when ashore at Bonny Point, he saw a young woman come out of the wood to the water-side to bathe; soon after, two men came from the wood, seized her, bound and beat her, for making resistance, and bringing her to him, desired him to put her on board, which he did; the captain's orders were, when any body brought down slaves, instantly to put them on to the ship.

When

When a ship arrives at Bonny, the king sends his 1791.
 war canoes up the rivers, where they surprize all they
 can lay hold of. They had a young man on board,
 who was thus captured, with his father, mother, and
 three sisters. The young man afterwards in Jamaica
 having learnt English, told him the story, and said it
 was a common practice.

War canoes always armed.

P. 123.

Slaves sent in the king's canoes, came openly in
 the day, others in the evening, with one or two
 pound, lying in the boat's bottom, covered with
 mats.

Near Cape Coast, the natives make smoke as a sig-
 nal for trade; they saw the smoke and stood in shore,
 which brought off many canoes; pipes, tobacco, and
 brandy, were got on deck, to entice them on board;
 the gratings were unlaidd, the slave-room cleared, and
 every preparation made to seize them; two only
 could be prevailed on to come up the ship's side,
 who stood in the main chains, but on the seamens
 approaching them, they jumped off, and the canoes
 all made for shore.

The Gregson's people, while at Bonny, informed
 them, that in running down the coast, they had kid-
 napped 32. He saw slaves on board that ship when
 he came in; and it is not customary for vessels bound
 to Bonny, to stop and trade by the way.

Does not think slaves are much subject to sea-
 sickness.

Has been in the West Indies in the king's and
 merchants service, from 1766 to 1782.

Has frequently seen Guinea seamen lying or wan-
 dering about the streets and wharfs, mostly in Ja-
 maica, in a diseased and miserable condition: they
 were called wharfingers; it was on the north-side of
 the island he has seen the most; many of whom were
 not capable of walking to Kingston for relief.

Recollects to have seen 3 funerals of Guinea slaves
 in the West Indies, at which they sing and are mer-

1791. ry; and naming the deceased, they say, he is going
home to Guinea.

Witness examined,—Major General TOTTENHAM.

P. 125. Went out to the West Indies in 1779, with four regiments under his command. Was about 26 months in Barbadoes, and sometime at St. Lucia, St. Kitt's, and St. Eustatius.

Thinks the slaves in Barbadoes were treated with the greatest cruelty. Cannot judge of the other islands, from his short stay there.

All the punishments he saw were remarkably severe. Was at a planter's house, when the jumper came. Heard him ask the master, if he had any commands for him. He said, no. Jumper then asked the mistress, who replied, yes. She directed him to take out two very decent women, who attended at table, and to give each of them a dozen. General T. expostulated with her, but in vain. They were taken out to the publick parade, and he had the curiosity to go with them. The jumper carried a long whip, like our waggoners. He ordered one of the women to turn her back, and to take up her clothes entirely, and he gave her a dozen on the

P. 126. breech. Every stroke brought flesh from her. She behaved with astonishing fortitude. After the punishment, she, according to custom, curtsied and thanked him. The other had the same punishment, and behaved in the same way. About 3 weeks before the hurricane, he saw a youth, about 19, walking in the streets, in a most deplorable situation, intirely naked, and an iron collar about his neck, with five long, projecting spikes. His body, before and behind his breech, belly and thighs, were almost cut to pieces, and with running sores all over them, and you might put your fingers in some of the wheals. He could not sit down, owing to his breech being in
a state

state of mortification; and it was impossible for him to lie down, from the projection of the prongs. The boy came to the general, and asked relief. He was shocked at his appearance, and asked him what he had done to suffer such punishment, and who inflicted it. He said it was his master, who lived about 2 miles from town; and that, as he could not work, he would give him nothing to eat.

There were very few slaves that did not bear the marks of the whip. If severely laid on, they retain the marks many years. There is no comparison at all, between plantation and regimental punishments, the former being so much more severe. Military only cut the skin, the others cut out the flesh.

The field negroes were treated more like brutes, than the human species. The house negroes are clothed and better fed.

Slaves in general appeared very ill fed. Was informed, each slave for 24 hours had a pint of grain, which he boiled; and sometimes half a rotten herding, when to be had. When unfit for the whites, they were bought up by the planters for the slaves.

There was no care taken of slaves superannuated and past labour. They are turned adrift, and obliged to live by plunder. He has seen them himself. An old woman, past labour, told him she was set adrift by her master, to shift for herself. He saw her about 3 days after, lying dead in the same place.

No attention at all seemed to be paid to keeping up the stock by breeding. On the contrary, he believes many discouraged it. He saw but a very small proportion of children.

He has seen the women at work with the hoe, and their naked infants lying on the ground, close by them.

In 1780, a Dutch Guineaman was taken, and brought to Barbadoes. He thinks they had about 170 slaves. He attended most of their sales, and observed a number of the sick slaves in an adjoining yard. Those that were not very ill, were put into huts,

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P. 127.

1791. huts, and those that were worse, were left in the yard to die, for nobody gave them any thing to eat or drink. Some of them lived 3 days in that state.

The free-negroes seemed very industrious. The greatest misfortune of all negroes is, that they are left in darkness. He observed a vast difference between the negroes at St. Lucia and any others, owing to the attention of the priests, who instructed them in religion and morality.

P. 128. He has seen a great many English seamen in great distress, in Barbadoes; for the captains often set them ashore to shift for themselves. He cannot say from what ships they came; but only from merchantmen. In St. Lucia, while in our hands, he saw several English seamen lying in the same state.

There was no sort of pains taken to prevent promiscuous intercourse, not even with domesticks, waiting on their mistresses.

Is very positive the impression on his mind, of the treatment of slaves, was made at the time, and on the spot; for he repeatedly told the people of Bridgetown, that he hoped to live to see the unfortunate situation of those poor wretches, taken up by some member of parliament; that, should such an event take place, he should look upon it as his duty to offer a voluntary declaration of what he knew of the matter.

He thinks a present abolition of the slave trade, would be attended with very serious consequences; but, if those unfortunate beings were not left to the tyranny of their cruel masters, but were instructed in morality, and their increase encouraged, and they were rewarded for good behaviour, he thinks that, at a future period, the slave trade would die away of itself.

Witness examined, — ROBERT FORSTER, of Heblethwaite, Yorkshire.

Was in every British island, except Jamaica, in all ^{1791.} about 6 years, ending 1778. The first 4 years apprentice in a store in St. John's, Antigua; the rest ^{P. 129.} of the time a midshipman and second master, and pilot of the king's brig, Endeavour.

He lived among the town slaves, and often went to collect debts, and visit managers in the country. When in the king's ship, he spent much time among them, having known them before.

The general impression on his mind was, that slaves were severely treated, and in a low, depressed state.

In Antigua, the common allowance was, 7 pints of corn, or horse-beans, for able negroes, with about 3 or 4 herrings weekly; occasionally a little salt, sometimes rum, but not very common. Their work is hard. The bell calls them to it at day-break, and they work till sun-set; have 2 hours at noon; but in their hours of rest, grass is expected. They are treated never as fellow-creatures, but merely as property, and are severely punished for slight offences.

They are allowed a few yards square of ground; but only Sundays to cultivate it, except a few, who had Saturday afternoon.

The plough might be advantageously used, and ^{P. 130.} though perhaps not wholly to supercede the hoe, yet might ease the negroes of many difficult parts of their manual labour. The grinding of their corn at night, by hand, was, in crop, a great hardship: they might be much relieved by some trifling mechanism applied in the sugar-mill, and in many other cases. In general, they seem to have no idea of improvements to ease their slaves. Understood it a general opinion, that if negroes were not constantly kept at hard labour, they would become unruly.

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1791. The instrument of punishment cuts their flesh, and leaves indelible marks.

No attention at all was paid to marriage. It did not appear to him, that they attended as much to the rearing of children, as we do to the rearing of calves. He has known exceptions. A widow Sherington was left in debt, with 5 or 6 negroes, who by kind treatment, increased, in 15 or 20 years, to 15, or more. He knows several such instances. As to estates, on the whole of Col. Farley's plantations they had no need of new negroes. He has heard him say, there was a considerable increase on one particularly. A Mr. Tho. Gravener's negroes also increased. He knew captain Thomason, of Sea-cow-bay, Tortola, who has wanted no new negroes for many years.

Little or no attention was paid to instructing slaves in religion. He believes none at all by the established clergy. Where instruction has been attempted, as it has on several Antigua estates, by Moravian missionaries, the advantage was evident in their manners and behaviour.

P. 131. Those were not thought the most flourishing estates, which bought the most new negroes. It was exactly the reverse.

He never knew, or heard, of a field-negro buying his freedom.

Domesticks have much less work than field-negroes; but their situation, in some respects, is perhaps harder; for, being under the hand of capricious, passionate masters and mistresses, they are often punished, not only corporally, but with numberless teasing and mortifications; nor are they so regularly fed. He never knew them allowed above one-half bit a day; and he believes some are often driven to

P. 132. theft or prostitution, by want. The women domesticks are expected to dress neatly, and, having no clothes from their owners, they must use indirect means to get them. They are not often whipped publicly; but their private whippings are very severe,

ere, and he has known a creole woman drop hot sealing-wax on a wench's back, after a flogging. He, and many others, saw a young woman of fortune and character, flog a negro man very severely with her own hands. Many similar instances he could relate, if necessary; they are almost innumerable. He has been speaking chiefly of town domesticks.

Slaves have no legal protection at all against their masters, for any injury short of murder. A little before he arrived in Antigua, one Patrick, a huckster, whom he knew, murdered a woman slave, with circumstances of the most atrocious and savage barbarity. He was tried, convicted, and fined. He was universally blamed, but was dealt with as usual. Slaves have no mode of getting redress from daily injuries of whites, nor their owners; and even sometimes their owners cannot get redress for them. A negro woman was drowned by some seamen of the favourite sloop of war. A negro man was knocked on the head and drowned, for stealing a piece of beef, alongside a merchantman, at St. John's. These facts were well known, but no inquiry made.

He has known negroes, but not many, turned drift by their owners, when past labour.

Negroes are liable to be taken for their master's debts, and are confined in a close, disagreeable dungeon, till sold. No regard paid, that he remembers, to selling families together. Saw a family of mulattoes and blacks sold at vendue, and sent to different islands. They discovered great sorrow at being separated.

African negroes shewed the most extravagant joy at their friends funerals, from believing the deceased one back to their country.

He has seen many of those deplorable objects, Guinea seamen, particularly on the beach at Roseau, Dominique. When the Endeavour was at Grenada, there were 7 Guinea seamen, exceedingly emaciated and full of sores, who complained much of their Numb. 4.

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1791. ill usage in the voyage. In a few months, they re-
 covered so much, as scarcely to be known for the
 P. 134. same men. Captains of men of war sometimes take
 them, to recover their wages, but generally do not
 keep them, for fear of infection. Such seamen in
 Antigua, are called wharfingers, and in Dominique
 scow-bankers.

He lived at Lancaster, when slave-ships were fitted
 out there. From their ill treatment, and the small
 numbers that returned, the young men were dis-
 couraged from entering on that service, and they
 were obliged to take some ships to Liverpool to man
 them.

The lives of a prodigious number of negroes were
 carelessly and impolitically sacrificed in clearing the
 lee side of Dominique, for sugar estates. He recol-
 lects one planter there who bought 30 new negroes
 and lost them all within the year.

P. 135. Negro porters, who pay their owners a weekly
 sum, having no fixed rates, endure great imposition
 and hardships. If, on being offered too little for
 their work, they remonstrate, they are very often
 beaten, and receive nothing: and should they refuse
 the next call, from the same person, they are liable
 to be summoned before a magistrate, and punished
 on the parade, for refusal, and he has known them so
 punished. Negroes that bring grass to town to sell
 have often their grass taken away, without pay, and
 sometimes with a beating. The indignities the ne-
 groes receive in markets, from white sailors and
 others, are frequent, vexatious, and severe.

Witness Examined,—Capt. JOHN SAMUEL SMITH, of
 the Royal Navy.

Was in the West Indies in 1772, 1777, and 1778,
 for above a year altogether.

Had several opportunities of observing the treat-
 ment

ment of plantation-slaves, from meeting with an old schoolfellow, a manager, who introduced him to many other managers. 1791.

First impression was that slaves were treated more like beasts than the human species. The mode of punishment generally was, a negro stretched on his belly, on the ground, a man at each hand and leg; the punishment inflicted by a negro with a long whip, tapering from the size of one's thumb, to a small ash. At every stroke a piece of flesh was drawn out, and that with much unconcern to the director of the punishment.

Grass picking and theft, the most frequent causes of punishment. Some were punished for not getting so much grass as others, and that at a time when he thought it impossible for them to get half the quantity, having been on the spot. The grass is generally picked after their day's work. His idea is, they seldom leave work till sun-set, let the distance be what it may; and they are obliged to pick grass all the way home.

The plantation-slaves were very generally marked with the whip. The only instance to the contrary, what he shall speak to on a Grenada estate. P. 137.

It by no means appeared to him, or to be generally understood, that slaves could get legal redress for ill usage by their masters, or other whites. A slave who paid his master for leave to work for himself, and kept a shop and slaves under him, was employed on a job, by a gentleman of property; on being displeased with the man, he sent for him and punished him publickly, and the slave had no redress. This he has no doubt often happens. He has heard of many instances of the like.

Has heard of many cases of slaves suffering from their master's bad circumstances, and has heard it often observed, "If you want to know a proprietor's circumstances, look at his slaves."

Thinks a planter's residence a necessary check on managers, and it was generally understood so. Has

1791. seen managers particularly attentive to their own stock and slaves, which he thinks they could not have done had the owner been there. This difference of usage must doubtless cause much jealousy to the field-slaves. Has often seen more food given to managers slaves; and it is commonly observed, that it is easy to know the manager's slaves from the owner's, from their better appearance. Has reason

P. 138. to believe managers often favour their own slaves in labour, and other particulars, especially in grass picking, as he has often seen; and he has no doubt but the grass is generally appropriated to the manager more than the owner. Managers never employ their own slaves for this purpose. The keeping stock is generally a part of the manager's income, and he has no doubt it is fed at the proprietor's expense.

Planters never appeared careful to keep up their slaves by breeding. Has seen instances which convinced him that managers attended more to the increase of their own slaves. The managers seemed generally prosperous, and that often when the owners seemed to be going behind hand.

It never appeared to him that any attempts were made to check promiscuous intercourse, and to introduce regular domestick habits. He has often known where people from the ships visited managers, and had opportunities given by them of selecting women for their private ends: nor were the wives of negroes secure from the whites on the estates. He has known complaints made of the overseer having infringed in that particular, against the woman's will, without redress.

P. 139. Has seen many slaves neglected, who were aged and past labour. On observing to the inhabitants the state of such objects, he has been told, that building hospitals for them would be endless, as slaves would bring complaints on themselves to leave the estate.

It was understood a common practice, and he himself has known instances of women, in respectable stations, standing by to see their slaves punished. 1791.

Always considered negroes as keen, sensible, well-disposed people, when their habits were not vitiated by cruel usage.

Never thought it necessary to treat them so severely, having seen an instance where the reverse usage produced a good effect, and which he often mentioned to managers whom he saw acting differently. Was answered it might be practised in particular cases, but it would be impossible to get the work done, were it general. The manager, in that one instance, told him that more work was done than on estates where the treatment was otherwise. HeP. 140. does not remember asking if the pairing of the slaves was attended to on that estate; but he saw religion the first object of the manager, which he thought had a very good effect.

Believes slaves, if used ill, dare not complain to an attorney except in atrocious cases. Firmly believes, the opinion of the slaves is, that the attorney and manager are one and the same, with respect to understanding each other.

Never saw balls or dances among field-slaves; but often among house-slaves.

On the whole, it by no means appeared to him, that the state of slaves could bear any comparison with that of peasants here. He always considered them as treated and spoken of as cattle.

Has often been employed to board Guineamen to impress men; and though he supposes he may have boarded near 20 vessels, at times, he never could get more than two men, who turned out such inhuman fellows, that they were forced to dismiss them, though good seamen. But the chief reason of his not getting men was, the fear of infection, having seen many of them ulcerated very much, and otherwise disordered; and though often solicited by them, and told, that if he did not receive them, they would be sent ashore and

1790. and left behind. To be applied to, by seamen, in any other trade, to be taken out of their own ships into His Majesty's, is so uncommon as seldom or never to happen.

Witness examined—Mr. WILLIAM DUNCAN.

P. 141. Was in Antigua from Jan. 1785 to July 1789, as clerk in a store six or eight months; as overseer for about two years and a half; the rest of the time, kept store for himself.

First impression was, that slaves looked very poorly and ill treated.

The usual allowance of plantation-slaves is a gallon of Indian corn or horse beans weekly, with sometimes two herrings; at other times, 24 lb. of yams and a little salt.


The negroes, on the estate he was on, which were 162, had only six or seven acres among them, of but indifferent land. They had Sunday to work it, and sometimes Saturday afternoon, out of crop.

Negroes appear in the best condition rather towards the end of crop. At other times, look ill fed. He should suppose they are driven by hunger to theft. They usually steal provisions, at the risk of being cut and beat by the watchmen.

P. 142. Thinks about fourteen pence sterling the utmost sum which an industrious field-negro can earn for himself in a week. He never knew such have any considerable property, nor heard of a field-slave buying his freedom.

Very seldom knew entertainments given by the negroes. Thinks about six dollars might be the utmost cost of such as he has seen.

Thinks provisions allowed by masters, and that which slaves raise in their own grounds, are, in general, insufficient to support them and their families properly

properly and comfortably. He has often heard them ^{1791.} complain for want of food. 

He thought the plantation-slaves cruelly treated, and not sufficiently attended to.

The pregnant women, on the estate where he lived, P. 143. did little work after they were four months gone with child; came out at eight o'clock and went home by four; if wet came not out at all. At times the women work a little, and their children are left with old women, in the field. They are allowed to suckle them. On a neighbouring estate, the usage of pregnant women was the same: cannot say as to others.

He looks on the work generally required of field-slaves as laborious, according to their strength to perform it.

Sometimes slaves have 39 lashes, sometimes they are confined with chains and collars; and sometimes with iron boots on their ancles. Their whippings are severe, sometimes wantonly inflicted, and, at other times, disproportionate to the offences. Many negroes bear about them the marks of the whip. He has seen a negro so cut, that he could not lie on his back or sit down.

He knew of no protection which slaves had against ill usage from their owners, or managers, or overseers. The owner was liable to be punished for murdering his slave. He knew a white man, in in-P. 144. different circumstances, who was fined 100l. currency, and imprisoned 12 months, for murdering his negro boy.

Relates an instance of a slave unjustly beaten by an intoxicated manager. Though laid up in consequence of it some months, he got no redress.

He has known the same man doctor and attorney, and manager and attorney.

The opinion was, that a creole negro, by the time he was fit to work, cost more than one from Africa.

The treatment on the estate he lived on was better than common. The effect was that they increased. Also the slaves on Sir G. Thomas's Belfast estate, and Carlisle's,

1791. Carlisle's, and several others he cannot name, increased, or kept up their numbers, without addition by purchase.

P. 145.

On a neighbouring estate, the treatment was worse than usual, and the effect was, the slaves decreased.

He thinks the sexes nearly equal, but he believes, most males.

The capacities and dispositions of negroes are much like those of the whites.

They received religious instruction chiefly from Methodist preachers. The island clergy were not so attentive as the Methodists. The negroes so instructed were improved in their morals and behaviour. Such paid more attention to marriage. He has often known negroes desire to have their children baptized. The clergy usually took a dollar from them for baptism.

P. 146. He has known families sent to different islands, from sales by execution, or otherwise.

He has seen some free negroes very well behaved, and very industrious. They are usually tradesmen and hucksters. He never knew them work in the field. They would think it a disgrace to work with a slave. They can earn more by those employments than by field-work.

He has often heard the slaves say, they were kidnapped; particularly a woman who waited on him, said that when going on an errand, she was carried off in a bag and sold.

He sees no reason why the plough might not be used, especially to loosen stiff land, which would certainly save much labour.

Witness examined—Captain THOMAS LLOYD,

Of the Royal Navy.

Was in the West Indies in 1779. Commanded 1791.
the Glasgow, and was burnt out of her in Montego
bay, Jamaica. P. 147.

His first impression was, that the slaves were very generally considered as black cattle, and very often treated like post-horses.

Relates instance of a man and woman slave executed at St. Ann's bay, in sight of his ship's company. The former for running away, the latter for secreting him.

At Mrs. Winne's, of Mammee bay, saw a woman slave with one hand only, and asked Mrs. W. how she lost it. She said it had been cut off. She had a female slave to whom she trusted her linen and other valuable effects, from suspecting her indented white servant had abused that confidence. She directed P. 148.
her slave never to issue out linen, without her orders. The white woman wanted a pair of sheets, and attempted forcibly to take them. A scuffle ensued, and six weeks after the supposed offence, the white woman swore the slave had struck her, and she had her right hand cut off, Mrs. W. having in vain endeavoured to suspend the amputation. She spoke of this as an inhuman act, and a great injury to her property.

He was told by a person of veracity, whom he wishes not to name, that it was the practice of a certain planter, whose name he does not now recollect, to frame pretences for the execution of his worn out slaves, in order to get the island allowance: and it was supposed he had dealt largely in that way.

Captain Cornwallis told him, while he was there, that, at a dinner with some of the principal planters, the conversation turning on the profit and loss of

1791. sugar estates, one of them said, that in crop he worked his negroes 20 hours out of the 24. Another said, many of them must have died. He granted that, but, on the whole, it answered.

He has seen, about the streets and roads, many old, miserable objects, and was told many of them had their freedom given them, when no longer able to work. The most wretched object he ever saw was at Port Royal.

He had reason to believe, that negroes might be induced to work properly, without severity. A Mr. Greenland had but a few, who looked well and happy. Captain L. asked him the reason. He said, he never punished them, and he did not find but he was as well off as others who pursued a different conduct.

P. 149. He has heard sensible people ascribe the decrease of slaves, on several estates, to the severity of their treatment.

Many instances of the ill treatment of the slaves, have been told him by his brother officers, upon the station; but why they keep back their evidence he cannot tell. He has heard of military combinations to obtain justice, and to resist oppression; but this is the first instance he ever heard of associations for the suppression of truths.

Witness examined—Lieutenant BAKER DAVISON,

Of the late 79th Regiment.

P. 150. Was in Jamaica, from the middle of 1771 to the end of 1783, except a few months on the Spanish main. (Practised surgery in Jamaica, many years, before the French war, p. 154.)

Had many opportunities of seeing the treatment both of field and town slaves. Was quartered in many parts of the island; resided some time at a planter's

planter's house, given him and his family for a 1791.
barrack.

The first general impression on his mind was that P. 151.
the slaves were very cruelly treated, by being most
unmercifully flogged by their owner's order. Such
punishments never were restricted to 39 lashes.
Understands there was such a law, but never knew
it abided by, where punishment was really meant.

Sometimes owners in town would have them
flogged at home, or send them to gaol, to be pu-
nished, or have them tied up to a crane on the wharfs.
He has very often seen those punishments inflicted,
at all times of the day. In houses and on the wharfs
slaves are always punished by order of the owners,
and often in gaol.

They appeared much more severe than regimental
punishments. He remembers a new negro girl
flogged by her mistress's order, and who died of a
mortification from the wounds two days after.

In towns the slaves are generally flogged with a P. 152.
cowskin, and on estates with a long whip.

On estates they are fastened to four stakes driven
into the ground, and whipped. He has often seen
regular punishments in the field, for neglect of work,
and other offences committed on the spot.

He has often seen owners send their slaves to be
whipped in gaol; and has very often seen them
brought home by persons belonging to the gaol.
The precise number of stripes to be given in gaol
was not ordered. The owners generally told them
to flog them well, according to the crime.

He knew many cruelties; but none followed by
death, except that mentioned. The clergyman's
wife at Port Royal, was remarkably cruel. She used
to drop hot sealing-wax on her negroes, after flogging
them. He was sent for, as surgeon, to one of them,
whose breast was terribly burnt with sealing-wax.
A woman next door to him was often flogging her
negroes so cruelly, that he has frequently gone in
and insisted on her desisting; and, at last, he com-

1791. plained of her to a magistrate, who told him he had nothing to do with it.

P. 153. He is very sure the slave's treatment depends wholly on the owner's disposition; as some were very cruel, and others not so.

He has very often remonstrated to owners and managers on severity, especially to the clergyman's wife, and the clergyman himself, who said they would not do without severity, and even being half-starved, which he often knew was the case at his own house. He has often talked to them on their slaves being ill from severity and hunger. He particularly remonstrated to the woman mentioned (whose negro died) when he has seen the negro at work, kneeling, on her bare knees, on the pebbles, a punishment very common in houses there.

He believes the slaves generally understood they had a right to legal redress, for severity, as he has often had complaints, when quartered up the country, from different estates. He never knew such redress obtained, from negroes themselves complaining. When ill used by others, the owners take care to get redress.

P. 154. He saw a slave both of whose nostrils had been slit, by her mistress's order, from jealousy. No attempt was made to punish this woman, as she was of some consequence, being the wife of the engineer of the island.

It was very common for women, in respectable situations, to stand by, at the punishment of their slaves.

He thinks pregnant women were not, in general, properly attended to, having been sent for to several estates, where the mother scarcely had any cloaths to cover her, nor any baby-cloaths, and was in want of every kind of proper nourishment.

He has seen several pregnant women flogged on estates, and a hole made in the ground to receive their belly. He was once sent for to a woman who had

had miscarried from severe flogging, when both child and herself died. 1791.

The jaw-fall was fatal to negro infants, in many cases which fell under his notice, owing, he believes, to want of proper necessaries, bad houses, and various other causes. It is impossible to account entirely for it. He is sure it was not equally fatal to white children; as in the different regiments he was in, they had a great many children born, but he never P. 155. knew one of them die with it.

Thinks, in general, the slaves were very badly fed.

It appeared to him, that when masters were in debt, the slave's food was reduced; as the slaves of several very poor planters near him, used, in the night, to rob him of every kind of provisions. There were several estates where he knew the slaves were better fed, and who never troubled them.

He is sure the slaves were not universally allowed Saturday afternoon, to work their grounds, as he never knew it; and, had it been common, he must have known it.

He has known the slaves, on the estate where he lived, several times obliged to work, even on Sundays, for their master. His house was very near the works.

He has often known them work all night at the boiling-house and mill.

The taylor, who worked for him the whole time he was in Jamaica, bought his own freedom; and P. 156. when he left the island, had some slaves of his own. He never knew a field-slave buy his freedom.

Has known slaves, (generally Africans) destroy themselves, particularly one at Port Royal, who having been punished over-night, was found hanging in his hut in the morning. He was an African who had not been long bought. He never knew a creole kill himself.

Is sure old negroes, past labour, were not, in general, sufficiently attended to. He knew two old men,

1791. men, belonging to a woman in Port Royal, who subsisted by begging.

The negroes wives were not secure from the whites; for he has known different book-keepers just come to the estate, take their wives from them. Believes this was very often a cause of discontent to the slaves. (If there be a law against this, he never knew it enforced. It is common for whites on estate to chuse negro women for themselves or friends p. 181.)

Both house and field slaves were generally marked with the whip.

A great many instances have fallen within his notice, which proved severity unnecessary. He had always 5 or 6 slaves, whom he never found it necessary to punish, as he used them well. A Mr. Malcolm, who had a large estate, would not allow a negro to be punished, without his knowledge. In an insurrection, Mr. D. expressed his surprise, that he would leave his wife and family on the estate, when P. 157. he was 8 or 10 miles off. Mr. M. said, he was sure his negroes would behave as well in his absence, as in his presence. Mr. D. has been often at his house, and has known him most days go among his negroes, and hear their complaints. He told him that he had not bought a new negro for 10 or 12 years. That they never ran away, and that his estate and negroes had considerably increased in that time. Has often heard him say, he had as much work done as others, and that his negroes always worked willingly. Is sure he encouraged their pairing, as he gave them every necessary, and kept their houses in good repair. He knew an estate where the negroes were all creoles. Is sure they were treated better than common.

Free negroes were generally tradesmen, and very industrious.

Saw a mother and her daughter separated at a sale P. 179. by vendue. A negro woman had been sold by her mistress to a Jew, to be sent off the island; but Mr. D. bought

... bought her from the Jew. She had 2 children, 1791.
... whom her mistress kept from her, and whom she of-
... n begged him to buy, which he could not conve-
... ntly do. He bought a new negro, who found his
... other, and brought him to the fort to Mr. D. Mr.
... chambers, owner of the brother, begged Mr. D. to
... art with his, as the brother was a very valuable
... ilder. This Mr. D. reluctantly complied with, for
... s was equally valuable.

The Maroon negroes in Jamaica, increased most P. 180.
... rtainly. He has often been in all their towns, and
... ways saw great numbers of children. Their num-
... rs were considerably more when he left, than when
... went to, the island. He is sure they did not in-
... rporate run-aways among them, as they had a re-
... rd and mile-money, for bringing them to the
... ols.

Is sure whites, if temperate, could, without ma-
... rial injury, do any kind of out-of-door work. It
... well known, that the ship-wrights and other
... defmen, in the king's-yard, Port-Royal, often
... rk all day long, and he never knew them un-
... althier than people in general. White artificers
... tainly do work at their trades, in the West Indies,
... hout materially hurting their health.

He believes thumb-screws are very often used in
... West Indies, having seen several negro girls at
... rk with the needle, in presence of their mistresses,
... h a thumb-screw on their left thumb, and he has
... n the blood gush out from the end of them.

Domesticks certainly are particularly subject to
... ir owner's caprice. He has often known their
... tress send them to be punished, without telling
... m for what. He has been frequently sent for,
... the clergyman's slaves before-mentioned, after
... y have been severely flogged, and otherwise ill
... tated, so that he conceived their lives in great
... dger: particularly to one woman who had been P. 181.
... t up all night, by her hands, and abused with
... enne pepper, in a way too horrid and indecent to
... mention

1791. mention. He lived next door to a washer-woman at Port Royal, who was almost continually flogging her negroes. He has often gone in and remonstrated against her cruelty, where he has seen the negro women chained to the washing tubs, almost naked, with their thighs and backs in a gore of blood, from flogging. He could mention various other capricious punishments, if necessary.

He is sure means are used, in Guineamen, to suppress the slaves diseases (which afterwards break out still more violently, or bring on other disorders) especially fluxes, as he made it his business to ask the surgeons, who candidly told him their mode of treatment on board. He made this inquiry, on his wife's father having bought a good number of slaves out of a Guineaman, several of whom broke out in violent fluxes.

He has known new negroes put into the field 2 or 3 days after being bought. They sometimes remain on board in the harbour, 2 or 3 weeks before sale.

P. 182. Has seen a great many ulcerated sailors lying about, in most parts of the island, especially at Kingston. They chiefly belonged to Guineamen, for he particularly asked them.

Has often heard planters say, such an overseer has improved the estate, by large crops: but never heard any such thing mentioned, in connection, with his care of the negroes, or keeping them up by breeding.

He has often gone on the estates of absentee owners with attorneys, and came away with them, and saw very little attention paid, except asking the overseer when the sugars would be ready for market. He never heard any inquiries made into the negroes' state and treatment.

Has frequently heard owners of slaves say, that a creole, when fit to work, costs more than a new negro.

The attorney and overseer are not always distinct persons. He has known several that were both attorney and overseer.

orney and overseer. He knew several in Spanish Town, from 20 to 40 miles off the estates they were attorney for. Attornies are often directly interested in increasing the crops, as he always understood they have a per centage on them. P. 1791. P. 183.

Overseers very often have slaves of their own: he has known them have jobbing gangs. Has known the absent master's house-slaves sent into the field, and the overseer's put in their room.

Many more domestics are kept in West India families than in similar English ones. Has known from 12 to 20 in a house, where half as many would do very well.

Domestics certainly increase, from being better fed and treated, and less worked.

Female slaves are very commonly let out, by their owners, for prostitution.

Slaves sell vegetables at market, on their owner's account; as several mountain estates chiefly depend on selling vegetables.

On many estates he is sure proper medical care was not taken of the negroes; as the surgeon often lives far from the estates, and visits them, when he thinks proper.

He brought a Guinea woman to England, who wished much to be sent to her own country. It is common for sick negroes to say, with much pleasure, they are going to die, and are going home from this Buccra country. P. 184.

Has often known slaves 12 months in gaol, from their master's debts.

Believes owners are very commonly involved with Guinea merchants; for they often stay on the estates, all the week, except Sundays, with their gates always locked. Buyers of new negroes, if planters, are credited, from one crop to another; if not planters, from 6 to 12 months.

He has very often seen refuse-negroes, sold at vendue, in a wretched situation, and very cheap. Several make a trade of it.

Numb. 4.

M

There

1791. There was a captain to every Maroon town, and
 a superintendant over the whole, to keep up order
 P. 185. He thinks runaways could not be harboured, in the
 Maroon towns, without coming to the captain's
 knowledge, who always lives very near the towns.
 He is appointed, by the governor, as guardian of the
 treaty with the Maroons. He is always a white man.

Witness examined—DREWRY OTLEY, Esq.
 His Majesty's Chief Justice on the Island of
 St. Vincent.

P. 158. Resided in the W. Indies since 1776, chiefly in St.
 Vincent. Has visited Antigua, Tobago, St. Kitts,
 Grenada, and St. Lucia: was in England about ten
 months of the time.

Is of the council of St. Vincent's, appointed in
 1784, and chief justice in 1787.

Managed his own estates there till made chief
 justice; when, often absent on public business, he
 employed a manager, whose conduct he constantly
 superintended.

As to the laws respecting slaves; the old slave
 acts, which were the general laws throughout the
 islands and which in many still continue unrepealed,
 have appeared to him in many cases unjust and in-
 human, as to the personal security of slaves; which
 appears only to be provided for, in cases of murders,
 dismemberment, and mutilation. And as the evidence
 of slaves is never admitted against whites, the diffi-
 culty of legally establishing facts is so great, that
 P. 159. white men are in a manner put beyond the reach of
 the law: however, supposing the proof full, the mur-
 der of a slave in some islands is only punishable by a
 larger fine, and dismemberment and mutilation by a
 smaller. Some of the acts are silent on the murder
 of a slave, and it has been supposed, in those islands,
 that it was punishable by the common law of Eng-
 land:

land: however, on considering the latter part of the 1791. second clause in the St. Vincent slave act, which is also introduced in some of the slave acts of the other islands, is of opinion, that by inference from that clause, the murder of a slave is not punishable by common law as a capital offence.

There is no law for securing the slave's property, against his master, nor against strangers, unless the master brings an action.

There are laws in most of the islands obliging masters to provide food and clothing for their slaves; but does not think them in general efficient, from the difficulty of bringing proof of the breach of the law.

Some clauses in the St. Vincent's slave act appear to be oppressive and impolitic; particularly that which obliges the whites, under a penalty, to search once a fortnight, the negroe houses on the estate, for runaways or stolen goods; that which prevents slaves from hiring themselves of their masters to work on their own account; those which lay certain restriction on free negroes, and deprive them in some cases of trial by jury; the clause which throws obstacles in the way of slaves buying their freedom; and some others which he does not just now recollect.

In his answers, he confines himself to St. Vincent's where named; where no island is named, his observations extend to all where the old slave acts are yet in force.

The omissions in the old laws are so numerous that P. 160. it is difficult to ascertain them; he will therefore speak to such alterations and provisions as appear necessary for the protection of slaves.

He would recommend the passing a slave act in every island, repealing those now in force, and establishing regulations upon the principle of the late Grenada act, to obviate the difficulty of bringing evidence against whites: councils of protection or guardians, should be named to see that the provisions made for the benefit of slaves are enforced: they should be empowered to inspect provision grounds,

1791. sick houses, clothing, negro-houses, and the general condition of slaves; and upon just grounds of suspicion, to have power to examine whites, or other free persons, on oath, and to prosecute offenders, where necessary.

Thinks, if the guardians do their duty, and act with impartiality, that the substitute for the evidence of slaves, (provided by the Grenada act) affords almost as great a degree of protection and security as persons in a state of slavery can enjoy.

Can devise no means, likely to be adopted, for admitting the evidence of slaves, in their present state of ignorance.

P. 161. The laws lately passed in Jamaica, Grenada, and Dominica, (as contained in the Privy Council reports) have supplied most of the omissions now noticed; but the Grenada law seems best calculated to have full effect.

The punishments to be inflicted by the St. Vincent's slave act, must be by order of justices of the peace. recollects no provisions there, which limit the degree, or ascertain the nature, of the punishment which a master or manager may inflict.

The general modes of punishment he has observed on West India estates, were, whipping, the stocks, chains, iron collars; the latter not frequent, nor long worn, because deemed hurtful to the slaves' health.

As to whipping in a cruel manner and disproportionate to the offence, overseers striking slaves wantonly, subtracting from his allowance, taking away the provisions he has raised, or other arbitrary and cruel treatment independent of punishment for offences, much depends on the temper and disposition of masters or managers. On all the estates he has known, where the master or manager resided, overseers were forbidden to strike any slave, and were liable to be turned off if they did. Sometimes they do it, but does not think it common.

The

The treatment of slaves, so far as he has observed, 1791.
is in general humane.

Instances of cruelty do and will occur, but does not think them common. Certainly thinks them exceptions to general usage.

As to instances of notorious cruelty in the islands going unpunished, never knew but one case where a man was punished by law in St. Vincent's for cruelty to a slave, and that was very lately. Has heard of other cases of cruelty notorious, which have gone unpunished.

In St. Vincent's, industrious field slaves are generally possessed of some property. So far as he can guess, an industrious but ordinary field slave may acquire to the amount of 6l. or 8l. sterling per ann. Of 200 slaves on an estate, not more than one-third P. 163. can be reckoned field slaves; some of whom will be young and indifferent to property, others lazy. He should suppose 12 to 18 might acquire to the amount mentioned. Has heard of field slaves acquiring to a greater amount, but in general they are careful to conceal their property from their masters. They acquire it by raising hogs, goats, poultry, and by the culture of their grounds, of which they have in general more than they can cultivate, and as good land for the purpose as any on the estate. Out of crop they have half of Saturday, or one day in a fortnight. Thinks the latter better for the slave, as he can go fresh to his work, and has more time to complete any particular job.

In St. Vincent's slaves are never married according to the rites of the Church, but they are very often attached to one woman.

Knows of no law to prevent a white from debauching the wife of a slave: but does not recollect any case of the kind. P. 164.

As the females, who are not married, do not seem to prize chastity much, he should suppose the men licentious with regard to women.

Slaves,

1791. Slaves, when past the time of youth, often live faithfully as man and wife.

The men are in general so addicted to the use of spirituous liquors, that they will get drunk as oft as they can.

Has heard young females study to procure abortions, but never knew a case: they are so fond of dancing, that he does not think pregnancy, unless far advanced, would prevent their going a great way for it. Dances are common, but slaves from distant estates are forbidden.

The slaves are in general very harmless and peaceable. Never knew a case, even where they have been said to be ill treated, of their attempting to injure their master's property from resentment; though were they so inclined, they have many opportunities, particularly in crop time. They discover a benevolent disposition, and a general good will. On every distressful emergency, such as fire, which often happens, he has always observed negroes from the neighbouring plantations, uncalled, even in the night, ready and active to their utmost exertion in relieving the misfortune of the moment. Recollects an instance which occurred in 1785: A fire suddenly broke out among his canes, at a place the most distant from where his own slaves were working. Those of Sir William Young, who were at work near the spot, voluntarily run to the place, and with much trouble and some risque extinguished the flames, which might otherwise have destroyed 50 or 60 hogsheads of sugar; nor did they ask any reward; but of course some recompence was sent them.

Those seasoned to the islands appear to be of a chearful temper; and are so, when well used; which may be known by their returning merry and singing, from their work.

Thinks, on estates well handed with seasoned negroes, and which have a regular succession of children to supply those who fall off by age, the numbers might be kept up, and probably increase without importation,

mportation. In many instances, estates, humanely ^{1791.} managed, and with a suitable proportion of the sexes, actually have, and do increase their numbers without mportation. (p. 167.)

Is acquainted with the Caribs of St. Vincent's. P. 166. They are mostly of the negro race, said to be descended from such as escaped from a slave ship, wrecked upon the coast.

Believes they do not incorporate runaways, who would be easily distinguished from the Caribs, who have a peculiar flattening in the forehead, produced in infancy; they have a reward too for bringing in runaways; and there is besides a strong antipathy between them and the slaves (p. 169). Their number is said to be 3000, so that they must certainly have increased, and believes they are still on the increase: they are fond of spirituous liquors (p. 169).

As slaves can never live so much at their ease as the Caribs do, and must be more exposed while at work, they will be subject to diseases, to which the Caribs and free negroes are not; they will therefore probably not increase so much, though they may increase.

W. India estates are in general deeply mortgaged: P. 167. in proportion to the weight of debt on them, they will in many instances be worked with greater exertion of labour, and under disadvantages of credit prejudicial to the supplies for comfort, or even subsistence of the slaves, in many cases.

He should necessarily conclude, that where slaves are not supplied equally with the necessaries and comforts of life, they will of course be proportionally defective in increase.

The proprietors of estates pressed by their creditors would, he fears, be induced to work their gangs beyond their strength, were they cut off from fresh supplies of slaves, and thus a sudden and total abolition eventually prove oppressive to many slaves in the West Indies.

Believes,

1791. Believes, the question of the slave-trade depending in the British Parliament, may have directed the attention of the colonial legislatures, to the reform of the laws in favour of slaves; and while the question

P. 168. continues pending, believes they will be disposed to adopt any practicable regulations which may be recommended to them; but does not think they would attend to such recommendation with the same good temper and satisfaction were the question decided, and the slave-trade stopt.

Does not think any effectual reform of the slave-laws could be made without the co-operation of the colonies, as by the constitution of their governments, their legislative bodies must pass the laws, and the magistrates and others in the islands enforce them.

His letter to Sir William Young, contained in the Privy Council Report, was written in haste, and merely for Sir William's private information.

As the laws now stand in many of the islands, domestick slaves must be peculiarly subject to their masters caprice; and their situation can less be effected by regulations of law, than even that of field slaves, because the conduct of masters to domesticks

P. 169. is not so open to the observation of the world.

As to supposing private punishments to be restricted to a certain number of lashes, and masters and overseers should exceed the limitation, or splitting one crime into many, give the limited number for each; can devise no mode of bringing such master or other to justice, while the evidence of a slave continues inadmissible.

Believes there are 400 or 500 whites in all, exclusive of the military, in St. Vincent's; perhaps 150 more in the small islands now connected with it; and imagines the slaves on those islands, which are not many, are included in the number of St. Vincent's slaves.

Never knew a free negro hire himself to field labour, to hire as mechanicks is common.

The

The stock of slaves on his estate when he first went out have constantly increased; but the new negroes ^{1790.} he has bought since 1784, have, in spite of all possible P. 170. attention to them, decreased at least one in eight. Mr. Robley told him, that on his estate Sandy Point, in Tobago, there has been a constant considerable increase by births, though the situation does not seem healthy. In St. Vincent's, upon Sir William Young's estate, Calliagua, there has been for some years past a constant increase by births; the same on Mr. Haffey's estate, and he believes also upon Mr. Winn's; and likewise upon Mr. Collins's and a Mr. Morgan's estates.

If proper attention was paid to the religious instruction of slaves, he is convinced it would be of the greatest advantage to the planters. Within these three or four years, some Methodist missionaries, have had access to many estates in St. Vincent's, for that purpose. Has heard that in Antigua the slaves have been greatly improved in their morals by the instructions of the Moravians; insomuch, that the actual value of such slaves, considered as objects of commerce, has been raised. An increase of population from the births, would be an undoubted consequence of the moral improvement of slaves (p. 174.)

Does not think, that even on those estates where he has known the stock kept up and increased by births, such attention has been paid to the subject as he would judge proper (p. 174.)

As to whites escaping punishment in atrocious cases, from negro evidence being invalid, recollects, that in October 1789, a slave in Tobago was said, and universally believed, to have been stabbed by a white (thinks the manager of the estate) in the presence of many other slaves. The man died on the spot, and the white was tried, but, for want of such evidence as West Indian courts of law require, was acquitted. Another case occurred in St. Vincent's; white, was strongly suspected of having shot his brother-
Numb. 4. N brother-

1791. brother-in-law, the fact was said by two or three slaves to have been done in their presence; and the coroner's inquest (he thinks) confirmed this suspicion, by a verdict of wilful murder, against this white. At a court where he (Mr. Ottley) presided the cause was tried, and although there scarcely remained a doubt with the jury of the man's guilt, he was nevertheless acquitted, for want of sufficient evidence.

Thinks, that slaves in general are better treated and more satisfied with their condition, where the owner resides.

Where ground provisions are scarce, and the owner's embarrassments prevent his getting supplies of imported provisions, his negroes must certainly suffer. In 1779, he has heard, many persons suffered in Antigua from this circumstance.

P. 172. Has always heard that in St. Kitt's the chief dependance is on imported provisions, and it must be often so in Antigua, from the droughts to which they are subject.

Where planters, as has often happened, take in more cane land than they can properly cultivate, the labour of the negroes will be increased, and the land will not be productive.

Never knew a field slave buy his freedom. Never heard of act of suicide among creoles.

As to insurrections, whether most to be apprehended from African or Creole slaves, there never was an insurrection in St. Vincent's; but those which happened in Tobago, he has heard, originated with the Africans.

The circumstance of being forcibly torn from their families and friends, will frequently have the effect to shorten the lives of imported slaves; particularly the aged: those who destroy themselves are always found to be adults.

P. 173. The climate of St. Vincent's, when first settled, being covered with wood, was very fatal to Europeans; but now it seems as healthy as any other

of the islands; and it has been remarked, that no ^{1791.} greater mortality has occurred among the troops, for these five or six years past, than is common in England. The Europeans who are resident, from exposure during the hours of labour, are frequently subject to diseases.

By the court act, slaves may be seized for the owner's debt, but not till his goods, chattels, and produce are found insufficient. Slaves by the laws of St. Vincent's are in general considered as of the nature of real estate, and so descend to the heir, and widows are dowable from them; but where the personal estate is insufficient, executors may inventory slaves, and apply them to the discharge of the testator's debts. But to prevent estates being deprived of slaves, there is a particular law in St. Vincent's, allowing the executors to advance money at 6 per cent. interest, taking security on the slaves.

In case of actual seizure, the marshal is equally responsible for slaves, as for other property.

As to separation of families, by such sales, the law has provided, that a woman and her infant child shall always be sold together. Does not recollect any other provision.

Is of opinion, that the reforms in the treatment of slaves hinted in the preceding part of his evidence, would be for the mutual advantage of owner and slave.

With respect to the interests of the owner and managers being sometimes at variance, it is in general the manager's interest to make large crops, to support his character as a planter; and persons often judging from effects, he may feel himself under a kind of necessity of working the slaves harder than he wishes, to keep up to the produce of former years.

Never lost more than two or three children on his estates by the tetanus, but many by worms between three and six years, which seems the most fatal disorder to children in the West Indies, white as well as negro.

1791. Want of food and other ill treatment he should suppose to be one great cause of slaves running away.
 P. 175. indeed he has heard of a case, where about 20 negroes who had been long absent, on the death of a master esteemed very severe, voluntarily returned to the estate: however, has known negroes run away without any provocation.

Upon asking his African negroes how they became slaves, some who were imported young, said, they were kidnapped; others, that they had been sold for crimes, or prisoners of war.

Witness examined—Reverend Mr. STUART.

P. 175. Has been at Guadaloupe, Dominique, St. Croix, St. Eustatius, St. Kitts, (at the last about a year) and Nevis. Went to the West Indies about the beginning of 1778, and left them in 1779 for America,
 P. 177. which he left at Christmas 1782. Has had a twenty years acquaintance with the condition of slaves in the different states of N. America.

He is warranted in declaring that the negroes are an oppressed and much injured race, in no better estimation than labouring cattle; and every description of their treatment he has met with, falls short of their real state. He read Mr. Ramsay's, in manuscript, at St. Kitts, and comparing it on the spot with the treatment of the slaves, thought it too favourable.
 P. 176.

Though there are as humane people in the West Indies as elsewhere, they are from the nature of slavery led into cruel measures. The punishments there often seemed too severe. Has seen many negroes working in chains both in America and West Indies. Has often known runaways put in a dungeon at night, and once saw about fourteen, some of whom were in chains, put into a dungeon, apparently

ly much too small for them. Next morning he saw 1791.
one of them taken out dead.

Slaves in America seem more hearty and robust P. 177.
than those in the West Indies, owing, he supposes,
to their being better fed. Their allowance was a
quart of Indian corn, pease, or rice, each day, and
a little salt.

It was generally believed the Carolina slaves in-
creased without importation.

He was told at St. Croix, that the slaves, instructed
by the Moravians, were better behaved than the
others.

The blacks are not inferior to the whites in abili-
ties or disposition. They have as much generosity,
fidelity, gratitude, understanding, and ingenuity;
capable of receiving religious instruction, and im-
provement of every kind. Has found his black
servants in nothing inferior to his white ones, and is
sure that education and opportunity alone make a
difference between the two descriptions.

Nothing had been done to alleviate the situation
of the negroes, in general, in the period of Mr.
Stuarts's residence in America and the W. Indies.

Witness examined—Captain Scott.

Captain Alexander Scott, of the Royal navy, was P. 177.
on the coast of Africa from Senegal to Cape Coast, P. 178.
in the Merlin, 1769, during the rainy season. Out
of 90 men they buried there 8, of whom only 4 died
of the disorders of the country. The furs there are
not an utter impediment to landing and shipping
goods. He has himself landed from his own boat
at Dixcove, Commenda, and Cape Coast, and the
boats without him, also at Succonda. He has been
in the W. Indies longer than on the Coast of Africa,
and has of course seen greater furs there than on the
coast.

From

1791. From a transaction which happened the second day after his arrival in the West Indies, he thought the negroes very cruelly used. He saw a white man pursue a negro into the water, bring him out, and take him to the wharf, where he had him hung up to a crane by his hands, which were tied together, and weights tied to his feet. When thus hoisted up, but so as still to touch the ground, another negro P. 179. was ordered to whip him with a prickly bush. He walked away from the disagreeable sight. The next day he saw the same negro lying on the beach, and with the assistance of another taking the prickles out of his breech, seemingly swelled and bloody. The negro assigned as a reason for the whipping, that the wharfinger thought he had staid too long on an errand.
-

Witness examined—Rev. Mr. DAVIES.

- P. 185. Resided at Barbadoes fourteen years; the three last, learning the management of a sugar estate; left it twenty-one years ago.

It was not understood that slaves had a right to legal redress when ill used by masters.

- P. 186. As to field-slaves being well, or sparingly fed, it is difficult to judge from appearance only; before crop many seemed very emaciated, in crop they looked well. Has seen their allowance dealt out; a grown negroe had nine pints of corn and about one pound of salt-fish per week: some principal slaves had as far as twelve pints; but the grain of the West Indies is much lighter than wheat.

Never knew field-slaves acquire considerable property; they had a few house-necessaries, and were allowed to keep a pig, or a goat, and poultry.

As to its being a serious object with planters, to keep up the stock of slaves by breeding; it was so much otherwise, as to be generally thought a necessary

fary part of plantation expenſe to buy a lot of new 1791.
ſlaves every fix or ſeven years. Thinks the cauſe why
the number of ſlaves are not kept up by births is, that
females are over worked, in turning dung, carrying
it out in baſkets of 60 to 70 pound weight on their
heads, and that for about eight hours a day, in the
ſeaſon. On their return home, they have to grind
their corn by the ſtrength of their arms, rubbing it
between two ſtones: they muſt riſe with the earlieſt
dawn to prepare their food, that they may be in the
field in time to eſcape puniſhment. Their circum-
ſtances (particularly the grinding corn) tended to diſ-
courage marriage, the woman's life becoming harder
then, from being thus a ſlave to her huſband (p. 187).

Pregnant women, and ſuch as had children, are
allowed to come into the field a little later than the
reſt.

With very good uſage, if the females are to the
males as three to four, the ſtock may be kept up by
births; as it was on Kendal plantation belonging to
Joſhua Steele, eſq. though the proportion was as two
to three (p. 188).

Though people in general ſeemed to conſider ſlaves
as their moſt valuable property; yet their attention to
them (from a ſenſe of intereſt) appeared inſufficient,
becauſe a great number of recruits was neceſſary.

To produce large quantities of ſugar at a ſmall ex-
penſe, was the chief criterion of a manager's merit;
though owners ſometimes diſcharged their managers
for too much ſeverity.

Is of opinion they cultivated too much cane land, P. 187.
and too little proviſions, as many were obliged to buy
American corn: thinks having leſs cane land would
produce better treatment to the ſlaves, and be ulti-
mately for the maſter's benefit.

The dependance on imported ſlaves certainly con-
tributed to embarraſs planters.

As to the practicability of keeping up the ſtock of
ſlaves by births, provided it had been an object of
ſerious attention to the planters; cannot ſay he attended

1791. to it when on the island, but it does appear to him now (from the facts which then fell under his notice p. 188.) that by general good usage of the slaves, and a milder treatment of females in particular, by the use of cattle and instruments of husbandry, especially the plough, their numbers might be kept up, perhaps increase. Knew a few estates which kept up their numbers without importation.

P. 188. Is of opinion slaves were in general too sparingly fed, whether the master was embarrassed or not.

Understood from common report, that there were few estates that were not more or less embarrassed, from debt to the European merchant, or from jointures, or fortunes to brothers and sisters.

On asking African negroes how they became slaves, was answered they had been kidnapped.

Thinks their feelings much the same as Europeans. When removed from their habitations and spots of ground, they have been known to pine away.

As to the practice of slaves constantly working under a driver, does not recollect a single exception.

P. 189. The whip is committed to the hands of apprentice boys, as well as to men, who often punish the slaves for very slight faults, arbitrarily.

Witness Examined—Mr. MARK COOK.

P. 189. Mr. Mark Cook arrived in Jamaica in 1774, and left it, 1790; was three years in planting business: rest of the time as clerk and schoolmaster with different gentlemen there.

His first impression of slaves treatment shocking; for he lived close by a cane-piece, where they worked, and constantly heard the whip going. Slaves used cruelly, hardly looked on better than beasts, and often used worse.

Have not sufficient food nor time to cultivate their grounds. Has known both Africans and Creoles

eat

eat putrid carcases, is convinced through want, would not have done it if they had had other sufficient food : ^{1791.} when they have time and opportunity, are very ^{P. 190.} cleanly in their food—are very fond of washing themselves.

Are but indifferently clothed : one half of them almost naked in the field ; this not from choice but want ; are fond of clothes when they can get any ; also badly lodged ; if overseers can get their work done, they do not attend to such matters.

Their usual punishments very severe, more so than necessary to procure the work to be done properly : much more of it might be done, were they better fed and less whipped.

Common to dung cane pieces by moon-light, and to oblige them to pick grass after their day's work : this a great hardship. Negroe's grounds generally ^{P. 191.} about two miles from the works ; common to exact grass picking for overseer's cattle ; seldom escape punishment if they neglect it. (p. 191.)

In crop-time they work in general about 18 hours out of 24 : are often hurt through mere fatigue and want of sleep : knew a girl lose her hand by the mill while feeding it ; for overcome by sleep, she dropped against the rollers. Has heard of several instances of the kind.

Has known negroes own grounds taken from them to be put in canes for master's use, and wood land given them in exchange—a great hardship, and certainly the cause of great dissatisfaction among them.

Thinks they are in general much neglected in sickness. There are doctors on estates, but they seldom attend. Has known negroes, ordered to work by doctor when incapable of doing it, drop in the field, and obliged to be brought back again.

Much the same work is expected from pregnant women as others ; has seen them holing within a few hours of delivery ; has known 39 lashes given them ^{P. 192.} at this time ; has heard many of them wish never to

1791. have children to undergo the hardships they themselves have been subject to.

Superannuated slaves have no allowance, and only what they can get among their relations; has seen them wandering about the beach, left to take care of themselves.

Desert frequently, owing to hunger and fear of flogging when threatened: when brought in are generally severely flogged, and sometimes have an iron boot put on one or both legs, and a chain or collar round their neck. The chain is locked, the collar fastened on by a rivet. When the collar is with 3 projections; it is impossible for them to lie down to sleep; even with 2 they must lie uneasily. Has seen collars with 4 projections. Never knew any injury from the chain and collar, but severely galling their necks; has, however, known a negro lose his leg from wearing the boot.

P. 193. A man and his wife, if industrious, and have their due time allowed them, may earn 3 or 4 bits per week, at the utmost. Never heard of a field negro buying his own freedom.

Domestic negroes are often severely punished, but not so often as field slaves: has known many instances: knew a lady, who had both her men and women domestics laid down and flogged every Monday morning for different slight offences, which happened in the previous week.

Knows of no legal protection slaves have against injuries from their masters.

Has known a field slave receive 200 lashes by order of the overseer, and a domestic 50, by order of his mistress.

P. 194. Once knew a runaway slave brought in, with part of a turkey with him, which he had stolen. His master immediately made two negroes hold him down, and with a hammer and a punch knocked out two of his upper and two of his under teeth. Really thinks negro had stolen from hunger, as he was nothing but skin and bones. Master was not reckoned cruel.

cruel. Witness lived with him three years, and remembers no other cruelty committed by him. 1791.

Never knew any complaint made to a magistrate, or punishment inflicted on owner or overseer in any of the cases mentioned, or in any other case whatsoever, for ill using a negro.

Has known negroes often punished for complaining to the owner or attorney against their overseers.

Chastity of negro women is not at all secure against overseers: if overseer sends for a girl for such a purpose, she must come or be flogged. Has known them threatened and flogged for refusing. Knew a Mulatto girl run away, in consequence of being threatened on that account. She was the wife of one of her own colour. Her husband and children ran away at the same time.

Has known both Mulattoes and Quadroons confined in irons 6 or 7 years, at the sole will of their owner. When they came out, (which was on the death of their mistress) their limbs were so distorted they could not walk. Was informed of it by one who lived two years on the estate, and had seen them often, and with whom he lived afterwards in the same employ.

Greatest recommendation of an overseer is the magnitude of the crop he makes, without regard to working the negroes hard; must work them hard to make large crops.

Some overseers are paid so much upon every hoghead of sugar, and puncheon of rum. Others have a stated annual salary.

Persons sometimes officiate on estates both as attorneys and overseers at same time. Has known attorneys reside 40 or 50 miles from the estates they were to superintend.

A gentleman, on whose estate he lived, bought 25 negroes in one lot, and at two years end had only 3 or 10 left. A great many African negroes die in the first three years after importation.

Has heard African negroes express their praise of their

1791. their own country, and grief at leaving it. Never
 knew one but wished to go back again. Was told
 by one, when asking him the mode of his capture,
 that they undermined the house in which he and fa-
 mily lived, and came in upon them in the night, and
 took them all away.

Knew a negro man who hanged himself, also a
 woman. On the same property a man had shot him-
 self before witness came to it. Has heard of many
 other instances of the kind; all Africans. Great
 rejoicings made by African negroes at the funerals
 of each other, from a belief that the deceased are
 gone to their own country again.

Capacity of some negroes is very great: as to dis-
 position, they seem stubborn at first coming, but
 grow better in time. In both these points they do
 not differ much from lower white people, when they
 have been sometime in the country.

P. 197. Knows two estates where, he believes, negroes
 increased by births, which he ascribes to good usage
 and their not being worked too hard.

Maroon negroes, believes, are increasing very fast.

Domestic used in general much better than field
 slaves; thinks they usually increase, but not so fast
 as field slaves, when well used.

Cultivation of cotton, coffee, and pimento, much
 more easy than that of sugar; and slaves there look
 better and increase faster than those on sugar estates.

Jobbing gangs are used in general better than
 field slaves, if they work under their own masters;
 but if under the overseer of the estate, much worse.

Slaves of a person embarrassed are worse clothed
 and fed on that account; thinks in general they are
 used better, when their owner lives on the estate
 himself.

Knows of no regulation to prevent separation of
 families, when slaves are sold by writs of venditioni,
 P. 198. or from African ships. Slaves subject to imprison-
 ment when seized for master's debts. Has known
 them

them lie long in gaol, and then fold, if the debt ^{1791.}
not paid.

Is of opinion white mechanics can do equally as much labour in Jamaica, if under shelter, as in England out of doors, at proper hours.

Believes there are now more drougths in Jamaica than formerly, on account of so much land having been cleared. Has heard many elderly natives say, they never formerly wanted seasonable weather.

Has seen many Guinea sailors lying about the towns, and travelling in the country full of ulcers; seemed very miserable people: a very great proportion of those in Kingston hospital are Guineamen.

Few estates but what have runaway negroes. When the number is sufficient to make it worth while, book-keepers from the different estates, armed with a musket and a couteau, hunt after them in the woods. They fire at them at times, but not with a view of P. 199. killing them. Never knew any killed on such occasions.

Witness examined—Captain Cook.

Captain Cook, of the 89th regiment, was in Bar-P. 199. badoes, St. Lucia, St. Kitt's, &c. in 1780 and 1781. Thought the negroes in the towns were treated with very great severity. He saw a woman named Rachel Lawder beat a female slave most unmercifully; having bruised her head almost to a jelly with the heel of her shoe, she threw her with great force on the seat of a child's necessary, and then tried to stamp her head through the hole, and would have murdered her if not prevented by two officers. The girl's crime was the not bringing money enough from on board ship, where she was sent by her mistress for the purpose of prostitution.

A domestick slave, an excellent servant, and in general well respected by the officers on whom he attended

1791. tended at mess, having made a mistake on an errand for
 some cards, his mistress, a person of respectable condition, calling him by name said, Go to the jumper (to whom she paid 20s. a year to flog her negroes) give my service to him, and tell him to give you 27 lashes, with which the poor creature was obliged to comply. The company was displeased, and the officers left the house.

Two young ladies of fortune, sisters, one of whom was displeased at the pregnancy of a female slave belonging to the other, by the son of the surgeon attending the estate, proceeded to some very derogatory acts of cruelty. With their own garters they tied the young woman neck and heels, and then beat her almost to death with the heels of their shoes: one of her eyes continued a long while after in danger of being lost. They afterwards continued to use her ill, confining and degrading her. Captain Cook came in during the beating, and was an eye witness of it himself.

Neither in these nor any similar instances (and he could mention others) did the slave obtain any legal redress, nor does he know of any redress from law for the worst injuries, nor even of punishment for the murder of slaves. Two slaves were murdered and thrown into the road during his stay, yet no legal inquiry took place that he ever heard of. This excited his frequent inquiries from persons of all ranks and descriptions, and the universal answer was, that they did not choose to make examples of white men there, fearing it might be attended with dangerous consequences.

He never knew an instance of any endeavour to conceal cruelties of this kind. Being on a visit to General Frear at an estate of his in Barbadoes, and riding one morning with the General and two other officers, they saw near a house upon a dunghill, a naked negro nearly suspended by strings from his
 P. 201. elbows backwards, to the bough of a tree, with his feet barely resting upon the ground, and an iron weight

weight round his neck, at least, to appearance, of 1791. 14lb. weight: and thus without one creature near him, or apparently near the house, was this wretch left exposed to the noon-day sun. Returning a few hours after they found him in the same state, and would have released him but for the advice of General Frear, who had an estate in the neighbourhood. The gentlemen through disgust shortened their visit, and returned the next morning.

The inferior white people, however, have a general impression, that they are punishable by law if they inflict more than 39 lashes at one time on a negro.

This law may be evaded by splitting a crime into many, and by intervals, dividing the times; and of this where slaves are punished at home, there are daily instances. Returning home one evening late with Major Fitch of the 90th regiment, they heard most dreadful cries, and on approaching the square at Bridge Town, found they proceeded from the house of a man that sold liquor, and heard the repeated lashes of a whip on a creature whom they conceived to be dying. On their requesting admission, the cruelty seemed to be wantonly increased, which so provoked them that they broke open the door, and found a negro girl of about 19 chained to the floor, almost expiring with agony and loss of blood. The man taking refuge behind his compter from their indignation, and P. 202. thinking himself free from the law, immediately cried out with exultation, that he had only given her 39 lashes at a time, and that only three times since the beginning of the night. He then threatened them for breaking his door, and interfering between him and his slave, whom he would flog to death for all any one, and have given her the fourth 39 lashes before morning, which must have killed her as she seemed then to be dying.

When masters were embarrassed their slaves always suffered in clothes and food; they often suffered in the same manner from the rapacity of managers in the absence of their masters.

The

1791. The slaves on large estates, the managers being in general more respectable men, seemed happier than those on the smaller.

Female slaves in the towns are very frequently let out for prostitution, or at least on paying a weekly sum to their owners, have leave to go on board the ships of war for that purpose. This is common with the inferiour people, and frequent even among the better sort. He has known a girl severely punished by her owner for returning without the full wages of her prostitution.

On some estates of the better kind, care was taken of those whom age or infirmity had rendered no longer serviceable, and easy offices were assigned P. 203. them, so that some have grown extremely old, and been useful to the last: but among the inferiour, and sometimes among the most opulent, the reverse is the case; they have been dismissed to poverty and distress: and he does not believe that there is any law to prevent owners from turning such slaves upon the publick, to starve and die in the streets.

He has no doubt, and he speaks from many instances, that white people by habits of temperance, and regularity of hours, might bring themselves to go through nearly as much labour and fatigue in the West Indies as any people whatever.

It does not appear to him that the absence of the owner is in general hurtful to the slave, but that it has sometimes been much so, on one estate in particular, where the manager made a larger fortune than his master.

In general among the white people, and particularly the women, even of the better families, they believe, and endeavour to propagate an opinion, that the negroes are an inferiour species of being.

The clearing of Barbadoes has been thought prejudicial to the fertility of the island, the trees formerly having attracted showers that do not now fall so frequently as before.

He

He has known both mulattoes and African negroes purchase their freedom, but never a field slave. 1791.

When resident at Barbadoes, two instances of negro suicide occurred. A slave who had fled from home for some crime he had committed, was lost for several weeks. Being accidentally met by a man whose business it is to take up runaway negroes, and two assistants with him; the negro too much intimidated to fly, cried out to them, "I will not be taken alive; you and I have lived many years together, and why should we hurt each other." So, brandishing his hanger, he said, "Keep off," and immediately stabbed himself. In the other instance, a slave jumped into a well to avoid punishment for a murder he had committed through jealousy. P. 204.

When up in the country, he heard it said by the manager of an estate, that an old man, whose office it had long been to flog the negroes, could strike with a whip of 7 feet long or longer, so exactly, as to lodge the point of the lash just within the flesh, where it would remain, till picked out with his finger and thumb. The manager offered to shew the experiment, and tendered wagers that he succeeded once in three times, which were of course declined. Negroes, when flogged in the country, are laid on their belly, with a negro at each hand and foot to raise them from the ground. In towns, they stand bare in the open streets, and expose their posteriors to the jumper. He has been shocked to see in the streets of Bridge-Town, a girl of 16 or 17, a domestic slave, running on her ordinary business, with an iron collar, having two hooks projecting several inches both before and behind. P. 205.

Witness Examined—Mr. WILLIAM FITZMAURICE.

Was in Jamaica from June, 1771, to March, 1786. P. 205.
As overseer the last ten years, the former time book-keeper,
Numb. 4. P

1791. keeper, except the first six months, when he was clerk to a store in Kingston.

In towns slaves were usually flogged on the wharfs (where they were sent, because the place was public, and for the conveniency of the crane and weights, p, 206.) They are stript, tied up to the crane, with one or two fifty-fixes to their feet, and a handkerchief round them for decency, and flogged with 39 lashes, probably more. Others were sent to the work-houses and flogged every morning, or every monday morning, according to the master's disposition. The punishment was generally so severe, as to cut them and bring blood, so as to make their frocks, if immediately put on, appear as stiff as buckram. He never knew it inflicted by a magistrate's order.

Pregnant women were very often flogged as described, and frequently miscarried from severe whippings.

P. 206. This mode of punishment continued the same during all his stay in the island.

Negroes provision-grounds were always distant from their houses, sometimes three miles off; and sometimes where it was with great difficulty they got at them.

The slaves of involved masters were always pinched in provisions, at storms or hurricanes.

Slaves provision-grounds, if near the cane-pieces, and the owner wishes to enlarge his estate, are always taken from them, and put into canes. Other grounds are given them, and perhaps a day weekly allowed them to bring it to perfection. This is often attended with the greatest destruction to the negroes, who go about new grounds or to new houses with great reluctance. He has changed negroes to a far healthier situation, and lost many from the effect of the change on their spirits.

Some negro houses are pretty dry, but most of them are open to the weather, being wattled without plaster. They sleep on a board on the ground, near the fire, and after it goes out, they suffer from cold and

and damp. This causes many disorders, especially 1791.
to lying-in-women, who lose more children by this
than any other cause, as they generally die of the
locked jaw.

Weakly-handed estates, which are far the most P. 207.
numerous, form their negroes in crop, into two
spells, which generally change at 12 at noon, and 12
at night. The boilers, and others about the works,
cut canes from shell-blow, half past one, till dark;
when they carry cane-top, or grafs to the cattle-
pens, and then may rest till 12 at night, when they
relieve the spell in the boiling-house, by which they
themselves were relieved at 12 in the day. On all
estates, the boiling goes on night and day, except
Sunday. But well-handed estates have three spells,
and intermissions accordingly.

After crop, they form two gangs, if tolerably well P. 217.
handed. The shell blows for turning out at 4 or 5
o'clock, or earlier. It depends on the overseer.
They work till 10: have a quarter or perhaps half
an hour for breakfast; work till one, when shell
blows for dinner: if a rainy season, to take advan-
tage of it, they work till the rain falls, which is two
o'clock, perhaps later. He now speaks of the season-
able parts of the island. They have about an hour
and half for dinner, and half an hour to get into the
field, so as that the last shall get there exactly at the
end of two hours; if not they are generally flogged.
They often run to their grounds, which may be dis-
tant, to get provisions for supper. Hence loss of
time, and frequent flogging. From dinner they
work till dark, when they trash cattle-pens, or carry
home grafs. Then the book-keeper calls the list.
When they get home, it may be about 8 o'clock.
This exaction is grievous, as the willing ones must
wait till the lazy are brought up; and it causes whip-
ping to those who neglect it. Some estates do not
exact this duty, but most do.

Various works are considered as detached jobs
from the field-work, as hoeing intervals, which they

1791. can do before day; also moulding the cattle-pens, chopping up dung, making mortar, and other preparations for tradesmen. These are called before-day jobbs, which must be done, so as not to hinder the general work.

He never knew but one instance of work being done by task. He hired 60 negroes, all American, from a Mr. Douglas, and they had a task every morning measured out to them by Mr. D. or his overseer, and which they finished by 1 or 2 o'clock, and had the rest of the day to themselves. The driver carried no whip, and only went occasionally to see that the work was properly done. The plantation negroes, on the adjoining land, would not finish till dark (even with the driver) the same quantity of work. From this he thinks, tasks (of work that admit of it) would be to the ease of the negroes.

P. 219. From the negroes working, as they commonly do, in rows, with the driver after them with his whip, it almost necessarily follows that the weak will be hard pushed to make them keep up with the strong. He is sorry to say, that from this cause, many negroes are hurried to the grave; as the able, even if placed with the weakly to bring them up, will leave them behind, and then the weakly are generally severely flogged up by the driver, considered as worthless, and perhaps kept all noon to bring up their rows.

It is the overseer and book-keeper's duty to attend particularly to the negro-grounds. The lazy, or those who give trouble by asking for food, are collected by the driver every Sunday morning, and on the days for working their grounds, (allowed every other week as the overseer chose) and kept to work in a gang, in clearing provision-ground, or putting in order those they have.

Negroes often go 18 or 20 miles to the Sunday market, as he particularly knew the last four years he was in Jamaica. These journies are very hurtful to the Negroes, and it is almost impossible to prevent them.

He

He never heard of a common field-slave buying 1791. his freedom. Has known negroes who had saved a little money; generally head-carpenters, &c, endeavour to do it. Some masters have sold them their P. 220. freedom, when on the border of becoming invalids, and where the estate was not mortgaged. On the last estate on which he lived, a very old, yet valuable man, who was head cattle-man, asked him to speak to the attorney to get him his freedom; but the estate being mortgaged it could not be done. (Africans who have been many years tradesmen or head-men, may probably buy their freedom when old, p. 232).

Very often, especially in the towns, the poorer whites and Jews let their negroes work out, and pay them a certain weekly sum. Many who have no trades, are pushed very hard to do this, and often skulk into the country, rob on estates, are chopped or maimed by watchmen, or sent to gaol as run-aways. Handsome women are obliged to bring home more money than ordinary, it being expected they will be kept by whites or free persons. This is much the practice in Kingston and Spanish town, where he was a good deal. Old negroes past labour, especially those of Jews, are desired to provide for themselves, and he is sorry to say often suffer by hunger, or rough treatment, when caught stealing on the estates.

On some estates, where the proprietor lives, the doctor may attend twice a week, which is generally expected; but where the proprietor is absent, and the P. 221. attorney 30, 50, or 100 miles off, the negroes often suffer very severely indeed, for want of medical care. The doctors are often young and inexperienced, which is generally attended with very fatal effects and certain ruin to the owner, as he knows from experience. The ordinary care of the sick depends on the hot-house (hospital) man or woman, who bleed, dress sores, and give medicine, as directed by the doctor or overseer. Resident planters allow the hot-house person

1791. son a little wine, by the doctor's order; but, on absentee's estates, the overseer, even if so humane as to give it out of his own pocket, is perhaps distant from town, and has no wine. Attornies, generally do not give it, alledging it would not be allowed in their accounts: they always told him so, when he wrote for wine for the sick. He knows some, whose estates are in their own possession, who send out wine from hence; but this is not general. After long droughts, negroes are apt to get fluxes, by eating green vegetables, or bad flour, especially the former.

He lived with proprietors who wished to encourage propagation; but they are often obliged to push them, for good crops. He lived with others who desired to push them, and with whom the loss of a few negroes or stock was nothing compared to large crops, to satisfy their creditors.

Negroes particularly suffer in the hands of mortgagees. In general people in debt push constantly to get out of it, and to raise their credit to buy negroes, which he has known them buy, when, probably, they could not get credit for any other commodity. There is a custom, in Jamaica, of obtaining negroes on bond and judgment.

Some years ago, it was an old saying, in St. Thomas in the Vale (or Sixteen-Mile-Walk) that if a negroe lived 7 years, he paid for himself. The work was so hard there that it was proverbial, "A Sixteen-Mile-Walk book-keeper, and a Clarendon mule, are the two hardest animals in the country." Several proprietors told him, they considered a child born and reared on the estate to be a dear negro, and overseers generally dislike breeding, as interfering with the work of the women. He has known other proprietors take pleasure in seeing the women breed. Many infants die of the locked jaw, within the 14th day, which he believes, from his last six years experience, is chiefly owing to cold and uncleanness. The lying-in women generally have large fires in their rooms, which being often broken, let in the cold,

cold, and when the fire goes out a severe chill follows, by which the infant suffers. A great many die of yaws which require great cleanliness. When over-^{1791.}
feer, he has been directed to attend to the rearing of children; but speaking generally, from his own knowledge, infants had not the requisite care. Believes the stock of slaves could not be kept up or increased on the present system; it would take some time to bring about. He means the easing the negroes, which he thinks might be done, by using the plough on every estate, and, where it can run, putting in the canes after it. ^{P. 223.}

On Raimesberry estate, in Clarendon, the negroes increased so fast, that a gang of them was drawn off to settle a new estate called Yarmouth, which he had the care of, but the settlement was discontinued, from the change of the attorney. On Orange in St. James's no negroes were bought, for at least 15 years, and they increased; as also on Eden in the same parish. He lived on both these estates. Negroes worked moderately may be increased. He has known estates where the negroes were worked severely hard, they increased and decreased nearly equal.

Nothing is more common, than negroes suffering ^{P. 224.} by change of management; as new overseers, as well as inexperienced overseers, push the negroes to make greater crops than their predecessors.

A gentleman had two estates in Clarendon, one of which Mr. F. managed. He had too few negroes for both, but enough for one. He was also much in debt, and his negroes suffering from being overwrought. He put both gangs on one estate, which were amply sufficient, is now making 400 hogsheds of sugar, and is a clear man. Both estates did not before make 150 hogsheds. Most of the time he was his own overseer. Mr. F. never knew he bought any negroes since then, which is about 13 years ago. But cannot speak of this as a fact.

In St. Thomas in the Vale, on the estate of a gentleman lately deceased, by over-pushing, most of the
negroes

1791. negroes were destroyed, while he was in England. On his return, his estates were almost without negroes and those that lived were taken by writs of Venditioni, and judgments against him to a large amount. Mr. F. bought, at a sale, 50 odd, to cover a debt for a house in Kingston. Two of his estates were thrown up when Mr. F. left the island, the other three are in the hands of mortgagees. Another estate, within three miles of Montego bay, was making from P. 225. 180 to 200 hogheads, with an adequate strength, when it was put in possession of mortgagees. In twelve years it was reduced to 10 hogheads. The slaves were destroyed, by making an unnecessary canal in swamps. It was brought to sale in 1788, bought by the mortgagee, and is now brought up to its former crops. The proprietor of the estate was most of the time in England. The overseer of it made 10,000l. and retired.

When overseer on an estate in St. John's, the estate being short handed, Mr. F. mentioned to the proprietor that he would not take off the crop with the negroes and cattle. He told Mr. F. to drive them without mercy, as the loss of a few negroes and stock was no object compared to sending home his crop in time. Mr. F. left him about the end of crop, because he would not see 100 lashes given to a domestic, not immediately under his direction, and who he did not think deserved this punishment.

He has known the plough used on many estates with advantage, as it eases the negroes, and pulverizes the soil. (But some soils do not require pulverizing, p. 226.) Dove-Hall, in St. Thomas in the Vale, plows 40 or 50 acres every fall. He has known Mr. Edwards only put in canes after the plough without holing, except on an estate Mr. Pinnock is attorney for, and which made great returns. The chief obstacle to the plough is, that managers have not time to adopt it, looking for immediate labour, and often there is not a blacksmith within 15 miles to repair it.

He

He has often attempted plowing and has been obliged, by these obstacles, to leave it off. 1791.

In some cases, the Doctor's visits are a considerable check on the overseers severity, where the proprietor lives on the estate. But when the attorney lives perhaps 20, 30, 40, or even 100 miles off, then it is the interest of the overseer and doctor, not to find fault with each other.

He is sorry to say, he never knew recourse had to legal redress for wanton cruelty to slaves. Has known people, a Mr. Rushie in particular, whom he had occasion to see, almost daily, commit cruelties which brought negroes to their end. He caught him, one day, in the act of hanging a negro. On his remonstrating, Rushie ordered him off his estate. He rode away and informed his employer, who was a magistrate and who desired him to go and inquire the next morning, before R. was up, whether the negro was dead. This Mr. F. did; and on privately asking a white man, he desired Mr. F. to go into the curing-house, when he saw the negro lying dead on a board. He returned and told what he had seen to his employer, who was very much shocked; but Mr. F. heard nothing more of it. It was well known this man killed many of his negroes, and that so fast, as to force him to sell his estate. Cases of this kind, he cannot say, are frequent; but severity, and hard work certainly cause a constant decrease of the able negroes. No attempt was made to bring Rushie to P. 227. punishment. His character was generally known, and much despised by the neighbouring proprietors. He thinks, his employer desired him to make the above inquiry more from curiosity than an intention to enforce the law against Rushie, with whom he was on decent terms. He and his employer often visited him, and always found his negroes laid up with cruelties, and those that could work chained to the coppers, or, in gangs linked in the field. Other cruelties he practised, were too indecent to be mentioned. He often found Rushie dropping hot lead

1791. on his negroes, but took no notice of it; as he wished nobody to see him acting those cruelties. He did not interfere; because he got his bread from employers, and did not wish to be disliked, or called officious, p. 231). Other acts of cruelty are often practised, according to the disposition or viciousness of the master or overseer. An overseer he knew well, (and who, as before said, brought down an estate, by the countenance of the mortgage-in-possession, from 180 to 10 hogsheds) was charged with gelding a negro on the estate, for riding out his horses at night, and he believes justly; as afterwards Mr. F. knew he gelt a negro of his own: on which the troop of horse he was captain of, and in which Mr. F. served, objected to do duty with him.

P. 228. He cannot say field slaves, in general, appeared to him marked with the whip. Where there are cruel managers, and large crops exacted, the effects are visible on the negroes.

Negroes are often driven by severity to run away. They go to their masters or attorneys, if within reach; but when the attorney lives perhaps 70 or 100 miles off, they prefer going into the woods, being generally taken up as runaways before the journey's end. Planters who employ distant attorneys, are sure to suffer by it. Runaways, when caught, are whipped and confined, or if the manager is humane, perhaps forgiven; but they are generally punished to deter others.

He never saw mutilation actually inflicted; but on an estate where he was book-keeper, there was a negro, whose master had had his leg cut off, and had made him a blacksmith. The master said he had, by so doing, made him his most valuable negro; as he did all the iron-work of the three estates, and, before that, he was always running away.

It was generally understood that whipping was limited to 39 lashes: but it is often evaded by putting the negro into the stocks, and giving him 39 more, for the same offence, next day. Hasty and vicious

vicious people would give perhaps 100 lashes, and if the negro died from it, (which however he never knew) where the owner or attorney lived not near enough, they escaped unpunished. 1791.

Has known too many suicides, among new negroes P. 229. especially, both by hanging themselves and by dirt-eating, which they knew to be fatal. He lost, one year, 12 new negroes by it, though he fed them well. On his remonstrating, they constantly told him, they preferred dying to living. A great proportion of the new negroes that go on sugar estates, die in this way.

They are always talking of their being taken away, and kidnapped, from their country, and of the hardship of slavery.

Nothing is more common than persons buying new negroes, before they have sufficient provision-grounds, and other accommodations for them: and the masters finding it very difficult to buy provisions, the negroes feel hunger, before they can establish grounds, and soil and seasons are often against their raising provisions. Hence such negroes are often lost. New negroes in towns, are better off, being generally employed in the house, and fed weekly.

A man may be attorney for from 1 to 20 estates, according to his interest. He knows several who P. 230. are attorneys for a great number, in various parts of the island, perhaps at the distance of 10, 30, 60, or 100 miles, or more, as it happened.

Some overseers have premiums for all they make, above a certain number of hogsheds; but this is not the common mode. Attornies have salaries or commissions. Believes attornies on most mortgaged estates, draw commissions on the net crops, as well as on what they buy on the island for the use of the estates; and they accumulate great riches.

Some overseers have negroes, others have not; but generally they convert their salaries into negroes. allowed to work them on the estates where they

1791. themselves live, it causes a jealousy between the manager's and the plantation negroes.

Thinks, on an average at least one-third of the new negroes imported into the island, die in the first three years, and three men die to one woman as he has experienced. The men take every thing unpleasant to heart, and often kill themselves. The women have many protections the men have not, as being taken as wives by the plantation negroes, or being made domestics.

P. 231. In the last four years he was in Jamaica, he bought 95 new negroes; at the end of that time, he sold 52, all that were alive, and those not seasoned. Had he kept them till seasoned, he should have lost more, and for this very reason he sold them.

The lower whites too often looked on the negroes as inferior beings, and often beat them, unless checked by the attornies or overseers.

He only knew one attempt made to give the negroes religious instruction, and that was by a proprietor in Liguanea, who encouraged one or two American negroes, who professed to be capable to give his negroes some religious notions. But the neighbours considered this as dangerous, by assembling too many negroes, who might be mutinous.

P. 232. The afore said gang of 80 American negroes, after work, went to prayers; they were a valuable gang, and worked task-work for him about nine months.

The cane land is generally as fit for cotton, coffee, or other articles.

Though domestics may not be the best slaves, they appear so, as the house soon makes a visible change on them.

He has been at twenty sales by scramble, at least. No particular care was taken to prevent the separation of relations, except sucking children, or those under three or four years.

Sales by venditioni are very frequent, where levies are made. He has known them three months or longer

longer in prison, before sale. But this depends on 1791.
occasional circumstances.

Refuse slaves are sold according to their appearance, some as low as three dollars. They are generally bought by the Jews in towns, at vendue or at private sale.

He has always, as overseer, given in to the vestries, the annual returns of slaves, stock, &c. and, as vestry-man, (in 1786, in St. Thomas, in the Vale, where he possessed land and negroes) has received such returns, in which it was not usual to distinguish the sexes.

Has very frequently seen Guinea sailors wandering about the island, in an abject state.

Witness examined,—Mr. THOMAS CLAPPESON.

Was at Jamaica in 1762 and 1763; from 1768 to P. 207. 1778, and 1786 to 1789. The general opinion he formed, was, that the slaves were severely treated, and in a miserable state.

Thinks that, in general, the food which they can obtain, is insufficient.

For the first 2 years, he was in the seafaring line, P. 208. the rest of the time wharfinger and pilot.

Had opportunities of seeing many negroes from the estates; such as he asked, as to their feeding, generally said (particularly in drougths, when provisions were scarce) "Hungry da kill me."

Very commonly suffer both in quality and quantity of food, from the embarrassments of their masters: has known several who had not credit for provisions; others who bought, for cheapness, damaged corn, &c. when better was to be had; which he has himself sold, and which the slaves complained of, when they came to fetch it from the wharf; a neighbour told him his hogs would not eat it.

Knew

1791. Knew a person near him, reputed worth £50,000 lose 10 or 12 slaves for want of food, when it was to be had.

P. 209. Slaves generally steal provisions, soap, candles, &c. which they sometimes steal to sell.

They are generally ill clothed; never knew any go naked from choice.

The punishments appeared in general severe, to the fear of which he chiefly attributes the frequent desertions.

Knew a pregnant woman whipped, and delivered on the spot.

Has heard of very great severities to runaways; has seen them wear iron collars on their necks, and pot-hooks, with 3 prongs, both rivetted; the prongs projecting 2 feet; thinks the wearer cannot easily lye down.

Never heard of slaves obtaining any redress for injuries, by masters or overseers.

P. 210. An overseer told him, he had often picketed the slaves to extort confession.

Knew a cooper give his slave 200 lashes, for stealing a little rice from him. He allowed his slaves a herring a day, and a bit a week.

The wharfinger whom he succeeded in 1786, allowed his negroes a herring a day only.

Knew, in 1789, a man who had an old decrepid woman slave, to whom he would allow nothing. He remonstrated with him on it, in vain.

Slaves are often imprisoned on writs of venditioni; at the sale of such, never heard of any attention to avoid separating families.

The general recommendation of an overseer is, P. 211. good sugars and large quantities; has known an overseer paid a guinea per hoghead, besides his salary, for all he could make beyond a certain quantity.

Has known several persons attorney and overseer on the same estate.

Slaves

Slaves are supposed better off where the owner resides; has heard it always supposed, that the better they are treated, the more it is for the owner's interest. 1791.

It is common for persons who have a few slaves, and but little work, to oblige them to earn 3 or 4 bits a day, and punish them very severely if they fail to bring home such sum; has known them steal grass and sell it to do this: knew a man compel his old negro, wanting a leg, to pay him 4 bits a day.

African negroes are capable of being made mechanics.

They destroy themselves sometimes, from various causes; fear of punishment, jealousy, &c. it is a very prevailing opinion with them, that at death they return to their own country. P. 212.

Has often heard of their being kidnapped in Africa: he had a slave who had been a negro-catcher in his own country.

Has seen several slave sales on board, all by scramble. In 1789, saw a sale by scramble in a butcher's slaughter-house on the beach. Never heard of any precautions at scrambles, to prevent the separation of relations or friends. Thinks whites, if temperate, are able to labour in Jamaica; he never worked harder than he has done there; no people work harder than our sailors do there.

Has heard, that clearing the lands, has, near the sea coast, caused more drought.

In his returns to the vestry of the number of slaves, he never used to distinguish the sexes.

The free negroes in general behaved well, they were fishermen and tradesmen. P. 213.

Has heard of several people buying more slaves than they could pay for.

Has heard often seamen say, that in Guinea ships, the crews are ill treated, to make them desert; has always understood, that they did not want to carry home as many seamen as they took out; that they got

1791. got rid of what they could in the West Indies, to save their wages.

P. 214. Was in Jamaica when the assembly passed the consolidated law; he has often heard it was passed because of the stir about the slave trade in England. Never heard that any regard was paid to it, slaves being still treated as before. Never heard of any prosecution for such disregard: recollects an instance of disregard to it, which came under his eye. The owner of an old and decrepid female slave, would allow her neither victuals nor clothing; advised a son of the woman to complain to a magistrate, who would perhaps order her to be taken care of; believes he was deterred from fear of punishment, as that owner treated his slaves very harshly in general.

Witness examined—WILLIAM BEVERLEY, Esq.
A Student of Lincoln's Inn.

P. 215. Was born in Virginia, and lived there the first 16 years of his life, returned in 1786, and resided above two years in different parts of America.

The negroes in Virginia always kept up their numbers, and generally increased. His father's more than doubled their numbers. In 1761 he had about 200, and in 1788, he paid taxes on above 540, of whom not above 20 or 30 had been added by purchase.

P. 216. Slaves there had no legal redress, for ill usage by their masters. In other cases they had, on proving the fact by two white witnesses.

In summer, negroes were generally healthier than in winter, when they always complained of the cold, though it did not hurt their health, when well clothed. The diseases most fatal there are agues and fevers, in summer, to which negroes are less subject than whites.

They

They were generally punished with much severity; but that depends greatly on the owner's disposition. 1790.

Each slave had a bushel of Indian corn meal weekly: besides this allowance, they usually had ground to cultivate for their own use; but this depended a good deal on the master. They were all allowed to raise poultry.

He never heard of any attempts to give the slaves religious or moral instruction.

Has heard of some slaves working by task; but, in general, it was not practised.

Never knew a slave destroy himself.

The slaves of distant proprietors were often treated, P. 232. by the overseers, much more severely, than those under the master's eye. This different treatment was observable in the appearance of the slaves.

Was told in America, that when the abolition of the slave-trade was first agitated in 1774, many doubted the practicability of keeping up the numbers by births; and the persons so doubting have since expressed to him a conviction that their fears were groundless. The slave-trade was abolished in America in 1774.

Witness examined—Mr. GEORGE WOODWARD.

Mr. George Woodward is both an owner and P. 233. mortgagee of W. India property, in Barbadoes; where he resided in 1782 and 1783, and was also P. 234. in 1777.

Both in town and country he thought the domestics very numerous. There seemed to be more females than males in the island. While resident, he never heard any complaint of the want of negroes to carry on plantation or other business. He does not recollect the sale of a single cargo of slaves while

Numb. 4.

R

there.

1791. there. The labour of slaves the year round he thinks cannot be reckoned easy.

It is possible in a great degree to relieve the labour of slaves by the plough. He has used it himself: the first he ever saw, he took over himself, and he is sure it tilled the ground better than the hoe did. One plough, two men, and four horses, will do as much work as thirty negroes, and better. The labour of holding the plough is much easier than holing. It did not require much negro labour to prepare the ground for the cane after the plough.

P. 235. There is not much difficulty of ploughing to the depth of six inches, which is the rule, and a sufficient depth for the cane. The plough may be made to plough the strongest clay land that is.

The negroes are capable of learning the management of the plough. He thinks that the largest part of the cane land and ginger land of Barbadoes may be ploughed to the advantage of the proprietor, and saving of negroes labour. The negroes are not averse to the plough: he has seen them both hold and drive it. He did not find the cattle injured by the labour. He is acquainted with the use of the plough in England, he farms land of his own. Capt. Lee took out some ploughs about 3 years ago.

He is not apprehensive that the abolition of the slave trade will injure his W. India property. He thinks it would be of advantage to the island of

P. 236. Barbadoes. By using them well, and by good management, the stock of slaves would naturally increase, without importation.

Witness examined—Mr. JOSEPH WOODWARD.

Mr. Joseph Woodward has been in Barbadoes in 1788, 1789 and 1790. He has there seen the plough in use by Mr. Henry Trotman, jun. He believes he has used it many years.

Mr.

Mr. Trotman informed him that he thought tillage by the plough both better and cheaper than the labour of negroes with the hoe. The soil that he ploughed was not the best, it was rather rocky. Mr. Trotman told him, that the plough then answered his purpose, and in time would become general, when people became acquainted with its utility. 1791.

He once at Bridgetown saw a negro lying on the wharf, so very much debilitated that he could not stand, and heard from him, that his owner would not take him in. He appeared about 60 years old. P. 237.

He has known free negroes hire themselves to stow sugars in the ships hold; he has known them so employed on board his own ship. He knows no labour either of blacks or whites more severe than this is.

Witness examined—Mr. JAMES KIERNAN.

Was in Africa in 1775, 1776, 1777, and 1778, to learn the nature of the trade, to carry it on. P. 237.

The trade for slaves in the R. Senegal, where he resided, was chiefly with the Moors, on the northern banks, who got them very often by war, and not seldom by kidnapping; i. e. lying in wait near a village, where there was no open war, and seizing whom they could.

Has often heard of villages, and seen the remains of such, broken up by making the people slaves. P. 238.

Has always heard kidnapping spoken of there as notorious; and has seen proofs of it by persons so taken being ransomed; when, very often, the white trader asks more than the value of the slave, to give him up: never heard of a white trader, before buying a slave, inquire into the right of the seller.

1791. Never knew any person sold for witchcraft; a belief in it exists strongly on that part of the coast.

The first year, by far the greatest number of slaves were offered to sale, from an open war then subsisting between the Moors and negroes: to which P. 239. the Moors have always a strong inducement, most of the European goods they obtain, being got in exchange for slaves. Hence desolation and waste: in a few years, they extirpated large settlements on the northern banks of the Senegal, and in time they were expected to root out all the black nations between the Senegal and Gambia. The Moors neither follow nor encourage agriculture.

Believes, that to be sold to Europeans, is considered by all negroes from inland, as well as on the coast, as a punishment only short of death.

The inhabitants of the island of St. Louis, are estimated at about 5000, who are supplied with cattle by the Moors, and with corn by the blacks only.

Ships bound to the W. Indies were supplied by the blacks with large quantities of corn, which the slaves preferred to any other food.

The blacks on the south banks of the Senegal raise cotton, indigo, and tobacco, sufficient for their use.

Knows the negroes manufacture cotton, leather, and metals, for they supply Senegal with clothing, articles of leather, and ornaments of gold and silver; they dye some of their cottons very finely, blues and scarlets; believes their consumption of cotton cloths is very considerable.

Never knew the natives backward in supplying any considerable demand for provisions, when properly encouraged.

Never knew the natives encouraged by Europeans to raise for sale other produce than provisions.

Persons of property there, have a great number of persons under the denomination of slaves, whom they

they treat as Europeans would people of their own family. 1791.

Witness examined—HENRY BOTHAM, Esq.

Went to the W. Indies 1770, and, in about two P. 241.
years, visited all the islands, English and French,
and was employed by government in Grenada, to
ascertain the difference of property there between
the old and new subjects.

He was not long a planter in the W. Indies. He
directed Messrs. Bosanquet and Fatio's sugar estate
there, in their partner's absence; but he carried on
sugar works many years at Bencoolen, in the East
Indies.

He has examined the account, in the P. Council's
Report, of the mode of cultivating sugar in the East
Indies, and it is the same which he delivered in.
He drew it up from having long considered the sub-
ject, and, since he delivered it to the P. Council,
sees no reason to make any alteration in it.

The following is an Abridgment of the said ac-
count :

“ Mr. Botham on the Mode of cultivating a
“ Sugar Plantation in the East Indies, &c.”

Having been 2 years in the English and French
W. India islands, and since conducted sugar estates
in the E. Indies; it may be desirable to know that P. 242.
sugar, better and cheaper than that in our islands,
and also arrack, are produced in the E. Indies, by
the labour of free people. China, Bengal, and the
coast of Malabar, produce quantities of sugar and
spirits; but, as the most considerable sugar estates
are near Batavia, I shall explain the improved mode
of conducting those estates. The proprietor is ge-
nerally a rich Dutchman, who has built on it sub-
stantial works. He rents the estate (say of 300 or
more acres) to a Chinese, who lives on and superin-
tends.

1791. tends it, and who re-lets it to free men, in parcels of 50 or 60, on condition that they shall plant it in canes for so much for every pecul, 133½ lb. of sugar produced. The superintendant collects people from the adjacent villages to take off his crop. One set of task-men, with their carts and buffaloes, cut the canes, carry them to the mill and grind them. A second set boil them. A third clay and basket them for market, at so much per pecul.

Thus the renter knows with certainty what every pecul will cost him. He has no unnecessary expence, for when crop is over, the task-men go home, and, for 7 months in the year, there only remain on the estate the cane planters, preparing the next crop. By dividing the labour, it is cheaper and better done.

P. 243. Only clayed sugars are made at Batavia, which are equal to the best from the W. Indies, and sold at 18s. per pecul. The Shabander exacts a dollar per pecul on all sugar exported. The price of common labour is from 9d to 10d per day. But the taskmen gain considerably more, not only from extra work, but from being considered artists in their several branches. They do not make spirits on the sugar estates; the molasses and skimmings are sent for sale to Batavia, where one distillery may buy the produce of 100 estates. Here is a vast saving in making spirits, not as in the W. Indies, a distillery for each estate: arrack is sold at Batavia at about 8d. per gallon; the proof of the spirit is about 5-tenths.

After spending two years in the West Indies, I returned to the East in 1776, and in the last war conducted sugar works at Bencoolen, in Sumatra, on nearly the same principles as the Dutch; I confined my expences to what they had done, allowing for the unavoidable charges, on a new and sole undertaking.

The cane is cultivated to the utmost perfection at Batavia; the hoe, almost the sole implement of the West, is there scarcely used; the lands are well ploughed by a light plough with a single buffalo; a drill

drill is then ploughed, and a person with two baskets filled with cane plants, suspended to a stick across his shoulders, drops into the furrow plants alternately from each basket, covering them at the same time with earth with his feet. Young canes are kept often ploughed as a weeding, and the hoe is used to weed round the plant when very young; but of this there is little need if the land has been sufficiently ploughed. When the cane is ready to earth up, the space between the rows, is ploughed deep, the cane-tops tied up, and with an instrument like a shovel, with teeth at the bottom, a spade-handle, and two cords fixed to the body of the shovel, ending by a wooden handle for a purchase, is used by two persons to earth up the cane, the strongest holding the handle of the shovel, pressing it into the ploughed earth, while the other on the opposite side of the plant, by a jirk of the cord, draws up to the plant, all the earth that the plough had loosened. Two persons with this instrument, will earth up more canes in the day than 10 negroes with hoes. The canes in India are much higher earthed than in the West Indies; in moist soils, they, with little labour, earth them as high as the knee, at once making a dry bed for the cane, and a drain for the water.

The improvement in making the cane into sugar, at Batavia, keeps pace with that in its culture: evaporation being in proportion to the surface, their boilers have as much of it as possible. The cane juice is tempered and boiled to a syrup; it is then thrown into vats, which hold one boiling, there sprinkled with water, to subside its foul parts: after standing six hours, is let off by 3 pegs of different heights, into a copper with one fire; it is there tempered again, and reduced to sugar, by a gentle fire; it granulates, and the boiler dipping a wand into the copper, strikes it on the side, then drops the sugar remaining on it, into a cup of water, scrapes it up with his thumb-nail, and can judge to a nicety of the sugar's being properly boiled. The vats I mentioned

tioned are placed all at the left end of a set of copper. After running off for boiling all that is clear, the rest is strained on the outside of the boiling-house; what is fine is put into the copper for sugar, the lees kept for distilling.

Claying of sugar is as in the W. Indies. The cane trash is not, as in our islands, carried into sheds, where it loses much of its strength before it is used; but is laid out immediately to dry, then made into faggots, set up in cocks, and used immediately when dry; hence its force of fire is much greater, and the carrying it to and from the trash-house is saved.

The culture of the cane in the West Indies is in its infancy. Many alterations are to be made, expenses, and human labour lessened; the hoe, now used to turn up soils of different texture, is of one construction, cheap and very light; so that the negro, without any help from its weight, digs up the earth, (and, the cane roots, on replanting) by the severest exertion. In the East we plough up the cane roots.

Having experienced the difference of labourers for profit, and labourers from force, I can assert, that the savings by the former are very considerable.

The West India planter, for his own interest, should give more labour to beast, and less to man; a larger portion of his estate ought to be in pasture. When practicable, canes should be carried to the mill, and cane tops and grass to the stock, in waggon; the custom of making a hard-worked negro get a bundle of grass twice a day abolished; and in short a total change take place of the miserable management in our West India islands. By this means following, as near as possible, the East India mode; consolidating the distilleries, I do suppose our sugar islands might be better worked than they now are, by two-thirds, or indeed one-half of the present force. Let it be considered, how much labour is lost by the persons overseeing the forced labourer, which is saved when he works for his own profit. I have

have stated, with the strictest veracity, a plain matter of fact—that sugar estates can be worked cheaper by free persons than slaves. 1791.

Whether the slave-trade can be abolished, and the blacks freed, is for the consideration of Parliament. In my judgment, these desirable purposes, may be effected without materially injuring the West India planter. He has but to improve his culture, lessen human labour, and the progeny of the present blacks will answer every purpose of working West India estates. [See this account at large in the Privy Council's Report, at the end of Part III.]

The slaves in the French islands appeared to be better clothed, better fed, and better behaved, than in the British: and their being well fed is chiefly owing to the French planter putting a great proportion of his estate in provisions.

Whether it might or might not be ultimately for the interest of the British planter, and the benefit of his slaves, if he were to allot to provisions, more of the land now destined to sugar, is a question that can only be decided by experiment in the different islands, as the same answer to it would not suit each. In islands that seldom fail in rains, it is no doubt for the planter's interest, to sacrifice a part of the ground allotted for sugar, to provisions; as these feed his negroes better than any dry or other provisions imported: but in islands subject to drougths, he does not think the planter can without materially lessening his crop of sugar, give up any portion of ground to provisions. P. 247.

In 1764, when the East India Company's possessions in Sumatra were returned to them by the French, they were informed by their servants at Bencoolen, that the public works, and other labours of their settlement, could not be carried on without a large supply of slaves; the Company therefore sent slave-ships to Africa and Madagascar, and transported to Bencoolen nearly 1000 slaves, in much the same proportion of men, women, and children, as are

Numb. 4. S carried,

1791. carried from Africa to the West Indies, that is more men, than women and children. These slaves, on the first years of their arrival, from the unhealthiness of the climate, and other causes, decreased: but when they had been at Bencoolen a few years, where they were well fed, humanely treated, and had very little work, they began annually to increase; notwithstanding, from the little attention that was paid to their way of life, both men and women lived in the most abandoned way. The wonder was, that they did increase, as the young female slaves were common prostitutes to the soldiers and sailors.

Witness examined—JOHN SAVAGE, Esq.

P. 247.

Resided in Carolina from 1729 to 1775. Was not a planter, but was repeatedly on many plantations as a visitant for a day or two at a time, and knew the state of negroes there.

Understood labour was performed by task in most operations on estates.

Negroes increased greatly where well clothed and fed; is doubtful if they increased where clothed and fed badly. Heard where masters were harsh, they could not raise children, or but a few.

Where masters were prudent, and kept themselves out of debt, negroes were hearty and strong: hence they got more work out of them than those who did not use them so well, and these were they who made fortunes by planting.

A friend of his, Gabriel Manigault, Esq. informed him, that in 1737 he had on his estate 86 negroes, of whom 12 or 14 were superannuated. The latter he replaced by others. With no more addition than this, they had increased to 270 about a year or two before witness left the country. Mr. Manigault's estate (by purchase) consisted of about 18000 or 19000 acres, 6000 of which were settled, and 12000 or

or 13000 not so; for the latter he had taxes and quit rents to pay for many years till his son came of age, to whom he then gave them. Notwithstanding this charge on the unimproved land, he always made interest of his purchase-money. Mr. M. was a man of humanity, and gave his slaves sufficient clothes, food, and accommodations.

In the year 1739 there was a duty laid on the importation of slaves to Carolina, which amounted to a prohibition, and which continued to 1744. The purchase of new negroes having involved the planters greatly in debt, was the reason why the legislature laid it.

Witness Examined—JOHN CLAPHAM, Esq.

Was upwards of 20 years in Maryland. Negroes kept up their numbers there by propagation, and increased, so that the overplus in some instances were shipped to the W. Indies. Has known 100 sales, where proprietors have had too many for their use in consequence of increase by propagation; yet they were not thought to be well treated, though better than to the southward, and the climate was subject to great and sudden variety of heat and cold.

Attempts were not frequent in Maryland to give religious instruction to negroes.

Witness Examined—ROBERT CREW, Esq.

Is a native of Virginia, and resided there till 1783. Knew the state of the plantation slaves there.

Had sufficient clothing, and as much Indian meal as they could use, and were in general supplied daily with flesh, fish, or something else added to their meal or bread.

Overseers on large estates superintended slaves, but

1791. without a whip, as a master on a small estate, or a bailiff would in this country.

Negroes in Virginia increased rapidly without importation, so much so, that it was a general opinion, that it was profitable to hold slaves on this account, exclusive of the profits of their labour.

Treatment was different on different estates. Where the master was involved and did not superintend his own estate, his overseers were directed to make the greatest possible quantities of tobacco, to supply his pressing necessities. Here the slaves were ill used, worked excessively hard, and were not sufficiently fed. Where the proprietor was in good circumstances, and could pursue his own interest, they were not so hard worked, and had better supplies of food and clothing.

P. 251. This severe system in some, though he thinks never so severe in any circumstances (with a few exceptions) as to cause a decrease in their numbers, and indeed small profits of tobacco plantations could not afford fresh supplies, yet had the effect certainly of preventing their increasing so fast as they otherwise would. Such a system was deemed unprofitable.

Spent a few months at Barbadoes and St. Croix. Was struck with the difference of the treatment of slaves there and in Virginia. A driver with a whip stood over them while at work: they were nearly without clothing. These were the obvious differences. No knowledge of particulars. Thinks the use of the whip formed a difference in their treatment considerably to the disadvantage of West Indian slaves.

Thinks the culture of tobacco nearly as laborious as that of sugar; and the climate of Virginia is not so favourable as that of the West Indies, to African constitutions, on account of the severe cold of the winter.

Importation of African slaves into Virginia, has been generally discontinued since 1772.

Witness

Witness examined,—HERCULES ROSS, Esq.

Resided chiefly in Jamaica, from 1761, to 1782, 1791.
and occasionally in Hispaniola.

Had occasion to be in every parish of the island, P. 252.
and to be acquainted with the state and treatment of
slaves, which depends on circumstances: under a man
of humanity, and where the numbers were equal
to the work, they lived happy; it was difficult under
one of a different description.

It was not understood they had legal redress against
owners or overseers for ill usage; nor against others,
unless the owner or manager stood forward to protect
them.

He had the mortification of seeing innumerable P. 253.
punishments inflicted, many with severity, and he
fears, some unjustly. An uncommon one now occurs,
though it was long ago, at Savanna la Mar. Hear-
ing, from an inclosure, the cries of some poor wretch
under torture, he looked through, and saw a young
female suspended by the wrists to a tree, swinging to
and fro; her toes could barely touch the ground, and
her body exceedingly agitated. The sight rather
confounded him, as there was no whipping, and the
master just by, seemingly motionless; but on look-
ing more attentively, saw in his hand a stick of fire,
which he held so as occasionally to touch her about
her private parts as she swung. He continued this
torture with unmoved countenance, until the witness
calling on him to desist, throwing stones at him over
the fence, stopped it. Thinks it right to say, that
on mentioning it on the bay, it was heard with uni-
versal detestation: the perpetrator was not a man of
character: he was not brought to legal punishment.
Does not know that the law then extended to the P. 254.
punishing whites for such acts.

Slaves in Kingston, when flogged, were tied up by
the wrists; if on the wharfs to the crane-hook, with
weights

1791. weights to their feet, and the crane wound up so as to extend them greatly; the whip was a cow-skin at first, and then ebony bushes, to take off the bruised blood. A gaol was also a place of correction: in fact, every man's premises was a place of punishment, if he chose; but the wharfs and gaol were used by such as did not choose to disturb the neighbours with the slaves cries; but it was understood that any owner had a right to order such punishments, without a magistrate.

In his residence in Jamaica, it became more cleared and improved, and of course healthier: the stile of living, and manners of the whites, gradually improved, and extended a favourable influence to the state of the slaves.

P. 255. Negroes are as capable of labour in the West Indies, as other people in climates congenial to them: that they are better adapted than whites to that climate, is certain. Negroes on board ships, fed on animal food as the whites, are capable of great exertions. In the last war, on the expedition to St. Juan's, government ordered a number of negroes to be collected, to ease the military; they were chiefly culprits, many taken from gaols, whom the owners were glad to part with; though exhausted by confinement and low diet when shipped, they returned almost to a man, in health, and much improved in looks (having had rations with the rest) while the whites, on that service, suffered great sickness and deaths. Something similar was the case with a greater body of negroes sent from Jamaica, to the siege of the Havannah.

As to slaves suffering from the bad circumstances of owners, unable to buy provisions, in some instances it may be the case, when from storms or other casualties, ground provisions are injured.

Slaves may be seized and sold for their owners debts: whereby near relations are often separated. In Kingston and Spanish town, they are confined in gaols till sold to the highest bidders; some of whom may

may be foreigners, and carry a part off the island: a
 hardship which often happens, and to which creoles
 as well as Africans are subject.

1791.

P. 257.

Has often been at sales of Guinea cargoes. On the day advertised by the agent, buyers attend aboard; at a given hour the sale is declared open, when each exerts himself to get first among the slaves to have a good choice, and the whole of the healthy and likely ones, are often sold that day. There used to be in Kingston many people who bought on speculation those left after the first day's sale, to carry them to the country, and retail them, or to ship them off. Has often seen the very refuse landed and sent to vendue masters in a very wretched state; sometimes in the agonies of death, has known them expire in the piazza of the vendue master. Has seen them sold even as low as a dollar.

Thinks the slave trade has been productive of great destruction to the human race, both blacks and whites; of which he could furnish many instances: one marked with peculiar circumstances of horror, was this.

About 20 years ago, a ship, with about 400 slaves struck on a shoal, half a league from the Morant Keys, (3 small sandy islands, 11 leagues S. S. E. from Jamaica) the officers and crew took to the boats with arms and provisions, and landed. At day light it was found that the slaves had got out of their irons, and were forming rafts, on which they placed the women and children, the men swimming by the side, whilst they drifted towards the little island where the crew had landed; who lest the slaves should consume their provisions, came to the resolution to fire upon them, and actually killed from 3 to 400. Of the cargo, 33 or 34 only were saved, which he saw sold at vendue at Kingston. The ship, he thinks, was consigned to a Mr. Hugh Wallace, of St. Elizabeth's parish.

As it is said to be common when ships are wrecked, for the crew to break up the spirit room and get drunk, he is inclined to think the crew of the Guineaman

P. 259.

neaman

1791. neaman must have been drunk to have adopted so horrid a resolution, without first dispatching a boat to Jamaica (5 or 6 hours sail) for assistance. But this is only conjecture, from a persuasion that if they had acted with common discretion, there was no necessity for destroying any of the slaves.

Guinea ships, leaving their seamen behind, was so common as to have been a great nuisance and expense to the people at Kingston, and occasioned a law, obliging the masters of all ships to give security against leaving any disabled seamen behind, or provide for the charge of taking care of them. It was not uncommon for Guinea masters to send on shore a few hours before they sailed, their lame, ulcerated, or sick seamen, leaving them to perish. As to the Guinea trade being a nursery for seamen, he has ever

P. 260. considered it the reverse.

As to any compassion between the state of West India slaves and the peasantry of Great Britain, whatever others may think, he considers it as an insult to common sense: the peasantry in this country are obliged to labour it is true; but there is no market for the sale of human beings, where men of all characters may become buyers, and by the laws hold an absolute right in the person purchased. It is impossible to conceive a man so degenerate, as not to prefer the scantiest morsel with freedom and independance, to the luxury enjoyed by the wealthiest slave on earth. A peasant here however poor, cannot be imprisoned for his master's debts; nor purchased without a legal discussion: he beholds his growing family with pleasure, his industry often enables him to give them such an education, as advances them in life, and puts it in their power to comfort his old age: the slave who has reflection, views his offspring with very different feelings; knowing them doomed to eternal slavery, and ignorant of the character of those to whom they may hereafter belong.

His residence in Jamaica for above twenty years of P. 261. the prime of his life, must have given him as perfect a know-

a knowledge of the state of slaves there, as it is possible to acquire. As to the information which may have been got by those holding high commands there he cannot speak decidedly; but if it is meant to know, whether such on occasional visits to estates, were likely to obtain a thorough knowledge of the treatment of slaves, he thinks they could not. 1791.

He has often accompanied Governors and Admirals on their tours there; when, the estates visited (belonging generally to persons of distinction) might be supposed under the best management; besides that all possible care would be taken to keep every disgusting object from view, and on no account, by the exercise of the whip or other punishments, harrow up the feelings of strangers of such distinction.

As to his opinion of the probable effects of the P. 261. abolition of the slave trade, he is at some loss to express himself; he thinks however, that as it would tend to prevent making new settlements in the islands, the produce of sugar not keeping pace with the increasing demand for it, the price must rise and of course the present estates became more valuable: the value of the slaves would also be increased and it would become more the owners interest to attend to their health and population.

Finally, as the result of his observations and most serious reflection, he hesitates not to say, that the trade for slaves ought to be abolished not only as contrary to sound policy, but to the laws of God and nature; and were it possible by the present inquiry to convey P. 262. a just knowledge of the extensive misery it occasions, every kingdom of Europe must unite in calling on their legislatures to abolish the inhuman traffic. This is not a hasty, nor a new sentiment, formed on the present discussion, which has in no respect influenced his judgment. The same opinion he publicly delivered seventeen years ago, in Kingston, in a society formed of the first characters of the place, on debating the following question (proposed he thinks, by the late Mr. Thomas Hibbert, who had been 40 Numb. 4. T or

1791. or 50 years the most eminent Guinea factor there)
“ Whether the trade to Africa for slaves, was consistent with sound policy, the laws of nature and “ morality.” The discussion occupied several meetings, and at last it was determined by a majority, that the trade to Africa for slaves was neither consistent with sound policy, the laws of nature, nor morality.

The chief ground on which the advocates for the slave trade rested their opinion (he thinks) was, that God had formed some of the human race, inferior to others, in intellect; and that negroes appeared to have been intended for slaves, or, to that purpose.

Has been in some of the foreign West India islands, in N. America, and St. Domingo. The state of slaves seemed similar to that in Jamaica; in America he had but little opportunity for observation: but upon the whole, they appeared decenter in their manners; more domesticated, and to have some notions of religion.

The following Evidence is printed at full length,
there not being time to abridge it.

Witness examined—THOMAS IRVING, Esq.

Does not your official situation afford you a general view of the commerce of the British empire, and of the relation of its several branches to each other, and particularly to Great Britain? 1791.

The office of Inspector General of Imports and Exports, committed to my management, exhibits a state of the importations into, and exportations from, Great Britain, and the British Colonies and Islands in America and the West Indies, and of all the revenues arising from our commerce. Accounts are transmitted to the office, from the several ports of Great Britain and the colonies, of every article imported into, or exported from, such ports, distinguishing our trade with each respective country, together (in as far as relates to our Colonies) with the number of vessels, their tonnage, and number of men employed in the trade. I am also annually furnished (extra-officially for a special purpose) by the Register General of Shipping, with a similar account of the number of vessels, their tonnage, and number of men, both British and Foreign, which enter and clear in the ports of Great Britain. In a word, the Inspector General's office, as it at present stands, exhibits a complete view of the commerce, navigation, and commercial revenues of the British empire, Ireland excepted. I am the more particular in explaining the nature of the office, in order that it may appear from what sources I draw any information which I may have occasion to offer to the Committee, in the course of the subsequent examination.

Did you ever execute any other office, which afforded you the means of acquiring a knowledge of

1791. the trade of the British Colonies in America and the West Indies?

In the year 1767 I was appointed Inspector General of the imports and exports of North America, and Register of Shipping, which offices I continued to execute until the year 1774, when I was appointed Receiver General of South Carolina, and a Member of the Council.

This office of Inspector General and Register of Shipping in North America furnished me with the means of acquiring a thorough knowledge of the trade and navigation carried on between the continental Colonies and the British West India Islands, and the books and papers of that office are still in my possession.

Have the British West India islands, in their present state, the means of furnishing the supply of sugar and rum that is requisite for the consumption of Great Britain and her immediate dependencies?

The British West India islands produce annually a greater quantity of sugar and rum than is requisite for the consumption of Great Britain, her immediate dependencies, and the kingdom of Ireland. In testimony of this fact I beg leave to lay before the Committee the paper which I now hold in my hand, containing an account of the quantity of British plantation sugar imported into, and exported from, Great Britain, in the years 1772, 1773, 1774, and 1775, and in the years 1787, 1788, 1789, and 1790. I have selected those years as exhibiting the fairest state of the produce of the sugar colonies; for in the year 1776, our trade began to meet with many interruptions from the war which was then become general on the continent of America: and I am of opinion, that the islands did not recover the shock which they had sustained by capture, and other consequences of war, sooner than about the year 1787.

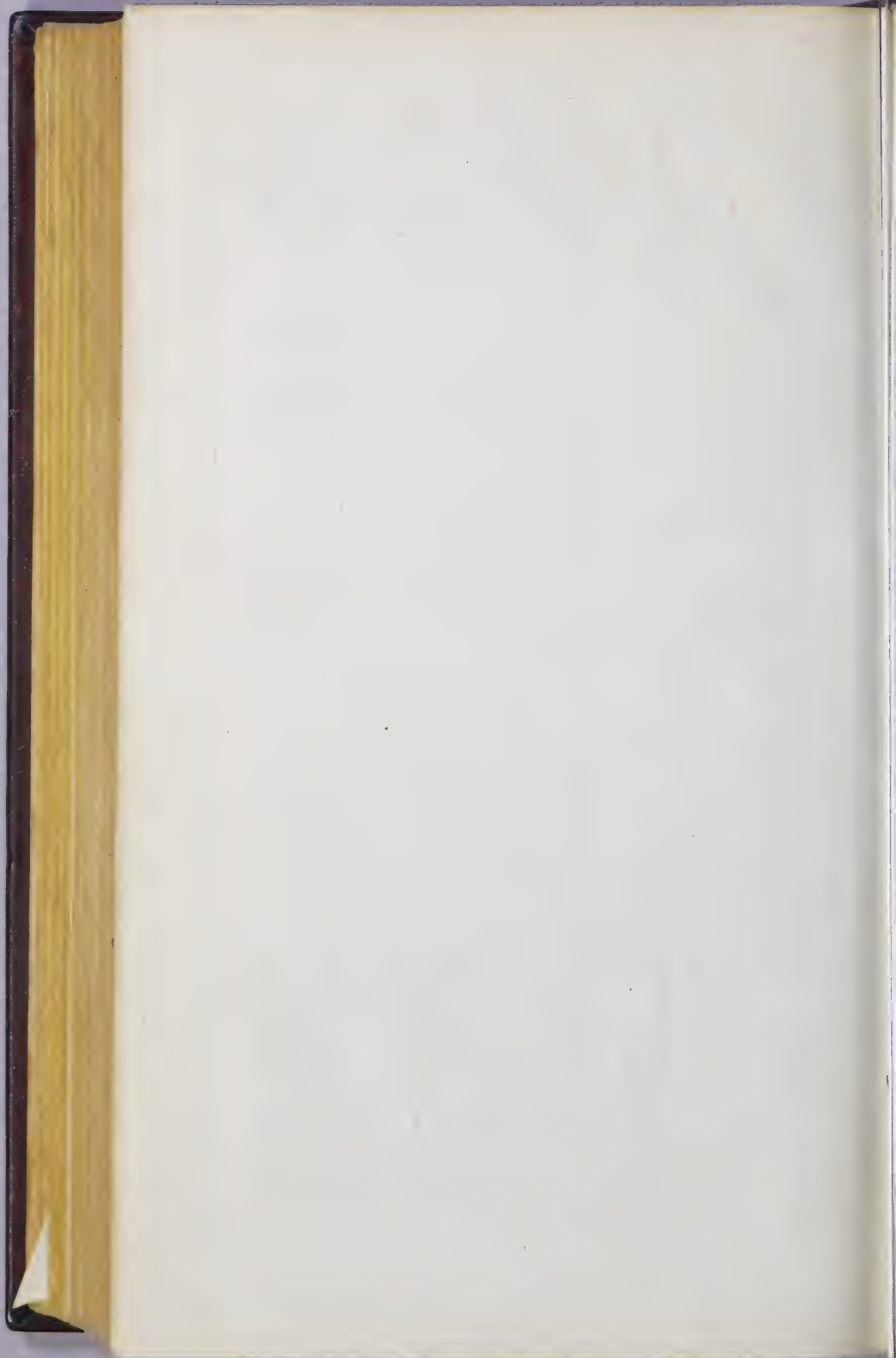
Do

An ACCOUNT of the Total Quantity of Sugar imported from the British West India Islands into Great Britain, in the undermentioned Years:

A L S O,

An Account, for the same Periods, of the Quantity of Raw and Refined Sugars exported from Great Britain; distinguishing the Quantity exported to Ireland, and other Parts of the Empire, from the Quantity exported to Foreign Parts.

| | Quantity of British Plantation Sugar imported. | Raw Sugar exported to Ireland, and other Parts of the Empire. | Refined Sug. exported to Ireland, and other Parts of the Empire. | Raw Sugar exported to Foreign Parts. | Refined Sugar exported to Foreign Parts. |
|------|--|---|--|--------------------------------------|--|
| 1772 | — | 1,786,045 | — | 1,391 | 3,677 |
| 1773 | — | 1,762,387 | 3 15 | 2,397 | 5,772 |
| 1774 | — | 2,015,911 | 1 15 | 11,950 | 5,949 |
| 1775 | — | 2,002,224 | 3 8 | 89,325 | 46,755 |
| | | | | | 3 22 |
| 1787 | — | 1,926,121 | — | 2,779 | 52,473 |
| 1788 | — | 2,065,700 | — | 6,575 | 58,250 |
| 1789 | — | 1,935,223 | 2 21 | 4,461 | 118,033 |
| 1790 | — | 1,882,005 | — | 15,011 | 105,892 |
| | | | | | 2 1 |



Do you think that the extension of the West India 1791.
plantations beyond the degree that is requisite for
supplying Great Britain, and her immediate depen-
dencies with the principal articles of West India
produce, would materially promote the interest of
the British empire?

This question is of a very extensive nature, and is
involved in a variety of objects and considerations,
commercial and political, which I am afraid I am
incompetent to offer an opinion upon; more especi-
ally in the present debilitated state of my health,
having only lately recovered from a dangerous illness.

The Committee informed Mr. Irving, that they
did not wish that he should, in answering
this, or any other question, make exertions
to the prejudice of his health, and that he
would therefore confine himself to such facts
and opinions as shall readily occur to him.

The Witness then proceeded as follows:

The extension of the culture of the British W. India
islands, beyond that degree that is requisite for sup-
plying Great Britain and her immediate dependencies
with the principal articles of West India produce,
does not appear to me likely to promote the interest
of the British empire; and in support of this opinion,
I beg leave to offer the following reasons:

The West India islands have been settled upon a
system very different from the British Continental
Colonies (now a part of the States of America). I
allude to the colonies which are cultivated chiefly by
slaves; namely, the tobacco, and rice, and indigo
colonies. The settlement of these colonies was un-
dertaken upon small capitals, and the increase of
their wealth arose almost wholly out of the growing
profits of the industry of the proprietors; whereas
our islands in the West Indies have, agreeable to the
system hitherto pursued, been settled and extended
by

1791. by means of large capitals drawn from the mother country. The Ceded Islands were almost entirely settled with the British capitals; and in the island of Jamaica large sums of money have from time to time been borrowed from this country upon mortgage, in order to extend the cultivation of that island. Thus a capital to a great amount, which might have been employed in carrying on and extending the manufactures, the commerce, and agriculture of Great Britain, has been transferred from hence to the most vulnerable part of the empire; and there invested in pursuits which do not appear to me to have been productive of a profit to the proprietor, or of advantages to the public, in any degree adequate to the precarious situation in which such property stands, from the contingencies of climate, the fate of war, &c. For although the planter resident on the spot will most likely abide by his property whatever change of government he may be subjected to, yet the loss of an island by capture is a complete loss of so much capital to the empire. Notwithstanding our general superiority at sea, the precarious tenure on which we hold our colonial possessions was sufficiently evinced in the course of last war. Thirteen great provinces separated themselves for ever from the empire, whereby property to the amount of many millions was lost to the inhabitants of Great Britain, and her adherents. The provinces of East and West Florida, and the island of Tobago, were ceded to Spain and France; and the islands of St. Kitts, Nevis, Montserrat, St. Vincents, Dominica, and Grenada, were all captured, but restored at the peace.

But besides the reasons already offered—the impolicy of extending the cultivation of the West India islands beyond the degree stated in the question, is in my humble opinion strongly marked by some further considerations.

Notwithstanding whatever may be the difference between the British and Foreign sugars at present, or
for

Numb. 4.

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An ACCOUNT of the Quantity of British and Foreign Plantation Sugars, imported into North America, in the following Years; distinguishing each Year, and the British from the Foreign Sugars.

| Y E A R S. | British Plantation Sugar. | | Foreign Plantation Sugar. | |
|------------|---------------------------|-----------|---------------------------|-----------|
| | Cwts. | Qrs. lbs. | Cwts. | Qrs. lbs. |
| 1769 | 49,672 | — — | 45,437 | — — |
| 1770 | 66,417 | 2 3 | 35,035 | 1 1 |
| 1771 | 47,870 | — — | 21,466 | — — |
| 1772 | 44,611 | — — | 51,333 | — — |

for these two or three years past, since the disturbances in France began to convulse her colonies; yet if we take a comparative view of the difference between the price of British and Foreign sugars, even in a period the most favourable to the British islands, namely, before last war, when they received a complete supply of lumber and provisions from the continent of America, it will be found that the French sugars were sold by the planters from 20 to 30 per cent. cheaper than the British sugars could be purchased in our islands. This fact I state from the information which I received time after time from the merchants and others concerned in the trade between America and the West Indies, when I executed the office of Inspector General of the Imports and Exports of North America; and I was the more minute in my inquiries, as the acquiring information of the prices of the several commodities imported into and exported from America formed a part of my duty, in order to enable me to establish a table of the rates of value for the office. But as a further testimony of the Foreign sugars being materially cheaper than the British, I take the liberty of presenting an account of the quantity of British and Foreign sugars, distinguishing each, imported into our colonies in North America, in the years 1769, 1770, 1771, and 1772. The Committee will perceive by this account, that the difference between the quantity of British, and of Foreign sugars imported, was not very considerable, notwithstanding that the Foreign sugars were clandestinely obtained in the French islands by our traders, which enhanced the price in proportion to the risque, and were also subject to a duty of 5s. per cwt. on importation into America: nor were our traders by any means under the necessity of taking these foreign sugars in exchange for merchandize; for they were chiefly purchased with cash which they received for their lumber and provisions sold in our islands. I am the more particular in stating the difference of the prices be-

1791.

1791. tween the British and Foreign sugars, because I conceive it is a maxim thoroughly established in national commerce, that it is unwise to push forward by means of monopolies, restrictive regulations, or bounties, any branch of commerce or manufactures, which cannot be carried on, after a fair trial, within 15 per cent. of the prices of other rival countries: and I am of opinion that this observation will strictly apply even to those branches of commerce from which the nation is supposed to derive the greatest political advantages from the smallest capital employed, namely, our fisheries.

The money expended upon West India estates is in general far from yielding a profitable return, and in this opinion I am supported by the testimony of some of the best informed gentlemen connected with the West Indies, particularly the agent for Jamaica, who states, in his examination before the Privy Council, that the planters throughout that island do not make more than four per cent. upon their capital; and the agent of Barbadoes gave it as his opinion, "That after payment of expenses and plantation losses, even a good crop does not leave the owner more, or so much as six per cent. the interest of the island, on his capital." Besides the return to the proprietor, the publick certainly derives a considerable profit from the freight of the sugars, and the commission paid to the merchants of this kingdom. This latter circumstance I perceive is upon all occasions strongly urged by gentlemen connected with the West Indies; but the same national profit and political advantages appear to me to apply less or more to every other branch of our foreign commerce, and in many instances to our internal manufactures. Indeed, the testimony of the West India gentlemen, which states, that the capital invested in the West India estates is far from yielding a profitable return, is strongly confirmed by the account which I now beg leave to lay before the committee. By this account it appears that the principal article cultivated in the West Indies

has,

An ACCOUNT of the Quantity of Sugars, being British Plantation Produce, imported into Great Britain in the following Years; distinguishing each Year, and each Island from whence imported.

| | 1772. | | 1773. | | 1774. | | 1775. | | 1787. | | 1788. | | 1789. | | 1790. | |
|---------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| | Cwts. | qrs. lbs. | Cwts. | qrs. lbs. | Cwts. | qrs. lbs. | Cwts. | qrs. lbs. | Cwts. | qrs. lbs. | Cwts. | qrs. lbs. | Cwts. | qrs. lbs. | Cwts. | qrs. lbs. |
| Antigua - | 115,364 | 1 23 | 83,965 | 1 20 | 235,815 | 1 23 | 255,861 | 1 26 | 254,575 | 1 18 | 181,813 | 2 — | 144,204 | — 11 | 65,022 | 1 26 |
| Anguilla - | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1,298 | — | 2,129 | 2 16 | 3,728 | 1 2 | 3 | 2 12 | 2,150 | 2 18 |
| Barbadoes - | 141,341 | 1 3 | 110,911 | 2 4 | 139,564 | 1 3 | 70,181 | 1 25 | 130,242 | — 16 | 110,955 | — 19 | 97,389 | 2 27 | 113,038 | 3 21 |
| Dominica - | 10,370 | 2 8 | 26,705 | 1 5 | 53,464 | 2 12 | 40,583 | 1 21 | 58,665 | 1 21 | 47,010 | 1 24 | 34,709 | 3 5 | 50,036 | — 23 |
| Grenada - | 198,362 | 2 5 | 202,679 | — | 185,542 | — 10 | 199,824 | 1 23 | 172,880 | — 9 | 193,783 | — 25 | 164,338 | 3 9 | 191,625 | 1 6 |
| Jamaica - | 874,560 | 1 20 | 1,057,958 | — 23 | 947,073 | 1 1 | 995,387 | 2 18 | 824,706 | 2 15 | 1,124,017 | — 44 | 1,236,603 | 1 27 | 1,185,519 | 2 7 |
| St. Kitt's - | 220,716 | 2 14 | 1,09,57 | 3 3 | 212,267 | — 15 | 206,049 | 3 17 | 231,397 | 2 12 | 187,379 | 1 25 | 89,755 | 1 23 | 113,379 | 1 16 |
| Nevis - | 63,125 | 1 26 | 30,300 | 1 20 | 68,408 | — 9 | 50,488 | — 10 | 72,475 | 1 11 | 30,050 | 1 4 | 28,151 | 3 — | 35,467 | 3 1 |
| Montserrat - | 58,008 | 2 — | 33,772 | — 21 | 47,590 | 3 9 | 39,347 | 2 6 | 35,849 | 3 10 | 25,113 | — 13 | 25,089 | 2 16 | 19,186 | 3 24 |
| St. Vincent - | 55,909 | 1 18 | 61,088 | — 18 | 65,177 | — 17 | 54,071 | 2 16 | 64,449 | 1 27 | 76,735 | 2 24 | 81,283 | — 18 | 76,747 | 2 1 |
| Tortola - | 34,660 | — 3 | 30,120 | 3 24 | 33,962 | 3 4 | 38,605 | 2 7 | 78,749 | 1 6 | 84,513 | 3 22 | 33,704 | — 23 | 29,850 | 1 14 |
| Tobago - | 13,625 | 2 21 | 14,155 | 3 17 | 27,045 | 2 24 | 50,385 | 2 4 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Total - | 1,786,045 | — 1 | 1,762,387 | 3 15 | 2,015,911 | 1 15 | 2,002,224 | 3 8 | 1,926,121 | — 3 | 2,065,700 | — 12 | 1,935,223 | 2 21 | 1,882,005 | — 17 |

Average of the Annual Produce of the first Period.

Cwts. qrs. lb.
1,891,642 1 —

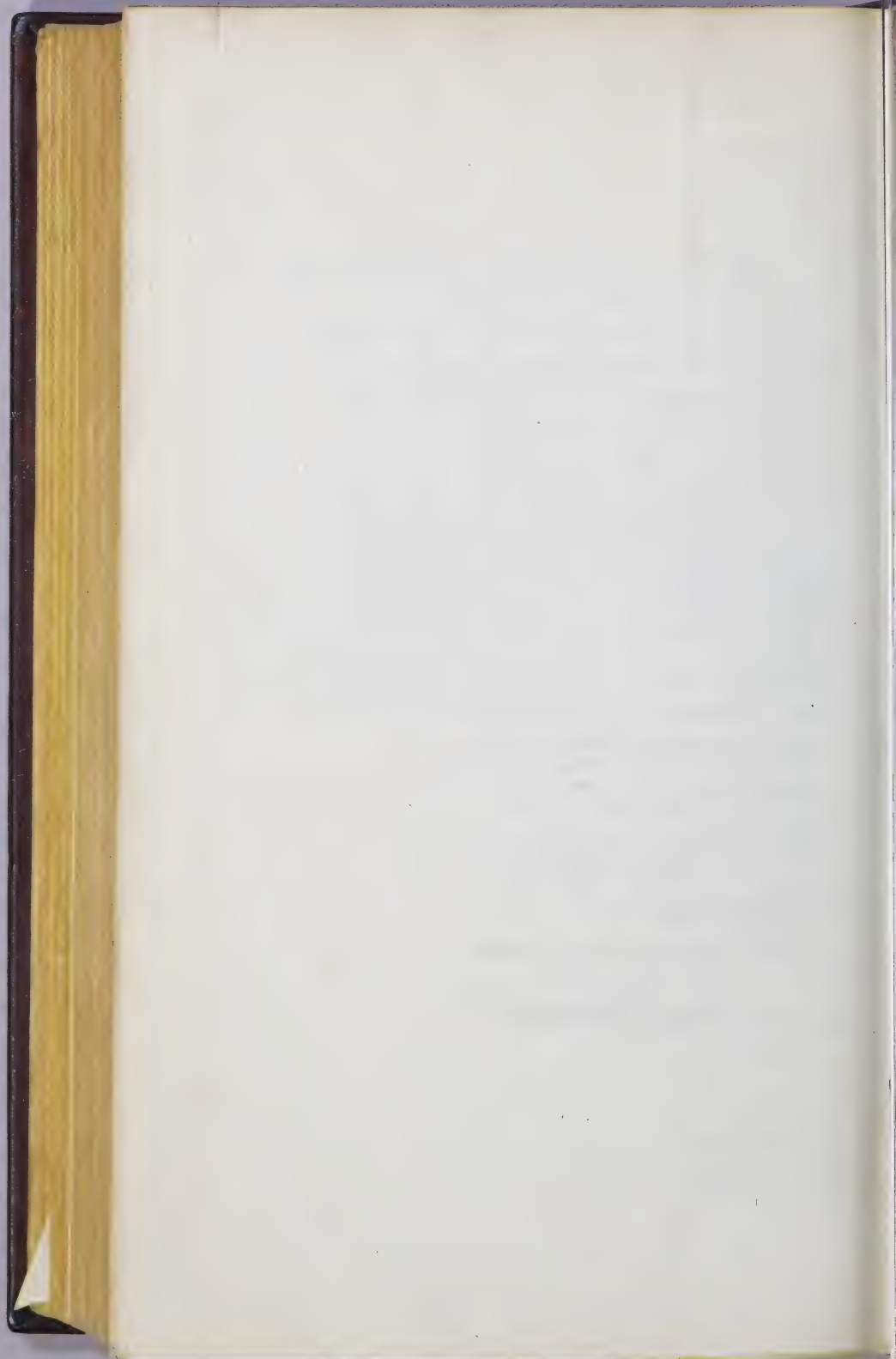
Average of the Annual Produce of the last Period.

Cwts. qrs. lb.
1,952,262 — —

Increase in the last Period.

Cwts. qrs. lb.
60,620 — — equal to
about 4,040 Hogheads.

[To face page 154.]



has, in point of quantity, been in a great measure stationary for these twenty years, and yet there is no part of the empire in which property stands in a more favoured footing. Prohibitory laws were early made tending to force the consumption of West India produce upon the inhabitants of Great Britain, and the other subjects of the empire, whereby the proprietors of the islands obtained (and still retain) a complete monopoly of our markets at a very considerable expense to the British consumer, as appears by the difference of the prices between the British and the foreign islands. 1791.

In our colonies in America, in order to encourage our islands, the use of foreign rum is absolutely prohibited, foreign coffee is subject to a duty of two pounds nineteen shillings per cwt. whilst British is chargeable with a duty of seven shillings; and foreign sugars, as I have already mentioned, pay a duty on importation into the continent of five shillings per cwt. and into this kingdom one pound seven shillings and twopence, which is fourteen shillings and tenpence per cwt. more than the British sugars. The whole duties imposed upon British sugars are drawn back upon exportation, and refined sugars are entitled to a bounty, when exported, of twenty-six shillings per cwt. which exceeds the duty collected upon the raw material three or four shillings. In order to give the planters a more extensive market for the sale of their produce, sugars were, by the 12th of Geo. II. taken out of the list of enumerated commodities, and the exportation of them permitted to all parts south of Cape Finisterre, in Europe.

The evidence upon the part of the West India planters, before the Committee of Privy Council, state many natural advantages which the foreign islands possess, as reasons why our islands will never be able to enter into a competition in point of price with the foreign plantations.

For those, and the reasons which I have had the honour upon this occasion of submitting to the Committee,

1791. mittee, I am of opinion, that however just and proper it may be to encourage our own islands to the extent of supplying ourselves, and thereby doing that justice to the proprietors of estates there which they consider themselves entitled to; yet the extension of the cultivation of those islands beyond that degree that is requisite for supplying Great Britain and her immediate dependencies, with the principal articles of their produce, is by no means likely to promote the interests of the empire; because from the great disparity of price between the British and Foreign sugars, the former cannot be made an object of export by any other means than by that destructive system of policy which has been too much adopted in some other branches of our commerce, namely, the granting of bounties out of the Exchequer, in order to enable the British exporter to stand the competition of prices in the foreign market. It is a dangerous principle to force commerce and manufactures like fruit raised on a hot bed. In such cases, the capital and the industry of the individual are too often drawn from objects of profit, to pursuits which can only be carried on by the aid of the national purse.

Do you think, that by a proper attention to the breeding of slaves in the British West India islands, such a number of slaves may be obtained and kept up, without the aid of importation from Africa, as will be sufficient to raise the West India produce that is requisite for the supply of Great Britain and her immediate dependencies?

I have long been of opinion, that by proper attention to the breeding of slaves, the stock might be kept up in the British West India islands, without the aid of importation from Africa. I beg leave, however, to be understood, that this measure is not likely, in my judgment, to be effected by putting an immediate stop to the importations, but by adopting such

such a system of policy as will gradually do away the necessity for importation. 1791.

Prior to the late war, the provisions for feeding the slaves were chiefly imported from North America, the attention of the planters being almost wholly directed to what is called the crop, namely, sugars; &c. and as these provisions were bought at a considerable expense, the planters did not consider it their interest to encourage the breeding of slaves at the expense of feeding them ten or twelve years before they were capable, by the produce of their labour in the cane walks, to support themselves. Hence grown slaves, whose labour can be brought into immediate effect, were, and still continue to be, imported from the coast of Africa; and of these a greater proportion of males than females.

If a different system of policy were adopted with respect to the cultivation of the plantations in the West Indies, and which system I have many reasons for thinking would be attended with advantage to the planters themselves: I am persuaded a sufficient number of slaves might be bred at least to keep up the present stock; I allude to the cultivating of a proportion of land sufficient to supply the negroes with provisions, in which the little slaves, from seven years old and upwards, might be useful. In that part of America where I was resident, and which was cultivated as much by negroes as the West Indies, the breeding of slaves was considered so advantageous, that the planter generally valued a child on the day of its birth at five pounds. The prevailing opinion, to the best of my recollection, in South Carolina, at that time was, that the increased population of slaves by birth was from two to ten per cent. and yet the climate of Carolina, particularly of the rice plantations, is, I believe, more hostile to the human constitution than any part of the West Indies.

In order gradually to check the importation of negroes from the coast of Africa, I would submit that a slight duty, in the first instance, should be laid upon
all

1791. all slaves imported; the duty imposed on males to be considerably higher than upon females; or perhaps that the latter should for a time be imported free; and that the rate of this duty should be progressively increased as the means should be provided of supplying the deficiency which this check would give to the importation. And in order to encourage the raising of plantation born slaves, and cultivating provisions for their support, which latter circumstance I consider to be materially connected with the breeding of the negroes, I would propose that the produce of the duties collected upon slaves imported from the coast of Africa should be applied as bounties for promoting the above purposes. The raising of provisions in some of the islands, would, no doubt, be less advantageous than others; but I am of opinion, that the cultivation of a sufficient quantity for the use of the slaves would be profitable and politick. Anterior to the late war, the negroes in the West Indies depended in a great degree for their supply of food on the continent of America. When the disturbances broke out, this source of supply was at once cut off, and the importations from Europe, through captures at sea and other causes, were rendered very precarious. The planters, thus impelled by necessity, were obliged to deviate from their former system, and to turn their attention more towards raising provision upon their own estates. The good effects of this plan has been so forcibly felt, that the importation of Indian corn, which may emphatically be stiled the bread of life, with respect to the food of the slaves, is reduced from about 600,000 bushels, the quantity annually imported before the war, to somewhat under 300,000 bushels, the medium importation of the last three years; and pease, &c. in a similar proportion. In a political sense, I conceive that no country capable of producing corn to feed itself, ought to be dependent upon any other for any article which it cannot do without, even for a day.

Numb. 4,

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An ACCOUNT of the Quantity of Rum and Melasses exported from the British West Indies, to all Parts, in the Years 1787, 1788, and 1789, distinguishing each Year, and the Countries to which exported.


| | 1787. | | 1788. | | 1789. | |
|--------------------------|------------------|-----------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| | Rum.
Gallons. | Melasses.
Gallons. | Rum. | Melasses. | Rum. | Melasses. |
| Great Britain - - - | 2,251,346 | — | 3,646,667 | — | 3,396,653 | — |
| Ireland - - - | 344,150 | — | 688,050 | — | 754,700 | — |
| British Colonies - - | 885,186 | 26,380 | 652,200 | 24,889 | 668,470 | 20,192 |
| States of America - - | 1,660,155 | 4,200 | 1,541,093 | 3,923 | 1,485,461 | 1,000 |
| Foreign West Indies - | 345,750 | — | 222,512 | — | 143,443 | — |
| Southern Parts of Europe | 9,560 | — | — | — | — | — |
| Africa - - - | — | — | 19,810 | — | 43,450 | — |
| | 5,496,147 | 30,580 | 6,770,332 | 28,812 | 6,492,177 | 21,192 |

If the British West India islands should in future 1791.
raise a quantity of provisions sufficient to feed the
slaves, in what manner do you think the planters
would be enabled to dispose of that part of their
rum and molasses, which is at present supposed to be
applied to the purchasing of provisions?

Before I reply to this question, I beg leave to lay
before the Committee an account of the quantity of
rum and molasses exported from the British West
India islands, to all parts, for the three years pre-
ceding the 5th of January, 1790, which is the latest
period to which the account can be made up.

The quantity of provisions suitable for feeding of
the slaves raised in the British Colonies in North
America is very inconsiderable, and the barrelled
mackerel and other fish exported from those Colonies
to the West Indies, would almost in any event be
in demand, more especially as it is now sufficiently
proved, that the produce of the British Herring
Fishery is far from being equal to the demand of our
islands. The Continental Colonies would, therefore,
be very little affected by any change of system in
raising provisions for the negroes in the West Indies;
and so far from its being probable that the demand
for rum in these Colonies is likely to be lessened in
future, I am of opinion that the consumption will
increase in proportion to the growing population of
the country.

By the account which I have just now laid before
the Committee, it appears that upon a medium of
three years, about 1,500,000 gallons of rum have
been taken off by the subjects of the United States;
which rum, including the freight, as it can be only
imported in British bottoms, may be valued at about
3s. 3d. sterling per gallon in America; the total value
at that rate would be £.243,750. This sum is by no
means more than equal to the purchasing of lumber,
flour, and other articles which have little or no con-
nection with the food of the slaves. In a long exa-
mination which I underwent before the Lords of the

1791.  Committee of Privy Council, in the year 1784, relating to the opening an intercourse between the States of America and the British West Indies, I had occasion to look very minutely into the nature and value of the articles which the West Indies receive from the States, and into those which the States take in return from the islands, and it then appeared to me, (and nothing has since occurred to alter my opinion) that the West India planters will always find a sufficient demand for their rum.

The quantity of melasses exported from our islands is too inconsiderable to merit notice.

If a sufficiency of slaves for the culture of the British West India settlements should be raised within those settlements, do you think that the diminution of British exports to Africa, which may be the consequence of such a change, would be materially prejudicial to the manufacturing interests of Great Britain?

I feel more diffidence in answering this question than any of the preceding, as nothing is more difficult to foresee than the consequences that may arise from any alteration of system in a trade long established. Casting, however, a retrospective eye to the effect which the changes in other branches of our commerce have undergone in the course of public events, and comparing the probable consequences which may take place in the case in question, by those which experience has afforded an opportunity of determining upon, I shall submit such ideas as occur to my weak judgment, as to the tendency that a probable diminution of the British exports to the Coast of Africa, in consequence of the change proposed, is likely to have on the manufacturing interests of this kingdom.

The medium value of the British manufactures exported to Africa, chiefly for the purpose of purchasing slaves, amounts to about £.400,000 a year, agreeable to the rates of value in the Inspector General's

neral's books; but I mention with regret, that from the loose manner in which the entries of free goods are made in the Custom-house, the Inspector General's value of such goods is not absolutely to be relied upon, and therefore the value of the exports to Africa may have been less or more; however, the Committee will please to observe, that in the £.400,000, I include the value of the goods exchanged for gold dust, ivory, cam and redwood, gum, drugs, &c. imported from Africa, either directly into Great Britain, or through the circuitous passage of the West Indies. 1791.

An immediate stop being put to our exports to Africa, would doubtless be felt in a very considerable degree by those artificers, who are at present employed in manufacturing goods for that branch of our export trade; because they would find the channels through which their industry passed to a market shut up before they had time to turn their attention, labour, and capital to other pursuits. It was not less with a view to this object, than to the consequences which the planters in the West Indies might experience by their being at once deprived of their usual supply of slaves, that I took the liberty of suggesting the crude ideas offered in my answer to the preceding question.

In cases of war breaking out, and being of long continuance with countries with which we had been in habits of carrying on commercial intercourse, temporary inconveniences are doubtless experienced, but not to the extent which theoretical reasoning would induce us to imagine. The enterprise of our merchants soon discovers fresh means of vending the produce of the labour of our manufacturers. The superior capital, ingenuity, industry, and integrity of the British artificer, will ever command a market for the produce of his industry. The late revolution in America, affords striking proofs of the justice of this observation. With the independence of these states, it was very generally apprehended, that Great Britain would

1791. would also lose the benefit of their commerce; but experience has proved the fallacy of that opinion. The exports of our native manufactures to that part of the world, instead of being lessened since the separation of the two countries, are increased; and as a proof of the delusion of the idea, that the employment of the capital of this country has for some time past been at its ne plus ultra, I beg leave to inform the Committee, that the value of British manufactures exported from this country of late, exceeds that of the most flourishing period before the late war, when the laws of trade confined those colonies, which now constitute the American States, in their supply of merchandize to Great Britain, the sum of upwards of £2,500,000 annually; and that our shipping has also increased between two and three hundred thousand tons, over that which the empire possessed when the American States formed a part of its dominions. Nor has this great increase of trade and navigation arisen from any special or temporary cause, for it will appear by the books of my office, that the value of our exports has been gradually increasing every year since the late war.

For the facts and reasons which I have thus set forth, I am under no apprehensions that a gradual check to the importation of slaves would materially affect the manufacturing interests of this country.

Do you not know the price of sugars has doubled in Great Britain within the last eighteen years?

I believe the price of sugars in Great Britain is very considerably increased within the last eighteen years; but to what amount I am not prepared to give an answer. A considerable addition has been made within that period, to the rate of duties upon sugars, which will consequently increase the price; and I am inclined to think, that the prices at present, and for two or three years past, have been materially affected, as I have already observed, by the disturbances in the French islands.

Do

Do you not think, if a more ample supply of sugar were sent from the West Indies to Great Britain, that the price in the home market would decrease? 1791.

I have already informed the Committee, that the British West India islands, in their present situation, raise a quantity of sugar more than adequate to the consumption of the whole British empire. If the quantity of sugars in the British West India islands were considerably increased, such increase might probably have some effect in lowering the prices to the British consumer; but the natural consequence must be a diminution in the price to the West India planter, which would tend greatly to discourage him in the extension of his plantation.

Do you not believe, that the consumption of sugar, and consequently the revenue arising from that article, would increase very considerably if the prices were lower?

I conceive I have already answered this question.

☞ *Should any errors have crept into the foregoing Work, it is hoped they will be candidly attributed to their true cause—the want of time to correct the press.*

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